

MANUEL LUIS QUEZON

ON HIS

CENTENARY

- * Appraisal
- * Chronology
- * Reader
- * Bibliography

BY ALFREDO B. SAULO

Biographer of Jorge B. Vargas, Felipe Agoncillo,
Norberto Romualdez, Manuel L. Roxas and
Bienvenido M. Gonzalez

A Project of the
NATIONAL SCIENCE DEVELOPMENT BOARD
Gen. Santos Ave., Bicutan
Taguig, Metro Manila

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DEDICATION

To the Filipino people for whose

freedom and independence Manuel

L. Quezon died in exile on

August 1, 1944.

Republika ng Pilipinas
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The author is greatly indebted to the following friends and/or admirers of the late President Quezon who have extended additional assistance to complete this centennial project:

* The management and staff of the San Miguel Corporation through the good offices of Mr. Teodoro F. Valencia, noted columnist and civic leader;

* Mr. Jorge B. Vargas, chairman-president, Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation;

* Mr. Jose Yulo, Jr., chairman-president, C-J Yulo & Sons, Inc.; 11✓

* Mr. Pio Pedrosa, president, Prudential Bank; and

* Mrs. Carmen Aguinaldo Vda. de Melencio, eldest daughter of General Emilio Aguinaldo.

Thank you all. God bless you.

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for the

FOREWORD

I N T R O D U C T I O N

If President Elpidio Quirino had his way, a monument to Manuel L. Quezon would be erected side by side with Rizal's "in every public plaza" throughout the country; Quezon's name would be "inscribed in numberless streets, squares and parks"; numerous schools, hospitals, "happy homes," and other charitable institutions would be erected, and new municipalities, cities and provinces established to perpetuate his memory. Quirino would also like to see distributed in all schools, colleges and universities books on the life and works of Quezon.¹ Why?

Because Quirino knew Quezon.

Former American Governor-General and U.S. Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy said the United States "never had a better friend, or (knew) one who struggled harder to achieve independence and self-government for his country" than Manuel L. Quezon. Murphy believed that Quezon's life should be "preached in every pulpit" and taught in all schools and colleges.² Why?

Because Murphy knew Quezon.

Fr. Pacifico A. Ortiz, S.J., former president of the Ateneo de Manila University, said that "as generations come and go . . . (and) as new men and new leaders rise up and walk the stage of history, I am sure there will be two men forever towering above the shifting scenes, twin sentinels of our destiny, unequalled peaks of Malayan grandeur: Rizal and Quezon."³ Why?

Because Ortiz knew Quezon. As presidential family chaplain, he was at Quezon's bedside when the Filipino leader died on August 1, 1944, at Saranac Lake, New York.⁴

Many other distinguished personages - Franklin D. Roosevelt, Sergio Osmena, Manuel A. Roxas, Claro M. Recto, Jose P. Laurel, and Douglas MacArthur - have all paid Quezon the highest tribute ever: "Father of His Country," "Father of Philippine Independence," "Father of the Philippine Republic," "Father of the National Language," "Father of Social Justice," "Father of Good Government," etc.

-
- 1/ Eulogy delivered during the necrological services held at the U.S.T. chapel, July 31, 1946. In: Quezon Memorial Book. Compiled and edited by Filemon Poblador. Manila: Quezon Memorial Committee, 1952, pp. 93-99.
 - 2/ Funeral oration delivered at the necrological rites held at the joint session of the Congress of the Philippines, July 23, 1946. Ibid., pp. 101-102.
 - 3/ Eulogy delivered at the U.S.T. chapel rites, August 1, 1946. Ibid., pp. 124-127.
 - 4/ "Quezon's Secret Agent," by Lt. Col. Enigdio Cruz, MC, as told to Dr. Conrado Mata, Philippines Free Press, January 31 and February 7 and 14, 1948.

Quezon, the subject of this commemorative book, needs no introduction. Simply because he is a great man. He is too well known. But precisely because he is such a great man that, in the words of Murphy, one could not add a word to his stature, intellectually and spiritually. "That is an impossibility," he explained. "We might as well attempt to retouch a masterpiece done by an immortal." ⁵

Perhaps no book could ever completely do justice to the memory of Quezon.

II

THE author serves notice that the present book, in the light of Murphy's incontrovertible testimony, does not attempt to do the impossible. Its purpose is primarily to commemorate the first centenary of the birth of Manuel L. Quezon and perpetuate his memory. The author will be immensely satisfied if the book serves as a helpful guide to more perceptive, better organized, and more adequately funded studies on the life of Quezon.

The "Appraisal" and "Annotated Chronology" of Quezon, which make up Part I of the book, are the author's substitute for a full-length, updated biography. The "Appraisal" attempts to condense in a number of pages Quezon's most significant contributions to his country. By these contributions, selected and interpreted in the context of our times, the reader will be able to appreciate Quezon's place in history. Too often biographies become too expansive or ^{so} get bogged down in details that the reader finds it difficult to pinpoint the subject's role in the never-ending drama of man.

The "Quezon Chronology" is a first in Philippine biographical literature. It is profusely annotated and much longer than the average chronology. It provides a handy framework or outline for more comprehensive studies should the reader - a student, writer or scholar - decide to pursue the subject further. Its decided advantage over a biography is that it gives the reader instant information about Quezon's activities at any particular time or stage in his life or career. Being annotated, the chronology lightens the burden of assembling the sources of material on the subject.

Part II - the "Quezon Reader" - is the most comprehensive so far undertaken in the Philippines, indicating the wide range of interests and pre-occupations of Quezon in his long and spectacularly fruitful public career, which had its own peaks and valleys, its triumphs and defeats, but always inexorably moving forward, uninterrupted by even the worst disease that ever afflicted mankind - tuberculosis. A lesser man might easily have succumbed to the ruthless malady. Physicians confirmed that Quezon had the disease as far back as 1927, ⁶ about the same time that his "enemy," Governor-General

5/ Murphy eulogy, *supra*.

6/ Carlos Quirino, Quezon: Paladin of Philippine Freedom. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1971, pp. 191-192.

Leonard "Iron" Wood, died of tumor of the brain, yet ^{Quezon} bravely went on for the next 17 years, fighting the "good fight," ⁷ until he achieved the "miracle of the decade," by securing, almost single-handedly, the enactment of the Tydings-McDuffie independence law. So certain was Quezon of his monumental achievement that in a message addressed "To the Filipino People," dated October 23, 1934, he could say: "I regret that I cannot be with you in the fortunate hour when you will be wholly free. But you are almost there and have to go but a short way." ⁸

A short way, indeed, was 12 years, 1934 to 1946! For what is a dozen years in the life of a nation? What is twelve years against a background of 381 years of Western colonization? ⁹

The beautiful thing about the "Quezon Reader," which forms Part II of the book, is that you could almost feel and hear Quezon speaking right before you, without any notes, speaking from the bottom of his heart, because he had no need for ghostwriters to prepare his speeches. Here is one public servant who meant every word that he said, and practiced what he preached! Perhaps the highest compliment ever paid Quezon came from his family chaplain to whom, as a practicing Catholic, ¹⁰ he had frequently gone in moments of doubt to make confession in all humility. "Any nation," said his spiritual adviser, "could be proud of such a leader. Any country would love to claim him as her own." ¹¹ And why not? This question is answered by Quirino, his long-time private secretary and cabinet member. Because Quezon, he said, is the "life and soul of his people - the Filipino people." ¹²

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7/ "I have fought the good fight, / I have finished the course, / I have kept the faith." - Tim. 4, 7.

8/ "Two Farewell Messages of President Quezon," Philippines Free Press, July 26, 1947. Also in "Quezon in Action," a six-volume Quezoniana collection compiled by Prof. Juan F. Rivera, U.P. Law Center, Diliman, Quezon City. Vol. V, pp. 2515-2518. Hereinafter to be referred to as the Rivera Collection.

9/ Spanish colonization of the Philippines may be said to have started with the conquest of Cebu by Miguel Lopez de Legaspi in 1565. Vide Gregorio F. Zaide, Philippine Political and Cultural History. 2 vols. Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1957, Vol. I, pp. 138-145.

10/ Says Frederic S. Marquardt in an article, "Quezon and the Church": "Manuel L. Quezon was born into the Catholic religion but spent most of his life as a mason. He reentered the Catholic religion for the sake of his children, and during his last 14 years practiced it and died reading the Bible." [The name and date of the magazine from which the clipping was taken were inadvertently omitted. - ABS.]

11/ Ortiz eulogy, supra.

12/ Quirino funeral oration, supra.

Part III - "Quezon Bibliography" - is no doubt the most comprehensive bibliography on Quezon ever published. It will be extremely helpful to students of history, public officials, writers, and scholars. The first section - "Quezon as President of the Philippines" - contains the Administrative Orders, Commonwealth Acts, Executive Orders, General Orders, Messages, Proclamations, and Speeches which he signed or ^{delivered} as Chief Executive of the Commonwealth. These are Quezon's concrete achievements as President, which may be used as reference or basis of comparison by his successors in Malacanang.

One ^would like to think of these achievements as constituting the first stone of the cathedral which Quezon, the first Filipino nation-builder, laid firmly in the ground, serving as ^{an} invitation or a challenge to later Presidents to emulate if not surpass. What Quezon achieved as a public servant ^{are} ^{like} so many brightly shining mirrors - mirrors held up to nature because they are spotless and true - in which the Filipino people can see themselves and feel proud of their amazingly rich heritage. Filipinos who sell their birthright for "a mess of pottage," i.e., by acquiring alien citizenship purely for the sake of convenience, would do well to judge themselves by Quezon's sterling example. Point No. 1 in Quezon's "Farewell Message to the Filipino People" reads as follows: "Value your honor, freedom and independence, fight for them to the last!" ¹³ What nation would not be proud to claim such a leader?

The second and third sections - "Quezon in Books" and "Quezon in Philippine Periodical Literature" - provide the warp and woof, the very fabric of scholarship from which, it is hoped, hundreds of books on Quezon may be written before the advent of his second centennial - August 19, 2078 - books that will really do justice to the memory of the "Father of His Country." Here is a challenge that Filipino scholars worth their salt cannot shirk!

III

A PROJECT of this magnitude would not have been accomplished without the assistance, direct or indirect, of many people. The author takes great pleasure in recording, for posterity, the names of the men and women who have, in their personal and official capacities, contributed to the happy realization of the project.

Mr. Teodoro F. Valencia, a distinguished journalist and leader of many successful civic drives, is hereby cited for his fraternal interest, deep understanding of the problems of creative scholarship, and expertise in securing additional assistance to the project (see ACKNOWLEDGMENTS); Mr. Simeon G. Rodriguez, associate producer, Zarzuela Foundation of the

^{13/} Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2515-2518.

Philippines, Inc., for the fruitful advice he has given on many occasions; Prof. Esteban A. de Ocampo, chairman, National Historical Institute, who served as principal "reference" of the author; Dr. Marcolino A. Foronda, Jr., chairman, department of history, De la Salle University, who was one of the NSDB consultants in evaluating the project study; and Dr. Amando M. Dalisay, former executive director, National Research Council of the Philippines, who kindly referred to the NSDB the author's application for funding of the Quezon project.

In addition, the author wishes to express profound gratitude to the following NSDB officials for their undiminished interest, cooperation and understanding: Dr. Melencio S. Magno, chairman, who signed the Memorandum of Agreement for Project No. NSDB-PP7608 So (Quezon On His Centenary); Engr. Pedro G. Afable, vice chairman and executive director, who followed the progress of the project from the planning stage to its final phase; Miss Lydia G. Tansinsin, chief, Planning and Programming Division; Dr. Elvira O. Tan, chief, Project Development and Evaluation Division; Dr. Pacita L. Zara, who served as acting chief of PDMD in the latter stage of the project; Mr. Jose B. Toledo, chief, Budget Division; Atty. Arsenio C. Magsambol, chief, Auditing Division; Mr. Mario Valencia, one-time officer-in-charge of PDMD; and Mrs. Myrna Consolacion and Miss Juanita (Baby) Ines of PDMD, who helped in processing the project study. My thanks also go to Mr. Salvador F. Zaide, chief, Information Division, for his moral support. Mr. Zaide was the author's long-time colleague in the prewar DMHM Newspapers headed by Dr. Carlos P. Romulo, publisher, until the outbreak of the war on December 8, 1941, when he was called to active duty, starting as major and ending up as brigadier general on the staff of General MacArthur, commander of the United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE).

Likewise for the record, Prof. Mauro Garcia, director, Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, rendered invaluable assistance in enlisting the help of its chairman-president, Mr. Jorge B. Vargas, behind the Quezon project. So did Mr. Vicente F. Barranco, veteran newspaperman, and Ambassador Eduardo Quintero, in getting the support of Mr. Jose Yulo, Jr., chairman-president, C-J Yulo & Sons, Inc., and Mr. Pio Pedrosa, president of Prudential Bank, respectively.

As chairman of the Kawit Historical Committee and vice president of the Cavite Historical Society, the author has been in frequent contact with Mrs. Carmen Aguinaldo Vda. de Melencio, eldest daughter of General Emilio Aguinaldo. Apprised of the Quezon centennial project, she readily sent in her modest contribution. Together with her husband, Undersecretary of Justice Jose P. Melencio, and their two daughters, Amor and Emilina, Mrs. Melencio joined the Quezon Independence mission that left for Washington, D.C., on November 4, 1933. ¹⁴ This was the last and most successful independence

14/ Isabelo P. Caballero and M. de Gracia Concepcion, Quezon: The Story of a Nation and Its Foremost Statesman. Manila: International Publishers, 1935, pp. 335-337.

respectively, of the Filipiniana and Asia Division; Miss Nenchie C. Marquez and Mrs. Celia Bautista of the rare books and manuscript section; Mrs. Melot C. Moral, in charge of the microfilm room; and Mr. Maximo B. Lage, chief of the serial section. At this writing Mrs. Bolos is the officer-in-charge of the National Library.

The author personally conducted his research at the Main Library of the University of the Philippines in Diliman, Quezon City. He wishes to express his thanks to Miss Marina Dayrit, the university librarian, and to the following personnel of the archives section: Mrs. Yolanda C. Granda, Mrs. Josefina M. Dominguez, Miss Luz P. Plopino, and Mr. Rodolfo T. Tarlit.

One of the happiest moments experienced by the author in the course of his research was his meeting with Prof. Juan F. Rivera of the U.P. Law Center, thanks to the arrangement made by Mrs. Granda. Prof. Rivera is the owner of the six-volume Quezoniana collection, "Quezon in Action," which was extensively used in the project. The author ^{expresses} profound gratitude to Prof. Rivera for allowing him to make use of his valuable collection.

Maj. Liberato C. Jimenez (Ret.), of Gahak, Kawit, Cavite, likewise offered to the author the use of his collection of Quezon clippings gathered over a period of 30 years. Maj. Jimenez is the vice chairman of the Kawit Historical Committee and secretary of the Cavite Historical Society.

The Quezon project research staff fluctuated in size as the situation demanded. At one time it had six members, including Mr. and Mrs. Agustin E. Saulo, Miss Isabella M. Mirano, Mrs. Luzviminda Osorio-de Dios, Miss Enrica D. Mantilla, and Miss Cynthia M. Jose. Agustin (Loloy) is the author's nephew. For many years he was the PRO and editor in the office of the provincial governor of Rizal. His wife, the former Estelita Gementiza, is a writer. Aside from handling the major part of the research work, Miss Mirano and Mrs. Osorio did the typing of the manuscript. Miss Jose worked for only one week because she was appointed to a permanent job in the Bureau of Records Management. Miss Mantilla served for seven months.

The author's only daughter, Celia, and her co-teacher, Miss Josefina Diaz, helped in the proofreading.

The mimeographing of the manuscript, a long and laborious process because of the frequent changing of the stencil sheets, was made possible through the assistance extended by Mr. Ambrosio S. Capayas, district supervisor of Kawit, Mrs. Constancia N. Agellon, principal of the Gahak-Marulas

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The author is happy to note that every member of his family pitched in to assure the completion of the project: his wife, Bienvenida, their two sons, Tanglao and Florante, and the latter's wife, Loreta, and even their two-year-old grandson, Glenn-Glenn, who frequently barged into his Grandpa's library with an armful of fresh sunshine and happiness, breaking the monotony of the 18-month research work.

My thanks also go to my good friend, Mr. Consorcio Borje, noted editor, for going over the manuscript.

But, of course, the errors and shortcomings of the book, including the opinions and conclusions, are the sole responsibility of the author.

ALFREDO B. SAULO

Master Sunday, March 26, 1978
Kawit, Cavite

PART I

A. QUEZON IN HISTORY

(An Appraisal)

AS THE Filipino nation celebrates the first centenary of the birth of Manuel L. Quezon, the first President of the Philippines,¹ it is pertinent and maybe helpful to ask a few relevant questions. What is Quezon's place in history? What, to paraphrase Rizal, did Quezon achieve for the country that gave him "life and knowledge" and made him what he was? If his life was not a mere "pebble lost in the field" but one that did "form part of some edifice,"² what had he accomplished to merit the everlasting gratitude of his people? If Quezon's life, as one famous Filipino journalist and diplomat has said, was the "symbol of the undying, undaunted, and undefeated soul of the Philippines,"³ what, indeed, have we done to make it serve as an example worthy of emulation by every Filipino? Finally, have the Filipino people, for whose freedom Quezon sacrificed his life, dying in exile like Del Pilar and Lopez Jaena, kept faith with his high ideals and aspirations?

Father of His Country

Quezon, of course, is considered "one of the greatest men of his time."⁴ But to have an idea of his greatness, one cannot help quoting a few distinguished men whose judgments may be considered authoritative. First, there is Sergio Osmeña, Quezon's colleague and life-long rival for political supremacy, who calls the latter "~~F~~ather of His Country."⁵ The same kudos is applied to him by the late President Manuel A. Roxas and Claro M. Recto, president of the 1934 Constitutional Convention. Quezon's death, according to Roxas, "took both a father from his country and a

- 1/ This is the official title of the chief executive of the Commonwealth of the Philippines as stated in section 1, article VII (Executive Department) of the 1935 Constitution. By comparison, Emilio Aguinaldo's official designation in article 56, title VII (Executive Department) of the Malolos Constitution is "President of the Republic." He is also referred to as "President of the Revolutionary Government of the Philippines and Captain-General and Commander-in-Chief of the Army."
- 2/ The words in quotation marks are those of Simoun addressing Basilio in Rizal's El Filibusterismo. Translated from the Spanish by Leon Ma. Guerrero. London: Longmans, Green Co., Inc., 1965, p. 52.
- 3/ Carlos P. Romulo, "Quezon is the Symbol of the Undefeated Soul of the Philippines," Evening News, July 5, 1946.
- 4/ N. de Ramos, "Quezon's Leadership," Manila Times, August 19, 1956.
- 5/ Sergio Osmeña, "Quezon, Father of His Country." In: Vital Speeches, 1954, The National Library, pp. 169-172.

leader from the world. The pain of loss is felt wherever men are free." ⁶ Quezon, says Recto, was the "exemplary patriot who dedicated his gifted intellect and his passion for freedom to the service of his people." He adds that the "Star of Baler" was truly the "architect of freedom and father of our country." ⁷

The same opinion is shared by the internationally known author, John Gunther, who, besides calling Quezon the "Father of His Country," describes him as the "Beau Brummel" among the strong men of Asia. ⁸ James Wingo, noted Filipino correspondent in Washington, ⁹ former Laguna Governor Dominador R. Chipeco, ¹⁰ and Prof. Celedonio O. Resurreccion, ¹¹ an avid student of Philippine history, all have, in their separate ways, come to the conclusion that Quezon deserves to be called "Father of His Country."

Father of the Republic

On the other hand, General Douglas MacArthur, whose expertise extends beyond the field of military science, and the Filipino historian, Dr. Gregorio F. Zaide, both agree that Quezon is the "Father of the Philippine Republic." ¹² Prestige-wise, this term is just one little notch below that of "Father of His Country." For, truth to tell, a country may, in the course of its long history, witness the establishment of not one but several republics. The present Philippine Republic, for instance, is the third on record, the first two being the Malolos Republic headed by Aguinaldo, and the second, the Japanese-sponsored Republic under Jose P. Laurel. Three magazine article writers likewise consider Quezon the "Father of the

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- 6/ Manuel A. Roxas, "Quezon Was No Ordinary Man." Eulogy delivered at the joint session of the Congress of the Philippines, July 28, 1946. See Quezon Memorial Book. Compiled and edited by Filemon Poblador. Manila: Quezon Memorial Committee, 1952, pp. 83-92.
- 7/ Claro M. Recto, "Quezon, Architect of Freedom." Eulogy delivered at the U.S.T. Chapel rites, July 29, 1946. Vide Sol H. Gwekoh, Manuel L. Quezon, His Life and Career. Manila: University Publishing Co., Inc., 1948 (Appendice), pp. 293-299.
- 8/ John Gunther, "Beau Brummel Among Asian Dictators," This Week magazine, August 16, 1959.
- 9/ James Wingo, "Quezon, Father of His Country," Manila Post, November 15, 1945.
- 10/ Dominador R. Chipeco, "Father of His Country," Manila Times, August 20, 1956.
- 11/ Celedonio O. Resurreccion, "Quezon and the Commonwealth," Historical Bulletin, Vol. VI, No. 3, September 1962.
- 12/ Douglas MacArthur, "Tribute to Quezon," Manila Daily Bulletin, July 29, 1946. Eulogy delivered during the necrological rites at the Congress of the Philippines, supra. Also Gregorio F. Zaide, "Quezon, Father of the Philippine Republic," Evening News magazine, August 19, 1950.

Philippine Republic." ¹³ With slight variation in phraseology, a vernacular writer calls Quezon the "arkitekto" (architect) of the Philippine Republic." ¹⁴

Father of Philippine Independence

Much in the same vein, four other writers and two periodicals consider Quezon the "Father of Philippine Independence." ¹⁵ Doubtless more than any other Filipino, living or dead, Quezon dedicated his entire adult life, 1903 through 1944, to the cause of Philippine independence. The irony of it, however, is that while he, almost single-handedly, secured the Tydings-McDuffie Act fixing the date of independence on July 4, 1946, he did not live long enough to see it. He died when MacArthur's liberation forces were just 600 miles away from the Philippines! ¹⁶

Two great hypotheses are involved in the question of Philippine independence. First, had the United States government agreed to the proposal made by Quezon in the course of formal talks with President Roosevelt on March 18, 1937, advancing the date of Philippine independence to either December 30, 1938 (Rizal Day) or to July 4, 1939, and, as a corollary to this, had the President of the United States concluded a treaty with the foreign powers for the "perpetual neutralization" of the Philippines, as stipulated in Section 11 of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the Philippines might not have been dragged into the war. ¹⁷ Japan, it must be noted, had assured President Quezon in Tokyo that she would be only too glad to sign such a treaty

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- 13/ E. M. Francia and Peto Gonzalez, "Quezon, Father of Philippine Republic," Philippine Economic Review, August 1955; and Pascual Manalo, "Kanino Utang and Republika ng Filipinas?", Kalayaan, Agosto 16, 1956.
 - 14/ Jesus C. Olega, "Manuel L. Quezon, Arkitekto ng Republika ng Filipinas," Bagong-Buhay, Agosto 19, 1957.
 - 15/ Eladio Caliwara, "Star of Baler Remembered as Man Who Shaped the Destiny of the Philippines," Manila Chronicle, August 19, 1955; Jose Burgos P. Padlan, "The Legacy of Manuel L. Quezon," and Felix F. Gabriel, "Manuel L. Quezon as Resident Commissioner," both articles appearing in the Historical Bulletin, loc. cit.; "Father of Philippine Independence," Philippines Today, August 1965; and "Quezon, Architect of P.I. Freedom," Evening News, August 20, 1957.
 - 16/ "The Morning of August 1st (Philippine Time) or August 2nd (U.S. Time), 1944." Excerpts from "Quezon's Secret Agent," by Lt. Col. Emigdio Cruz, MC, as told to Dr. Conrado Mata, Philippines Free Press, January 31, and February 7 and 14, 1948. In: "Quezon in Action," a six-volume Quezoniana collection compiled by Prof. Juan F. Rivera, of the U.P. Law Center, Diliman, Quezon City. Hereinafter to be referred to as Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2521-2526.
 - 17/ Speech at a popular banquet in Quezon's honor at the Rizal Memorial Stadium, August 20, 1937. Messages of the President, Vol. 3, Part I, p. 109. Available at the Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation. Hereinafter to be referred to as Quezon Messages, JBVF.

recognizing the Philippines as a neutral territory after obtaining her independence.¹⁸

Second, had Quezon lived long enough to be able to come back with MacArthur, the Philippines might have achieved her independence sooner, perhaps immediately after MacArthur's announcement on July 5, 1945, that the entire country had been liberated from the Japanese.¹⁹ The basis of this hypothesis is Joint Resolution No. 93 of the United States Congress, signed by President Roosevelt on June 29, 1944, declaring that the United States government, after driving away the enemy, shall "restore as quickly as possible the orderly and free democratic processes of government to the Filipino people, and thereupon establish the complete independence of the Philippine Islands as a separate and self-governing nation."²⁰ (Italics supplied - ABS.)

Quezon announced the signing of this important document in his last July 4th message, less than one month before his death at Saranac Lake, New York, on August 1, 1944. In connection with this resolution, several interesting questions have cropped up. Why was the clear and unequivocal intent or purpose of Joint Resolution No. 93 not carried out during the Osmena administration? What steps did Osmena take to secure the immediate implementation of the resolution?

On the other hand, since Roosevelt and Quezon had died before the liberation of the Philippines, did the United States government, for unknown reasons, simply lose interest in carrying out the objective of the resolution? Why? Or, putting it another way, did the United States just renege on her solemn commitment to give immediate independence to the Philippines? Was the shelving of the resolution intentional or not? Did it not imply lack of faith in the Osmena administration?

Foundations of Republic Laid

There is no doubt that a strong leader like Quezon, had he lived, would have exerted his utmost to secure the immediate implementation of the all-important resolution. It is not difficult to imagine that he would have raised hell if only to call the attention of the Americans that they could not trifle with Philippine independence. Quezon's instant and positive reaction was something that the people could anticipate - it was inherent in his dynamic personality. Therein, it must be admitted, lies the great difference between Quezon and Osmena. One was quick and decisive, the other cool and

18/ Manuel L. Quezon, The Good Fight. New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1946, pp. 177-178.

19/ Free Philippines, Manila, July 5, 1946. Quoted in Gregorio F. Zaide, Philippine Political and Cultural History. 2 vols. Manila: Philippine Education Co., 1957, Vol. II, p. 360.

20/ The Philippines, August 1944, p. 27. Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, p. 240.

procrastinating like Hamlet.

Quezon's crowning glory - and this is important for students of Philippine history to remember - lies in the fact that what the Filipino people failed to get by revolution - the country's independence - this son of a poor couple of Baler, this former capista, this man of destiny, won it without firing a single shot. Recto recalls that after the death of the infant Republic headed by Aguinaldo, Quezon and the other young patriots of the time "again plunged into the struggle, this time not with guns, but with the eloquence of the tribune and the pen of the statesman . . . The fight for our independence which Quezon carried on in the United States is one of the brightest pages in the history of all peoples aspiring to be free. He fought with pen and with his eloquence in the halls of Congress, in party conventions, at conference tables, in the press, in popular assemblies . . . One after another he captured the historic citadels which marked the progress of our struggle towards independence." 21

In fine, the independence that the Filipinos are enjoying today is Quezon's most magnificent achievement as well as his greatest contribution to the Motherland. As first president of the Commonwealth, he not only laid the cornerstone of the first all-Filipino government in the 20th century but also accomplished certain fundamental tasks of nation-building. Thus when the Pacific War broke out in late 1941 and engulfed the Philippines, because of our colonial link with the United States, Quezon had already completed laying the firm foundations - economic, political, social and cultural - of the present Republic.

Father of Philippine Democracy

President Ramon Magsaysay calls Quezon the "father of Philippine democracy." 22 This statement, the author believes, requires some explanation. What Magsaysay probably means is that before Quezon became president of the Commonwealth, there had been no real democracy in the Philippines. For, indeed, democracy as we know it was out of the question when the country was still a Spanish colony. Rule of the people, by the people, and for the people - the three fundamentals of democracy - is an impossibility under alien domination. The shortlived Aguinaldo government that was set up after the downfall of the Spanish regime, although republican in form, did not have much time to develop into a fullblown democracy. The Philippine-American War nipped it in the bud. It is true that the American colonizers - latecomers in the bloody game of imperialism - taught the Filipinos the rudiments of democracy

21/ Recto eulogy, loc. cit.

22/ "Ama si Quezon ng Demokrasya Natin, Sabi ni RM," Mabuhay, Agosto 19, 1955.

by allowing them, under the Jones Law, a legislature with certain limitations while the executive branch was headed by an American governor-general. Such was the situation when the Commonwealth government was established on November 15, 1935.

Although controlled by the sovereign power of the United States, the Commonwealth regime gave the Filipinos the largest measure of democracy. Section 1, Article II of the 1935 Constitution provides that "the Philippines is a republican state. Sovereignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them." Thus by his election as first President of the Commonwealth, Quezon had the signal honor of establishing a viable democracy in the Philippines. In this sense he may be considered the "Father of Philippine Democracy."

Suffice it to say, however, that of all Filipino leaders at the inception of the Commonwealth, Quezon was the most qualified to implement the democratic mandate of the Constitution. He had served seven years as resident commissioner to Washington, during which time he distinguished himself in the highly technical and sophisticated art of lawmaking in the Congress of the United States, receiving the unqualified plaudits of his peers. "Quezon," said the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives, "did for his country more than any two men could have done." ²³ "No man," said another solon, "could be more deserving of his people's acclaim than Quezon." ²⁴ The author of the Philippine Bill of 1902, Rep. Allen Cooper of Wisconsin, considered him "without equal as an independence advocate." ²⁵

Quezon had so successfully inured himself to the workings of democracy that he knew its strengths and weaknesses, ²⁶ its advantages and disadvantages, as practised in America. Consequently, when he assumed the presidency of the Commonwealth, he was already convinced that American-style democracy could not be transplanted, root, trunk and branch, into the Philippine soil without certain adjustments or modifications.

First, according to Quezon, a true democracy rests on an enlightened citizenry, ²⁶ which is possible only when the people have reached a certain

²³/ Press statement issued by Speaker Champ Clark, U.S. House of Representatives. In: The Philippine Republic, March-April 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 735.

²⁴/ Tribute from Rep. Moore of Pennsylvania. In: "Quezon's Farewell to Congress that Becomes Congress Farewell to Quezon," by Patrick Gallagher, editor, Far Eastern Bureau, Washington, D.C. Published in the Philippine Review, Vol. I, No. 10, pp. 11-20, October 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 388-402.

²⁵/ Tribute from Rep. Henry Allen Cooper of Wisconsin, Ibid., pp. 388-402.

²⁶/ Speech on the first anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1936. Quezon Papers, Microfilm Reel No. 36, The National Library. Hereinafter to be referred to as QP, MR#36, TNL.

level or stage of intellectual development or politicization. A viable democracy, he states further, needs free speech coupled with clean and honest elections.²⁷ The role of the press is primarily to serve as an instrument in moulding a sound public opinion in order to safeguard democracy.²⁸ Corrupt and inefficient public officials are the worst enemies of democracy because they undermine the people's faith in the government; and when the people lose their confidence in the constituted authorities, then democracy is doomed.²⁹

Based on his own experience Quezon believes that political parties are not indispensable in a democracy.³⁰ A partyless democracy, he insists, is feasible provided that there is complete freedom of information and discussion.³¹ Contrary to orthodox political belief, fiscalization of the administration is possible even without political opposition. This function may be performed by groups of concerned citizens, not necessarily political parties.³² There can be no freedom without self-restraint, he asserts, and self-restraint in the use of power, not the Constitution per se, can safeguard democracy.³³

Father of Philippine Army

The Philippine Army traces its roots back to March 22, 1897 when the revolutionary government under Aguinaldo was set up during the Tejeros Convention in Cavite. It was this ragged people's army that later fought the vastly superior American expeditionary forces before the turn of the century. But when the Philippine-American War ended after the capture of Aguinaldo in Palanan, Isabela, on March 23, 1901 or after the surrender of Malvar on April 16, 1902, this revolutionary army virtually disappeared. Not a single platoon of this army survived to form the nucleus of the Philippine Army that was set up under Commonwealth Act No. 1, otherwise known as the National Defense Law signed by President Quezon on December 21, 1935. Consequently, the Philippine Army under the Commonwealth was entirely different from its predecessor. It came into being solely through the initiative of President Quezon.

What many people seem to forget is the fact that while the United States

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- 27/ Untitled speech, 1938, n.d.m. (P, MR/41, TNL.
 - 28/ Message in the Philippines Herald Commonwealth Inauguration Supplement, November 7, 1935. (P, MR/38, TNL.
 - 29/ Quezon to Speaker Gil Montilla of the First National Assembly, July 23, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, pp. 213-214.
 - 30/ Speech before the U.P. Alumni Association and the U.P. student body, 1938, n.d.m. (no day and month), (P, MR/41, TNL.
 - 31/ Speech before the U.P. Student Council, July 16, 1940. (P, MR/44, TNL.
 - 32/ Speech at the open forum of the U.P. Alumni Association, August 7, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2241-2242.
 - 33/ Address at the U.P. Alumni Forum, Villamor Hall, August 7, 1940. (P, MR/44, TNL.

under the Jones Law, agreed to grant complete independence as soon as a stable government could be established in the Philippines, yet she did not provide the Filipinos any opportunity to build and develop their own army to safeguard that independence. This was the American dilemma. The United States, as a democracy, could not in conscience deny the Filipinos their right to independence; but as a colonizer she could not trust them enough to establish their own defense system which could work not only against any outside aggressor but also against America herself.

Quezon, thanks to his genius, at once saw the solution to this dilemma. Through his own initiative abetted by his charismatic personality and marvelous eloquence, the Philippine Legislature in 1917 passed the Militia Act creating the Philippine National Guard, which Quezon subsequently offered to President Wilson to fight side by side with the American expeditionary forces in Europe during World War I.³⁴ Quezon had the foresight to realize that the 25,000 Filipinos comprising the Philippine National Guard, and to be trained by American officers, could provide the nucleus of the native army that would be established to protect the Philippines after independence. Unfortunately, the Armistice came too soon on November 11, 1918, preventing the Filipino Guardsmen from seeing action at the Western Front. The PNG was demobilized soon after the war. When the Philippine Army was set up after the inauguration of the Commonwealth, it had to depend primarily on the few thousand Philippine Scouts, an integral part of the United States Army, and on the Constabulary which was trained essentially for police work.³⁵

Anchored on the truism that self-preservation is the first law of life for men as well as for nations,³⁶ the Philippine Army was organized as a result of an intensive information campaign carried on by Quezon. He appealed to the patriotism of the Filipino people, to their sense of responsibility and self-respect. "We have to rely on ourselves to defend our national integrity," he said.³⁷ "National defense is the duty of every self-respecting Filipino."³⁸ In the course of his drive to make the Filipinos defense-conscious he made such important utterances as, "A nation ready to defend itself commands

^{34/} Carlos Quirino, Quezon: Paladin of Philippine Freedom, Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, Vol. XVIII, 1971, pp. 121-122; and Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 252-253.

^{35/} Theodore Friend, Between Two Empires; The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969, pp. 164-167.

^{36/} Address on national defense at the University of the Philippines, February 12, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEF, pp. 32-33.

^{37/} Speech before the Philippine Columbian Association, September 25, 1935. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, pp. 1191-1192.

^{38/} Press statement on national defense, 1936, n.d.n. 2P, MR#38, TNL.

the world's respect"; ³⁹ "National defense is a constitutional mandate"; ⁴⁰ "Self-defense is the supreme right of mankind"; ⁴¹ "We must ^{be} ready to kill or die in defense of home and country"; ⁴² "Military training makes better and disciplined citizens"; ⁴³ and, "The Philippines is never going to war except for self-defense." ⁴⁴

A realist, Quezon, of course, never believed that the Philippines could successfully defend herself from invasion by a first-class power. ⁴⁵ Nevertheless he said that the Philippine national defense program, envisioned in Commonwealth Act No. 1, "must serve notice upon the world that the citizens of these Islands are not to be subjugated; that conquest of this nation cannot be accomplished short of its utter destruction; and that destruction would involve such a staggering cost to an aggressor, both in blood and in gold, that even the boldest and the strongest will unerringly mark the folly of such an undertaking." ⁴⁶

"Founding Father"

An American-owned Manila daily newspaper, during one of the traditional Quezon Day rites, describes Quezon as the "founding father." ⁴⁷ Franklin D. Roosevelt, the only American ever elected four times as president of the United States, likens Quezon to Washington. "He (Quezon) will be remembered," says FDR, "with the respect and veneration that we in the United States have for the name of George Washington." ⁴⁸

As "founding father," it fell to Quezon the great task of building the Filipino nation up from the debris of Western colonization. First of all, he had to appeal to all Filipinos for national unity. "Without it," he said, "everything is lost. National unity means our consciousness of oneness as a people with the same history, the same ideals, characteristics, customs,

^{39/} Message to the First National Assembly, November 25, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, pp. 22-23.

^{40/} Speech on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1936. QP, MR#38, TML.

^{41/} Message to the First National Assembly, November 25, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, pp. 19-20.

^{42/} Address before ROTC cadets, University of the Philippines, January 18, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 24.

^{43/} Speech at the luncheon given by the Mayor's Committee, at Waldorf Astoria, New York, February 20, 1937.

^{44/} Message to the First National Assembly, supra.

^{45/} Speech broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting Station, January 26, 1934. QP, MR#36, TML.

^{46/} Message to the First National Assembly, supra.

^{47/} "Quezon: Founding Father," Manila Daily Bulletin, August 19, 1960.

^{48/} Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 247.

aspirations, and readiness to sacrifice for the same goal." ⁴⁹ Now, once unity was attained, he exhorted them to have unity of purpose or policies which must be carried out to their logical conclusion. ⁵⁰ But national policies or program^s cannot be successfully undertaken without national discipline. The underlying spirit of national discipline, he added, is the self-sacrifice of every citizen in the interest of the whole community or nation. ⁵¹ "To be a worthy Filipino," according to Quezon, "a worthy citizen of a worthy country, one must learn his duties before demanding his rights." ⁵² To him, duties come first before rights, such as duty to defend the country from attacks, within and without; duty to pay one's taxes promptly in order to support the government; duty to vote and vote honestly for candidates worthy of their responsibility as public servants; duty to obey the laws, ordinances, etc.

Quezon's optimism about the future of his country stems from the realization that Filipino nationalism is no mere political catchword. "It is real and written in blood," he said. "It was there when the Filipino^s fought Spain; and it was there when they resisted, in a suicidal struggle, the implantation of American sovereignty over their country." ⁵³ Nationalism is a tremendous force for good, he stated further, and, properly guided, nationalism can build for Filipinos a beautiful and enduring nation. ⁵⁴ "We are one nation," he concluded, "we will die as one nation." ⁵⁵

Closely linked with his vision of a beautiful and enduring nation is Quezon's emphasis on preserving the national identity. As early as 1915, he maintained the firm belief that the Filipinos, being a people of Oriental habits and cast of mind, raised in the tropics and subject to their own conditions of life and industry, should be allowed to evolve ^{their} own type of culture and government, following ^{their} own instincts in selecting a path toward the attainment of a higher civilization, instead of being a slavish imitator

^{49/} Press statement on the need for national unity, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

^{50/} Speech before the U.P. Alumni Association, 1938, n.d.m. QP, MR#41, TNL.

^{51/} Speech before the Foreign Policy Association, Hotel Astor, New York City, April 3, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 82.

^{52/} Speech at the Waldorf Astoria, New York City, February 20, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

^{53/} Address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, November 25, 1927. In: The Philippine Republic, Vol. V, No. 2, March 15, 1928. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 804.

^{54/} Annual Report to the Congress of the United States, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

^{55/} Speech at the banquet for Secretaries Elpidio Quirino and Jose Yulo, Malacanan, September 27, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 222-223.

of any other country, however elevated may be its civilization. ⁵⁶

One of Quezon's chief concerns was the building of the Filipino national character. He places great emphasis on character building. A millionaire without ideal, he says, is no better than an animal. ⁵⁷ Character building is more important than mere acquisition of knowledge. ⁵⁸ Similarly, character is decidedly more important than brains. ⁵⁹ For a man without character he explains, knowledge is dangerous. ⁶⁰ He appeals to the Filipino youth to live simply but imbued with a noble ideal. He asks them to eschew all vices, which are harmful and destructive of whatever good is accomplished or achieved, and try to recover the lost virtues of their forefathers. ⁶¹

"My responsibility as head of this nation," he says, "compels me to face and state the facts, however disagreeable they may be to me or to our people. But I have not lost faith that there is within us all the spiritual and moral forces needed for the building of a great nation. Our task - it is a heroic task - is to awaken these forces so that our people should become what of right they should be: morally strong, virile, hard-working, refined, enterprising, persevering, and public-spirited." ⁶²

"Code of Quezon"

It was simply unavoidable that as the first Filipino ever to have the opportunity to lay the foundations of a new nation, Quezon had to provide a general guideline of conduct to be scrupulously observed by each and every member of the national community. Upon his direction and inspiration, a committee of savants, representing diverse fields of specialization, drafted a 16-point Code of Ethics, otherwise known as the "Code of Quezon," reminiscent of Code of Kalantiaw (1433), ⁶³ Bonifacio's Decalogue, ⁶⁴ Mabini's True

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- 56/ Article, "Recent Progress in the Philippines," Journal of Race Development, January 1915. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 331.
- 57/ Speech at the Zamboanga Normal School, Zamboanga City, August 25, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part, I, JBVEFF, p. 167.
- 58/ Ibid.
- 59/ Speech at the inauguration of Bacolod City, Negros Occidental, October 19, 1938. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 1927.
- 60/ Speech at the Cagayan High School, Cagayan, Oriental Misamis, August 27, 1938. Quezon Messages, supra, pp. 185-186.
- 61/ Ibid., p. 193.
- 62/ Speech at the Rizal Memorial Stadium, August 19, 1938. Ibid., p. 154.
- 63/ "Kalantiaw: Ancient Filipino Lawgiver," In: Gregorio F. Zaide, Great Filipinos in History. Manila: Verde Book Store, 1970, pp. 224-230.
- 64/ "Bonifacio: Father of the Revolution." Ibid. pp. 105-110.

Decalogue,⁶⁵ and the Ten Commandments received by Moses.⁶⁶

What is important is that Quezon meant every word contained in the Code. He lived by it. "I do hereby require all schools to teach the following civic and ethical principles, drafted by a group of eminent citizens," said Quezon in Executive Order No. 217.⁶⁷ He had the moral authority to tell others to follow the Code because he was one man, one of a select few perhaps, who practised what he preached. Indeed, in writing about Quezon's life, his biographer does not need to tell a lie. Nor gloss over his weaknesses. Of course, as a human being, Quezon committed mistakes, and he was honest enough to admit that he was building a nation not of heavenly characters but of ordinary mortals possessing certain good qualities. "I am not building a country of saints; no, let the priests do that," he said. "I am trying to teach them (the people) to be men and women with high ideals of public morality, truthfulness, honesty and laboriousness."⁶⁸

In substance, scope, relevance and applicability to the present situation in the Philippines, Quezon's Code can compare favorably with either Bonifacio's or Mabini's Decalogue. After all, the Code came nearly half a century after the two Decalogues, and Philippine civilization had progressed tremendously during that long span of time. Note the following key words or ideas of the Code: 1) Have faith in Divine Providence . . . ; 2) Love your country . . . ; 3) Respect the Constitution . . . ; 4) Pay your taxes . . . ; 5) Safeguard the purity of suffrage . . . ; 6) Love and respect your parents . . . ; 7) Value your honor . . . ; 8) Be truthful and honest . . . ; 9) Lead a clean and frugal life . . . ; 10) Live up to the noble traditions of our people . . . ; 11) Be industrious . . . ; 12) Rely on your own efforts . . . ; 13) Do your work cheerfully . . . ; 14) Contribute to the welfare of the community and promote social justice . . . ; 15) Patronize made-in-the-Philippines products . . . ; and 16) Use and develop our natural resources and conserve them for posterity.

One of Quezon's ambitions was to be remembered with affection by the people after his exit from this world. "For a man," he said, "there can be nothing more sublime than to be remembered, after death,

65/ "Apolinario Mabini: Brains of the Philippine Revolution." Ibid., pp. 282-287.

66/ Louis of Granada, O.P., Summa of the Christian Life. 2 vols. Translated and adopted by Jordan Anuman, O.P. London: B. Herder Book Co., 1955. Vol. II, pp. 57-60. Also The Old Testament (Douay Version), Chapter 20, "The Commandments," Exodus.

67/ Executive Order No. 217, "Prescribing Certain Civic and Ethical Principles to be Taught in all Schools in the Philippines," August 19, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JCVF, pp. 991-992.

68/ Speech at the Cagayan High School, supra.

for the good he has done to all."⁶⁹ Certainly, this Code of Ethics that he left behind is a magnificent legacy to the Filipino people, if not to the whole human race.

Father of Social Justice

Quezon is likewise considered the "Father of Social Justice."⁷⁰ This is understandable, because next to independence and the nation's self-preservation through adequate national defense, Quezon's passion/^{was} for social justice. To him there is an immutable link between his oath to "do justice to every man" and social justice. Thus when he was severely lambasted for his criticism of a court decision in the Cuevo-Barredo case on grounds of executive interference in the functions of the judiciary, a separate and co-equal branch of the government, Quezon had to fall back on the oath which he took upon assumption of the presidency.

"Those words 'do justice to every man,'" he explained, "do not, of course, mean that the President of the Philippines has been vested with any judicial power to adjudicate cases . . . But the words 'do justice to every man' mean that the Chief Executive must always be alert and vigilant so that justice may reign supreme over this land, and this he can accomplish only by a careful and conscientious exercise of his power to appoint members of the judiciary, and by his readiness to take action, in the manner prescribed by law, against judges who may be derelict in the performance of their duties. . ." He added that his oath imposed upon him the duty "not only to do justice in cases where the decision rests with the executive, but also to see that the other branches of the government do not commit acts of injustice to any man."⁷¹

The Cuevo-Barredo case represents a high-water mark in Quezon's struggle for social justice. The President condemned as unjust the court decision denying the claim to compensation filed by the heirs of an employe of the Barredo and Co., who was drowned in the Pasig River while obeying the order of his foreman to jump into the stream to salvage a piece of lumber belonging to the firm. Man's right to live, asserted Quezon, is the duty of every well-organized and functioning society to uphold.⁷² He believed that when he took his oath of office he entered into a covenant with the people to "do justice to every

^{69/} Speech before a delegation of laborers at Malacanang, February 17, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. V, Part I, JBVFF, p. 18.

^{70/} "Cite Quezon as Father of P.I. Social Justice," Philippine Herald, August 19, 1958; and M. M. Galang, "President Quezon, Advocate of Social Justice," Kalayaan, August 16, 1956.

^{71/} Joseph Ralston Hayden, The Philippines: A Study in National Development. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 71-73.

^{72/} Speech, "Underfed Because Underpaid," In: Pedro de la Llanza and F.B. Icasiano, Quezon in His Speeches. Manila: State Publishing Co., c1957.

man,"⁷³ and this he proposed to do by giving every man a decent livelihood,⁷⁴ "I don't want to achieve social justice at gunpoint," he said. However, he appealed to the rich - the capitalists and landlords - to give voluntarily to the community a part of their property, and retain the rest for themselves.⁷⁵ Social justice, in his opinion, would be more beneficent if done spontaneously.⁷⁶

What does Quezon mean by social justice? In the first place, social justice, he stated emphatically, does not mean communism,⁷⁷ precisely because it means justice to each and every social group,⁷⁸ justice for everybody,⁷⁹ justice for laborers, capitalists, rich and poor alike.⁸⁰ For the rich to live in peace, he asserted, they must give workers their due.⁸¹ In other words, everybody gets what he deserves under social justice.⁸²

One recalls, in this connection, the advice of old man Lucio Quezon to his son, Manuel, after the latter was admitted to the University of Sto. Tomas as a working student - a capista to tutor some classmates who were weak in Math - in lieu of tuition, board and lodging. Before returning to Baler, the father gave the young man this prophetic advice: "My son, just be good and just to your fellowmen. No matter how high your station in life may be, never forget that you came from poor parents, and that you belong to the poor. Don't forsake them, whatever happens. God bless you." And that was the last time Quezon would see his father, for the old man and a younger son were waylaid by bandits on their way home not long after this meeting.⁸³

With this fatherly advice still fresh in his mind, Quezon on reaching the apex of his career, set out to "do justice to every man," most especially to the poor. "I love the poor," he confessed, "because

^{73/} Speech on the principles of law and justice, at the U.S.T., October 2, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVTF, pp. 143-144.

^{74/} State of the Nation message, January 24, 1939, Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVTF, p. 245.

^{75/} Speech on the first anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part I, JBVTF, p. 144.

^{76/} Birthday address over station KZRH, Manila, August 19, 1936. Ibid., p. 118.

^{77/} Speech before local officials, at Malacanan, Ibid., Vol. 4, Part I, JBVTF, p. 9.

^{78/} Quezon to Secretary of Interior Elpidio Quirino, February 14, 1938, Ibid., p. 564.

^{79/} Speech in Ormoc, Leyte, June 15, 1938. Ibid., pp. 99-100.

^{80/} Press statement on labor terrorism and social justice, August 27, 1938. Ibid., pp. 693-694.

^{81/} Speech in San Fernando, Pampanga, February 14, 1939. Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVTF, pp. 27-28.

^{82/} Ibid.

^{83/} Carlos Quirino, Quezon: Paladin of Philippine Freedom. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, Vol. XVIII, 1971, p. 14.

they need my help." ⁸⁴

What is the rationale behind the Quezon social justice program? The answer is just one word: survival. The Filipino nation, he said with finality, can only endure if social justice is given to all. ⁸⁵

the
Father of National Language

Perhaps the most enduring of Quezon's achievements is the adoption of the national language based on Tagalog, the "most developed of all existing languages in our country." ⁸⁶ Quezon, it must be noted, carried the bill for the national language from the 1934 Constitutional Convention which saw to it that a provision was included in the 1935 Constitution concerning the "development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages"; ⁸⁷ to the First National Assembly in which Assemblyman Heriberto Romualdez, a linguist from Leyte, sponsored Bill No. 2591 providing for the establishment of the National Language Institute; and finally to Malacañan where the President signed it into law - Commonwealth Act No. 184 - on November 13, 1936. ⁸⁸

The adoption of the national language appears to be part of a grand strategy which only President Quezon - he and he alone - could have engineered and successfully executed. This, it must be stated, is no reflection on the other Filipino leaders of the time, including Sergio Osmena, Manuel A. Roxas, Claro M. Recto, Jose P. Laurel, etc. To my mind, none of them had the stature, political expertise, persuasive ability, and charismatic personality of Quezon to overcome the strong and determined opposition put up by the other language groups in the country.

First, Quezon virtually handpicked Recto, a Tagalog exponent from Tiaong, Tayabas (now Quezon Province), to head the Constitutional Convention. Laurel, a Batangueño, and an authority on constitutional law, intended to run for the presidency of the convention, but an "unseen hand" suddenly placed him in the chair of "temporary chairman" to preside at the initial phase of the convention. From the "magician's hat" the same hand plucked something, and lo! Recto was unanimously elected

^{84/} Speech before municipal mayors and coconut planters at Malacañan, February 19, 1936. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVEP, p. 37.

^{85/} Speech at the inauguration of Iloilo City (date inadvertently omitted). *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVEP, p. 120.

^{86/} "Footnote on Tagalog," *Philippines Free Press*, January 15, 1936. See Alfredo D. Saulo, *Master of His Soul: The Life of Heriberto Romualdez (1875-1941)*. Manila: National Historical Institute, 1975, pp. 244-245.

^{87/} Sec. 3, Article XIV (General Provisions) of the 1935 Constitution reads as follows: "The Congress shall take steps toward the development and adoption of a common national language based on one of the existing native languages. Until otherwise provided by law, English and Spanish shall continue as official languages."

^{88/} Saulo, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

president of the convention.⁸⁹ Quezon, the supreme arbiter, made short shrift of what otherwise might have been a tumultuous, conflict-ridden part of the convention.

Recto and Romualdez, the only philologist in the special Committee of Seven (Seven Wise Men), played the decisive role in the adoption of the constitutional provision on the national language "based on one of the existing native languages" instead of the original provision "based on the existing native languages." Romualdez, who was very close to Quezon, realized only too well that "scientifically and historically, national languages are formed by choosing the most culturally developed and strategically located language or dialect in the country, and then developing this into a common national language through active government support."⁹⁰ As chairman of the all-powerful Committee on Style, Recto was responsible for the modification of the phrase "based on the existing native languages" to "based on one of the existing native languages."⁹¹ Romualdez continued the work on the national language in the First National Assembly, culminating in the approval of Commonwealth Act No. 184.

On January 12, 1937, Quezon appointed the first officers of the National Language Institute headed by Jaime de Veyra, a Romualdez com-provinciano; and on November 9th the Institute recommended the choice of Tagalog as the basis of the national language. Accordingly, the President on December 30th (Rizal Day) issued Executive Order No. 134, proclaiming the national language of the Philippines based on the Tagalog language.⁹² Finally, on April 13, 1959 Secretary of Education Jose B. Romero signed Department Order No. 7 officially calling the national language "Filipino."⁹³

"I never realized how terrible the lack of a common national language is until I became President," Quezon recalled in one of his speeches. "I am President of the Philippines; I am the personal representative of the Filipino people. But when I travel through the provinces and talk to my people, I need an interpreter. Do you ever hear of anything more humiliating and horrible than that?"⁹⁴ Then on another occasion, he told a group of municipal mayors and coconut planters, "As President of our own country I cannot find any language which every

^{89/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 263.

^{90/} Saulo, op. cit., pp. 220-221.

^{91/} Ibid., p. 220.

^{92/} "Tagalog Proclamado," El Debate, Diciembre 31, 1931.

^{93/} Saulo, supra, p. 250.

^{94/} Speech at the San Juan de Letran alumni banquet, November 7, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVTF, p. 167.

one of you can understand. Is that not ridiculous, humiliating?" ⁹⁵

Aside from his personal experience, Quezon realized that national language promotes national consciousness, ⁹⁶ and strengthens national solidarity. ⁹⁷ He believed that a national language can weld the Philippines into one strong nation, and promote rapid national progress. ⁹⁸ But as a nationalist, he realized that the national soul can't exist without a national language. ⁹⁹ Quezon insisted that he was not a partisan for any one native language. "Tagalog is the official language in my family," he explained. "But I am ready to learn Ilocano, Visayan or any other vernacular tongue as long as we shall ^{have a} language that can be spoken by all." ¹⁰⁰

Without President Quezon, it's inconceivable how the national language "Filipino" could have been born in the 30's.

Father of Economic Planning

It is interesting to note that in Quezon's hierarchy of values and scale of priorities, national economic development comes next after national defense. On December 23, 1935, two days after the approval of Commonwealth Act No. 1 (National Defense Law), the President signed Commonwealth Act No. 2 creating the National Economic Council. The creation of the NEC committed the Commonwealth government to a definite economic policy, which is still being followed today by the Republic.

"We don't believe in the economic philosophy of laissez faire," he said in the first meeting of the NEC. "We favor government leadership in production activities. We believe in planning the national economy. The world has learned at a cost of untold economic waste and human suffering, after submitting to a very severe test the very foundations of the social order our civilization has created and erected, that governments cannot allow unlimited free rein to private enterprise without jeopardizing the public welfare in the interest of human greed." ¹⁰¹

Quezon's fight with Governor General Wood in the Board of Control

^{95/} Speech before municipal mayors and coconut planters at Malacañang, February 19, 1938. Ibid., Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 35; and QP, MR#41, THL.

^{96/} Press statement on the creation of the National Language Board, January 13, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 312.

^{97/} Message to the First National Assembly, October 27, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 355-356.

^{98/} Speech broadcast from Malacañan on Rizal Day, December 30, 1937. Ibid., p. 182.

^{99/} San Juan de Letran speech, supra.

^{100/} Ibid.

^{101/} Speech at the opening of the National Economic Council, March 30, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 75.

case in the early 20's gave an early indication of his thinking on active government direction of the national economy. Aside from the struggle for increasing Filipino autonomy, which Wood tried to revert to pre-Harrison status, Quezon and Osmena favored putting up government corporations like the Philippine National Bank, Manila Railroad Company, National Development Company, National Coal Company, and the National Cement Company not only to accelerate economic development but, more important, to curb the increase of alien investments in agriculture and industry which Filipinos feared might delay the final severance of political ties with the United States.¹⁰² The fight against the giant American corporations could not safely be left to private business. In other words, the government must not only actively participate but lead in the country's economic development to safeguard public welfare. This was an important initial step in the evolution of Quezon's socio-economic philosophy which found its culmination in his social justice program.¹⁰³ It clearly antedated Roosevelt's "New Deal" and the rise in northwestern Europe of the so-called "mixed" economies, half free enterprise and half socialist.¹⁰⁴

Father of Good Government

Quezon set a precedent that his successors have found difficult, if not impossible, to follow: good government. First, he placed all government offices, subdivisions, agencies and instrumentalities under the Civil Service.¹⁰⁵ He required the strictest implementation of section 1, Article II of the 1935 Constitution providing that appointments in the Civil Service, except in positions which are policy-determining, primarily confidential, or highly technical, shall be made strictly according to merit and fitness, to be determined by means of Civil Service examinations.¹⁰⁶ Then he provided a general guideline on the application of seniority rules to prevent nepotism or favoritism such as giving preferential attention to relatives, friends and

^{102/} Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Hilagros C. Guerrero, History of the Filipino People. Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1970, p. 352; and Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 252.

^{103/} Speech at the 29th commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVEF, p. 66.

^{104/} Ruth S. Cavian and William A. Hann, United States History. D.C. Heath and Company, Philippine Copyright, 1966, p. 629.

^{105/} Executive Order No. 8, "Enforcing the Provisions of the Constitution on the Civil Service," January 2, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEF, p. 607.

^{106/} Message to the First National Assembly, December 16, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVEF, p. 53.

comprovincianos. 107

He also promulgated rules in filling up positions and promotions. 108 While admitting that "there is no perfect government on earth as long as men are men and not angels," 109 he said that it's not really difficult to have a good and honest government, provided that "every official of the government, from the President of the Philippines down to the last town policeman," subscribes sincerely to the principle that public office is a public trust, and not for personal aggrandizement. 110

Empowered by law to effect urgent reforms and changes in the different executive departments, bureaus and offices of the government, Quezon created the Government Survey Board to facilitate the achievement of his administration's primary objective: an economical, efficient and simplified government. 111 He firmly believed that the government could be made as efficient as private firms, adding that he could not see why an individual who is capable of doing a good job for a private corporation could not do ^{the} same for the government. 112 Always with an eye to the future, Quezon told the members of the First National Assembly: "We shall build a government that will be just, honest, efficient and strong so that the foundations of the coming Republic may be firm and enduring - a government, indeed, that must satisfy not only the passing needs of the hour but also the exacting demands of the future." 113

To set an example worthy of emulation by his successors, Quezon asked the National Assembly to eliminate Section 683 of the Administrative Code permitting the Chief Executive to make appointments to positions in the classified service without regard to the examination requirements of the law. He said that the existence of this provision presented "a continuous threat to the inviolability of the Civil Service rules." 114

The record shows that he did not spare anybody in his drive

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- 107/ Memorandum for the Secretary of Finance on the appointment of Capt. Villavicencio as Manila pilot, September 6, 1937. Ibid. Vol. 3, Part I, JCVFF, pp. 355-356.
 - 108/ Administrative Order No. 40, "Filling of Positions and Promotions in the Civil Service," August 24, 1937. Ibid., p. 1165.
 - 109/ Speech, "Plea for Philippine Independence," November 25, 1927. QP, MR#29, TNL.
 - 110/ Speech on public service in Ilagan, Isabela, February 28, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JCVFF, p. 55.
 - 111/ Message to the First National Assembly on government reorganization, December 12, 1935. Ibid., Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JCVFF, pp. 45-47.
 - 112/ Press conference at Malacañang, January 31, 1936. QP, MR#36, TNL.
 - 113/ Inaugural Address, November 15, 1935. Ibid., p. 13.
 - 114/ Message to the First National Assembly, December 16, 1935, supra.

against graft and corruption and any other form of public malfeasance.¹¹⁵ He asked the people to "file charges against erring officials, and I will take care of them."¹¹⁶ His pledge was as good as^a bond. He warned public officials who were lazy and incompetent to "get out of the government," adding that "the sooner they do so, the sooner will they be, for once, rendering a great and patriotic service to the nation."¹¹⁷ Quezon's overriding ambition was to establish a government that would really do justice to the Filipino people.¹¹⁸

Father of Educational Reforms

Less than one month after the establishment of the National Economic Council, Quezon signed Executive Order No. 19 creating the National Council of Education to "advise the government on educational policies and necessary reforms in the existing system of education."¹¹⁹ Since the political future of the Philippines had been definitely settled under the Tydings-McDuffie Law, the President felt the need for reorienting the educational system to the status and needs of an independent nation. For chairman of the council he chose the nationalist educator, Dr. Rafael Palma, former president of the University of the Philippines.¹²⁰

Consequently, four great changes in public education were introduced by the government. The first was the Filipinization of educational outlook, objectives, and teaching materials. Emphasis was placed on the study of Filipino heroes, the use of textbooks and supplementary readers written by Filipino authors, and the inclusion of more subjects and materials about the Philippines.

Secondly, the curriculum was revised, making it more vocational than academic. Ten national regional agricultural schools were established, weaning away the youth from "white-collar jobs" which contributed little, if any, to the economic development of the country. Thirdly, stress was laid on character education in order to provide the moral underpinnings of the new educational system. A separate subject on character education was prescribed for every grade in the elementary school, using as general guideline the Quezon-inspired Code of Ethics. Finally, primary instruction in the public schools was made free and compulsory,

115/ Vide Administrative Orders in Part II (Quezon Reader).

116/ Speech in San Fernando, Pampanga, February 14, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVEF, p. 23.

117/ Speech in Ilagan, Isabela, supra.

118/ Speech on the fourth anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVEF, p. 23.

119/ Executive Order No. 19 was signed on February 19, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEF, pp. 628-629.

120/ Zaida, op. cit., Vol. IX, p. 322 ff.

in accordance with the constitutional mandate, but more particularly because, as Palma informed Quezon, illiteracy presents a real menace to the nation's stability.¹²¹

The rationale of the Commonwealth policy on compulsory primary education was stated clearly by Quezon. In his own picturesque way, he said that "if the Philippines is going to be enslaved, it is better for the Filipinos not to be educated, for a man who is not educated can stand that better than a man who has got education."¹²² However, he said primary education is not enough for citizenship training. It would be wise to encourage children to complete the elementary education.¹²³ In line with this orientation, the President on August 7,

1940 signed Commonwealth Act No. 586, otherwise known as the Educational Act of 1940, reducing the elementary course from seven to six years, adopting the double-single session plan, raising the entrance age to between seven and nine years, and fixing the school year from July to April, instead of from June to March.¹²⁴

What Quezon wanted above all was for the students to be able to form their own views, and thus exercise the duties of citizenship. He wanted them to see things or questions relating to community or national affairs in their own light, "not from what they have heard Quezon or Aguinaldo or anybody else say on the subject."¹²⁵ In his first collision with Osmeña, Quezon advocated a government of opinion or consensus, giving everybody complete freedom of expression, which is the essence of true democracy, instead of the people merely following what their leader has said or decided.¹²⁶ Of course, Quezon had no illusion about education. He said "education does not always mean wisdom. . . A person who is just half-baked in his instruction is more dangerous than a man who has no instruction at all and who accepts his ordinary reaction as guide."¹²⁷

Quezon disclosed an important educational policy when he said that the state is not obligated to give higher education, its

^{121/} Palma to Quezon, reporting on educational measures requiring legislation, August 24, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVF, p. 298.

^{122/} Speech before the Foreign Policy Association, Hotel Astor, New York City, April 3, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part I, JBVF, p. 80.

^{123/} Message to the First National Assembly, March 25, 1938. Ibid., Vol. 4, Part I, JBVF, pp. 314-315.

^{124/} Laide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 324.

^{125/} Press conference at Malacañang, October 27, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

^{126/} Vicente Albano Pacis, Sergio Osmeña. 2 vols. Quezon City: Phoenix Press, Inc., 1971. Vol. I, p. 281, quoting the Manila Daily Bulletin, December 17, 1921. Microfilm, Newspaper Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

^{127/} Press conference at Malacañang, October 27, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

principal duty being to provide elementary instruction to the youth of the land. ¹²⁸ If the state, he explained, must support and maintain a university, such as the University of the Philippines, it must have a definite aim, which is to set the highest standard of university education. The state university, he said, "can justify its existence by actually rendering a service to the country that private universities cannot render at present. . . I would rather see only a few graduates every year from the University of the Philippines but who have left the University with character and knowledge that will fit them, by dint of their own efforts, to become leaders of their respective callings." ¹²⁹

Quezon Against Dictatorship

Quezon was definitely a strong leader if ever there was one under the aegis of democracy. He ran four times for senator (1916, 1922, 1928 and 1934), and he won each election overwhelmingly. There is no doubt about that. In the first election under the Jones Law on October 3, 1916, he was elected senator without lifting a finger, so to speak, despite the fact that he arrived from the United States less than one week before ^{the} election. He did not even file his own candidacy because his party did it for him, thanks to Speaker Sergio Osmena. ¹³⁰ Then in the next two elections in 1922 and 1928, he was elected senator in absentia because he was abroad heading the Philippine independence missions. In his last senatorial fight on June 5, 1934, he had again returned from the United States just one month and five days before the election. As in the previous elections, he did not campaign at all. There was no need for it, because he came back with the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the second independence law he secured from the United States in 18 years, which Recto describes as the "political miracle of the decade." ¹³¹

From 1916 up to his death in 1944, a period of 28 years, Quezon clearly dominated the political scene. But what is marvelous, if not unbelievable, about it is that he remained riding on the crest of victory and power, not by sufferance but by sheer love and respect, almost approaching veneration, of the Filipino people. Quezon knew the

^{128/} Speech before the U. P. Board of Regents at Malacanan, November 11, 1937. Ibid.

^{129/} Message to the First National Assembly on changes in appropriations for the University of the Philippines, November 17, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JLV:TF, p. 249.

^{130/} Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 79; Isabelo P. Caballero and M. de Gracia Concepcion, Quezon: The Story of a Nation and Its Foremost Statesman. Manila: International Publishers, 1935, pp. 150-151; and Quezon, op. cit., p. 131.

^{131/} Claro M. Recto, "The Political Philosophy of Manuel L. Quezon." Speech delivered at the Philippine Columbian Club, August 19, 1953. Vide, Quirino, op. cit., "Appendix," pp. 391-403.

people's great affection for him, and he ^{was} grateful for it. "My countrymen," he told a huge crowd during one of his periodic provincial tours, "there is no man living in the Philippines who has received so many favors from his countrymen as I have. There are few men in the whole world who have received the loyalty of their people for such a long time as I have, and there is nothing that I can do to pay it back except to serve you unselfishly, devotedly with all my mind and heart, and that is what I want to do." (Applause.) ¹³²

In this self-appraisal Quezon is seconded by Osmena. "No man," the latter said, "has received more tokens of a people's love and confidence than has Quezon at the hands of the Filipino people." ¹³³

"In triumph," said Roxas, "he (Quezon) was elevated to the supreme leadership of his party and of his people [in the June 6, 1922 general elections - ABS], a leadership he never lost in the 22 remaining years of his life. Seldom if ever has one man attained such power and influence among his people and held it unchecked for so long. Yet it was not power held through force or intimidation; he had no Gestapo to uphold his rule. It was a leadership exercised by the prestige of his person, by the stature of his accomplishments, by the dominating proportions of his talents, and by the unswerving loyalty of his followers. Few men in all history, unclothed in the purple of royalty, have equalled Manuel Quezon's tenure as a people's leader. It has no counterpart anywhere in the world in our time." ¹³⁴

It is not amiss to state that Quezon in his time was called many names by his critics. "What the Sakdalistas said about me is awful," he admitted, "but nobody went to jail for that. I am not perfect; I know that." ¹³⁵ The political opposition then attacked him for using the yacht Casiana. And Quezon countered: "Do they (his critics) want the President of the Philippines to ride a casco?" He was also lambasted for remodelling Malacañan Palace. "Shall I build me a hut?" he asked. "I am used to living in a hut, and I can live in one." ¹³⁶ If Quezon was a "dictator," as his opponents alleged, he was certainly an uncommon, extraordinary dictator, because he was not afraid to go out incognito, riding in a Ford car, and unescorted. He was not afraid of any harm that might be attempted on his person. For why should he be afraid of his own people? "I am not afraid to be alone," he said.

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^{132/} Speech in Ormoc, Leyte, June 13, 1936. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, pp. 1793-1794.

^{133/} Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 248.

^{134/} Roxas eulogy, loc. cit.

^{135/} Remarks at conference with a delegation of the Young Philippines, at Malacañang, September 29, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVT, p. 136.

^{136/} The Tribune, October 8, 1937. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1591.

"I was born alone, and I grew up alone," 137

Owing to the vast powers enjoyed by the President of the Philippines under the 1935 Constitution, making him more powerful than the President of the United States, 138 Quezon was also described as a "legalized dictator." He pointed out that the term is contradictory because "a man cannot be a dictator under the Constitution if he exercises powers that are given him by the Constitution." 139 In addition, he said, the Philippines could not be anything but a democracy under the 1935 Constitution -- "a republican state . . . (where) sovereignty resides in the people and all government authority emanates from them." 140

To put a halt to all allegations of dictatorship, Quezon, speaking before the student body of the University of the Philippines, said with finality:

"I stand before you as the opponent of dictatorship in whatever form it is presented, including the dictatorship of the proletariat. I firmly believe in democracy, in the soundness of its principles, and in its capacity to ultimately save humanity from misery and want, and as the only system of government capable of doing justice to every man, woman, and child . . . When properly conducted, it (democracy) is the natural and only system of government that should be acceptable among civilized men." 141

Rizal and/or Quezon

Nearly two decades separate Quezon from Rizal. At the time of Rizal's execution on Bagumbayan field (now Rizal Park), Quezon was vacationing in Aliaga, Nueva Ecija, a strapping youth of 18, unmindful of the tragic event in Manila that would trigger the downfall of the Spanish regime in the Philippines. 142 It was perhaps several years later that he would realize the profound significance of Rizal's martyrdom.

137/ In: "Raps Petty Attacks Against President." Ibid.

138/ Speech on the principles of law and justice at the U.S.T., October 2, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, pp. 142-143.

139/ Speech at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, February 20, 1937. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1464.

140/ Vide Section 1, Article II (Declaration of Principles).

141/ Speech on the essence of democracy at the University of the Philippines, July 16, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2229.

142/ The poet laureate Cecilio Apostol (1877-1930), in his poetic tribute entitled A Rizal (To Rizal), says in part: Rest in peace in the shadows of oblivion. / Redeemer of a country in bondage! / In mystery of the grave, do not cry. / Heed not the momentary triumph of the Spaniard / Because if a bullet destroyed your cranium, / Likewise your idea destroyed an empire!

Quezon, of course, considered Rizal a great patriot - "one of the noblest characters that the human race produced." ¹⁴³ In three brief paragraphs he condensed Rizal's life as follows:

"Rizal died when he was only thirty-five years old. For most men, this is the time when nature life begins. But, at this age, Jose Rizal had accomplished what few people in the history of civilization have accomplished who have lived out their full span of life.

"He became a distinguished physician, a scientist, a poet, a writer, a philosopher. He wrote two novels, which swept through the Philippines with their words that rang out his passion for liberty. He read, and wrote, and spoke many languages - not only Spanish and the languages of the Philippines, not only English and most of the European languages, but also Chinese and Japanese, and even Latin and Greek, Hebrew and Sanskrit.

"But the life of our national hero was composed of more than scholarship and art. Rizal was, first of all, a patriot. From childhood, his thoughts, his deeds, had but one purpose - the freedom of his people. And he died, a martyr to his cause." ¹⁴⁴

By reason of his achievements in many fields, Rizal was, indeed, a great man - one, in the words of Dr. Ferdinand Blumentritt, "who appears but once in every two centuries." Quezon, by the same standards, stood out as another great man - one who would be considered great "in any country, in any clime, and at any time" in the history of mankind. ¹⁴⁵

But time, place, and circumstance prevented Rizal from realizing his dream for his country: "to see thy lov'd face, O gem of the Orient sea. / From gloom and grief, from care and sorrow free; / No blush on thy brow, no tear in thine eye." ¹⁴⁶

To be specific about it, Rizal wanted 1) to see his country free and independent; ¹⁴⁷ 2) to give the Tagalogs, Visayans, Ilocanos, Bicolanos, and other ethnic groups a sense of national consciousness, calling themselves "Filipinos," not the opprobrious term "Indios"; ¹⁴⁸ 3) to preserve the Filipinos' Asian or Malayan heritage, including their customs, racial

^{143/} Speech, "Jose Rizal and the Sun of Liberty," broadcast from Washington, D.C., on December 30, 1942. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 241C.

^{144/} Ibid.

^{145/} Gabriel F. Fabella, "Manuel L. Quezon: An Appraisal," Historical Bulletin, loc. cit.

^{146/} Culled from the fourth stanza of Rizal's Last Farewell.

^{147/} The idea of a free and independent Philippines pervades all Rizal's writings.

^{148/} Rizal's prize-winning poem A la Juventud Filipina (To the Filipino Youth) is the first reference to his people as "Filipinos," not "Indios." Also see The Rizal-Blumentritt Correspondence (Manila, 1963), Vol. II, Part I, p. 73.

traits, and tradition, instead of being Hispanized or Europeanized; 149 4) to adopt and promote their native language, denouncing those who do not love their own tongue as "worse than putrid fish and a beast"; 150 5) to preserve the Filipinos' sense of self-respect or dignity as human beings created by God in His own image; 151 6) to prove to the world that the Filipinos are the equal of any other race on earth, exploding the Nordic concept of racial superiority; 152 7) to uphold the inviolability of human rights such as the right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness," and freedom of speech, press, and belief, etc.; 153 8) to enable the Filipino women to enjoy equal rights as the men; 154 9) to promote the education of the masses, this being the foundation of every civilized society and the best instrument for the redemption of the Filipinos from bondage; 155 10) to uphold the concept of popular sovereignty, such as a well-organized republic established on strict equality and justice; 156 11) to transform the country into a community of alert citizenry, patriotic, law-abiding, co-operative, and courageous; 157 and 12) to see in the Philippines the triumph of the idea of human brotherhood. 158

What Rizal dreamt from childhood to his martyrdom at the age of 35, Quezon, remarkably enough, achieved during the 41 years that he spent in the service of his country. One was the dreamer, the other the achiever. Fortunately, dreamer and achiever, though many years apart, combined to give the Philippines the republic that Filipinos cherish today.

Quezon's achievements almost tallied, step by step, the Rizal blueprint. The independence that was proclaimed on July 4, 1946, is his chief handiwork. It was the result of the covenant - the Tydings-McDuffie Act -

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- 149/ This is clearly indicated in the conversation between Simoun and Basilio in Rizal's El Filibusterismo, op. cit., p. 50.
- 150/ Vide Rizal's poem, Sa Aking mga Kababata (To My Childhood Friends), written when he was barely eight years old.
- 151/ Rizal to Fr. Pablo Pastells, S.J. Dapitan, April 4, 1893. Epistolario Rizalino (Manila, 1963), Vol. IV, p. 119.
- 152/ Gregorio F. Zaide, Rizal: Asia's First Apostle of Nationalism. Manila: FND Enterprises, n.d., pp. 299-300.
- 153/ Austin Craig, ed., Rizal's Political Writings (Manila, 1933), p. 147. Quoted in Zaide, supra, pp. 301-302.
- 154/ Rizal's "Message to the Women of Malolos." In: Political and Historical Writings by Jose Rizal. Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1961, pp. 12-13.
- 155/ Rizal's poem, "Education Gives Luster to the Motherland." In: Rizal's Poems. Manila: Jose Rizal National Centennial Commission, 1962, p. 12.
- 156/ Epistolario Rizalino, Vol. II, p. 199. Quoted in Zaide, supra, p. 305.
- 157/ Vide "Rizal's Socio-Political Concepts," Rizal Centennial Lectures. (Manila, 1961, University of the East Publication), p. 33. Ibid., p. 307.
- 158/ Rizal's El Filibusterismo, op. cit., pp. 52-53.

he secured from the United States despite the taunts and ill-wishes of his critics. Had he lived a few months longer, Philippine independence might have been obtained earlier. And again by an irony of fate, Manuel A. Roxas, the man who had "publicly promised to go on bended knees to the pier and kiss Quezon's feet" if the latter succeeded in getting a better law than the Harco-Hawes-Cutting Act,¹⁵⁹ happened to be the President when the Philippines became independent. He was therefore the first beneficiary of Philippine independence, thanks to Quezon.¹⁶⁰

It was this independence which Quezon secured that gave legal personality to the Filipino nation. The Philippines during the Commonwealth was not a sovereign state, hence it was not yet a "nation" in the true sense of the word. Nevertheless, as first President of the Commonwealth, Quezon

had the rare opportunity of laying the foundations of a strong and enduring Filipino nation. First, he instilled in the minds of his countrymen ^{the idea} that there is only one people and one race in the Philippines. The Christians and non-Christians, he said, all belong to the Malay race.¹⁶¹ Second, the Filipinos, after centuries of Western colonization, have retained certain customs and traits which he described as truly "magnificent." For instance, he cited the Filipino family life. "It makes no difference to me," he added, whether they came from Spain or from ancient Malaya. Our family life must be preserved."¹⁶² He was vehemently opposed to any form of sectionalism. "It is important," he said, "that we should feel and think ^{as} Filipinos - nothing more, nothing less. There are no separatists here."¹⁶³

In another speech before the youth, Quezon said, "we need to make our people, especially our youth, conscious of their oneness, jealous of their nationality, lovers of the country, proud of their race and their democracy. . . ."¹⁶⁴ He also exhorted his countrymen to "revive the moral strength and power for growth of our ancestors. They are a strong-willed, earnest, adventurous people. They had traditions potent in their lives. . . . We need the anchorage of these traditions to guide and sustain us in the proper discharge of our political and social obligations."¹⁶⁵

^{159/} Recto on Quezon's Political Philosophy, Appendix in Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 393. .

^{160/} President Roxas raised the Filipino flag to the accompaniment of the Philippine National Anthem, at the independence ceremonies on July 4, 1946, at the Luneta. *Vide* Laide, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 366-367.

^{161/} Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1912, n.d.m. QP, MR-22, TNL.

^{162/} Speech at the San Juan de Letran alumni banquet, *loc. cit.*

^{163/} Speech at a banquet for Secretaries Quirino and Yulo at Malacañang, September 27, 1938. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVEF, p. 221.

^{165/} Speech on the Filipino regeneration, at the Rizal Memorial Stadium, August 19, 1938. *Quezon Messages*, *supra*, p. 151.

^{164/} Speech before the ROTC units, 1936, n.d.m. QP, MR-38, TNL.

The native language which Rizal asked his people to love and cherish was adopted as the basis of the national language during the Quezon administration. In a nationwide broadcast after signing Executive Order No. 134 proclaiming the national language of the Philippines based on Tagalog, Quezon said "we have accomplished one of the cherished dreams of Rizal." ¹⁶⁶ Quezon, like Rizal, believed that an alien language like English could never be the national language of the Filipinos. ¹⁶⁷ Similarly, Rizal said "Spanish will never be the general language of the country, the people will never talk it, because the conceptions of their brains and the feelings of their hearts cannot be expressed in that language - each people has its own tongue, and it has its own way of thinking." ¹⁶⁸

Quezon, in his person, not only proved that the Filipinos are the equal of any other race on earth but that he himself "is one of the proudest products of the Filipino race." ¹⁶⁹ Once again the Nordic concept of racial superiority is refuted beyond cavil. Describing Quezon as "an outstanding example of human greatness," Recto said that "no one took greater pride in being called and known as a Filipino in cosmopolitan circles incurably afflicted with the prejudice of their so-called racial superiority. And he (Quezon) taught us to emulate that sacred pride, which is not the arrogance of the frog in the fable, but the elimination of servility and flattery in our conduct, and the serene dignity which comes of the conviction that there are no superior or inferior races, but only degrees of culture and periods of civilization." ¹⁷⁰

Freedom of speech, press, and belief was one of the brightest spots of the Quezon administration. He welcomed all types of criticism, particularly the "constructive" ones which, he said, "are always helpful, whether they have intrinsic merit or not." However, he warned that "foolish or unjust attacks upon public officials or policies carry the germ of their own destruction." ¹⁷¹ Quezon took special pride in the fact that he never sent a single critic to jail. He sincerely believed that "the greatest good for the man in public service is criticism." ¹⁷²

^{166/} Speech on the national language, December 30, 1937 (Rizal Day).
 OP, MR 40, TNL.

^{167/} Speech before municipal mayors and coconut planters at Malacanan, February 19, 1938. *Quezon Messages*, supra, p. 35.

^{168/} Rizal's *El Filibusterismo*, op. cit., p. 50.

^{169/} Roxas eulogy, loc. cit.

^{170/} Recto eulogy, loc. cit.

^{171/} Quezon to Undersecretary of Public Instruction Gabriel Manalac, April 8, 1938. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVEP, pp. 569-570.

^{172/} Press conference at Malacañang, October 6, 1937. OP, MR 40, TNL.

In his famous "Letter to the Women of Malolos," Rizal advocated the granting of human rights to women. In fact, one of Quezon's most enduring achievements was the grant of suffrage to Filipino women. The record shows that he was in favor of woman suffrage as early as 1914. "If the power of legislation solely resided in me," he told an American suffragette, "I would not hesitate to give them (the Filipino women) the right of suffrage."¹⁷³ However, the opportunity came 23 years later when, as President of the Philippines, he signed Commonwealth Act No. 134 setting April 30, 1937 as the date of the plebiscite on woman suffrage. The result of the plebiscite—447,725 women voted in favor, and only 44,307 voted against woman suffrage. For the first time in history, Filipino women exercised their right of suffrage in the local elections of December 14, 1937.¹⁷⁴ Another of Rizal's cherished dreams was achieved by Quezon.

Human Greatness

How does one measure human greatness? By concrete achievements? Or by the totality of the person and his presence on earth? By the Christian creed, it is claimed that a man's life on earth is but a pilgrimage from the cradle to the grave. Man's life is "borrowed" from God; from God we come to God we return. How we spend this pilgrimage, nay, every hour and every minute of it, will provide the basis for judging our achievements on earth. In other words, we shall be judged by the quality, the breadth and depth, the scope and effects, of our performance as pilgrims, ad maiorem Dei gloriam (for the greater glory of God).¹⁷⁵

By the traditional standards of measurement, President Quezon "did much more for our country than any other man, living or dead."¹⁷⁶ In terms of concrete achievements, which have affected and will yet affect the lives of Filipinos for hundreds of years to come, Quezon has, doubtless, accomplished far more than did Rizal, who was proclaimed our "national hero" in 1901, thanks to American initiative in foisting the Rizal cult upon an uncritical and war-weary generation.¹⁷⁷

For how come that Rizal was made the national hero when he "never advocated independence nor did he advocate armed resistance to the (Spanish)

^{173/} Quezon to Mrs. Richard Coke Burleson of . 45th Street, New York City, July 15, 1914. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 195.

^{174/} Gaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 321.

^{175/} Vide Alfredo E. Gaide, Easter of His Soul: The Life of Norberto Romualdez (1875-1911). Manila: National Historical Institute, 1975, pp. 361-370.

^{176/} Sermon delivered by Fr. Pacifico Ortiz, S.J. at the Quezon necrological rites at the U.S.F. chapel, August 1, 1946. Vide Gwokoh, op. cit., pp. 261-262.

^{177/} Renato Constantino, "Veneration Without Understanding," The Third Annual Rizal Lectures. Manila: National Historical Commission, 1970, pp. 1-22.

government?" 178 Without the revolution engineered by Bonifacio, Rizal would have spent an uneventful life as a distinguished scholar and physician and died an ordinary death. Without Aguinaldo, who brought victory to the Revolution and consequently proclaimed Philippine independence in Kawit, Cavite, the oppressive Spanish colonial regime would have continued, perhaps blithely for years and years, and there would have been no occasion at all for Rizal to be proclaimed national hero.

Finally, without Quezon who, replacing the "uniform of soldier with the mantle of statecraft," 179 secured the Tydings-McDuffie Law fixing the date of Philippine independence on July 4, 1946, how could Rizal's dream of a "beloved Filipinas . . . free from care and sorrow" have been achieved?

Because of human limitations, let's leave the question of "who's greater than who" to History, the supreme arbiter. Let History make the final judgment, just as History has judged the "solitary life" of the Carpenter turned itinerant Preacher at the age of 30, who was nailed to the cross, and buried in a borrowed grave. And yet, says an anonymous author, "nineteen centuries have come and gone, and today He is the central figure of the human race and the leader of mankind's progress. All the armies that ever marched, all the navies that ever sailed, all the parliaments that ever sat, all the kings that ever reigned, put together, have not affected the life of man on this earth as much more as that one solitary life."

178/ William Cameron Forbes, The Philippine Islands, quoted by Constantino, supra, p. 5.

179/ Douglas MacArthur, "Father of This Infant Republic." Eulogy on Quezon at the Congress rites, supra.

March 23, 1978.
Kawit, Cavite

PART I

B. QUEZON CHRONOLOGY
(Annotated)

b. Aug. 19, 1878

d. Aug. 1, 1944

I. A STAR IS BORN

1878 Aug. 19 Birth of Son of God. Manuel Luis Quezon is born at 7 a.m., in a spacious nipa house with wooden posts and bamboo split floor, in Baler, sub-province of Aurora, Tayabas (now Quezon province), to a couple of headhunts, Lucio Quezon and Maria Dolores Molina. It is feast day of the town's patron saint San Luis (St. Louis, bishop of Toulouse), hence the middle name "Luis" given by the pious mother to her newly born son.¹ The infant is christened Manuel Luis, the first name meaning that he is a son of God.²

Parents. Lucio is a retired Spanish army sergeant from Peñafrancia, district of Paco, Manila, who immigrated to Baler, the cabecera of the Distrito del Principe, some eight years before his son's birth. Eventually he became the teacher for boys in the local comandancia, Maria Dolores, a Spanish mestiza, is teacher for girls in the same school. Co-education at this time is still non-existent. A young and charming widow, Maria's marriage to Lucio is her second; she has a son named Teodorico Molina by the first wedlock.³ Other sources, however, say that she has also a daughter,⁴ and another son named Pedro.⁵

No. 1 in Baler. Although Quezon, in his book-length autobiography⁶ and public speeches, constantly refers to his

- 1/ Manuel L. Quezon, The Good Fight, New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., Inc., 1946, pp. 1-7. This is Quezon's book-length autobiography.
- 2/ Isabelo P. Caballero and M. de Gracia Concepcion, Quezon: The Story of a Nation and Its Foremost Statesman. Manila: International Publishers, 1935, pp. 4-5.
- 3/ Sol H. Gwekoh, Manuel L. Quezon, His Life and Career. Manila: University Publishing Co., Inc., 1948, p. 8.
- 4/ Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 5.
- 5/ Carlos Quirino, Quezon: Paladin of Philippine Freedom. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1971, Vol. XVII, p. 5.
- 6/ Quezon's other autobiography was published in The Tribune, July 26, 1933. It was a narrative which he made in the course of a three-day speech in the Senate in answer to criticisms by Honorio Ventura, former secretary of the interior, the Osrox Mission, U.P. President Rafael Palma, and other leaders of the "Pros" in the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act controversy. Vide Teodoro M. Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp to Freedom. Manila: Teodoro M. Kalaw Society, Inc., 1965, p. 246.

poor origin, yet his parents are not exactly propertyless. In fact, they belong to the local bourgeoisie, being considered the "No. 1 family" of Baler and the only family in that rural community that can speak Spanish, besides the Spanish governor of the military district, the Franciscan friar-curate, and the corporal of the guardia civil.⁷ The teaching couple receive a salary of P12 a month each - a tidy sum in the halcyon days of the country - and they also own a small parcel of land, about two hectares,⁸ which Lucio cultivates to supplement the family income. As nearly everything is cheap during this era of non-inflation, the average Baler family can live comfortably on a monthly budget of four pesos plus rice.

1883 (At 5)

Like Rizal. As is commonly true of children of middle-class families, the boy Manuel learns to read and write Spanish, and later on arithmetic and catechism from his mother.⁹ Less than two decades earlier, Rizal had the same experience, his first tutor being his own mother.

1885 (At 7)

Greatness in Embryo. He is taken to the local convent to live with the Franciscan priest, Fray Teodoro Fernandez, OSF, who teaches him Latin, geography, history, and religion, thus completing the requisites for primary instruction. It is said that even at this early age the friar-curate can detect qualities of greatness in young Manuel.¹⁰

Close Call. A tragedy mars his two-year stay with Fray Fernandez. A visiting priest, Fray Angulo, of the Palanan parish in Isabela, who is spending a few weeks in the convent, is drowned while bathing one morning with young Manuel off the beach of Baler. The boy himself is fast being carried away by the swift undertow, bubbling and grasping for breath, when he is rescued by a fisherman, "Mang" Abdon Poblete.¹¹ "It was my first near-meeting with death," writes Quezon, "meeting which later in

7/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 7.

8/ Gwekoh, in his book, supra, p. 8, says the area of the Quezon farm is much smaller, just two acres. (One hectare is equivalent to 2.471 acres.)

9/ The boy's aunt, Emilia, a sister of his mother, also helps in teaching the three R's. Vide S. H. Gwekoh. The Autobiography of Manuel L. Quezon. Manila: 1940, p. 11. Hereinafter to be referred to as Gwekoh's Quezon Autobio.

10/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 12.

11/ Pastor Almacen, Jr., "The Man Who Once Saved Quezon," Philippine Panorama, August 21, 1977.

life has been repeated more than once." ¹²

1887 (At 9)

Predestined for Greatness. Realizing only too well the importance of education in the development of the boy, Manuel's parents plead with Fray Fernandez, who is being transferred to Manila, to take their son along even as his muchacho (mess boy) so that he can pursue his studies. This is how the boy, who is predestined for greatness, ¹³ starts life in the great metropolis. He spends almost a year as alilang-kanin (the picturesque Tagalog term for a domestic who receives no salary but only free board and lodging) in the Franciscan convent in Intramuros. ¹⁴

1888 (At 10)

Racial Pride. A sensitive, bright boy with inborn racial pride, of course, cannot long endure the social stigma attached to the job of muchacho. ¹⁵ Evidently piqued by the lowly position, he moves out of the convent to live with a married aunt in Paco district, paying P12 a month for food and lodging. He begins the segunda ensenanza at the Letran College in Intramuros, but after a year of hiking almost daily to and from school, a distance of several kilometers, he decides to become an interno (boarder) in the college, using his father's savings. He comes ^sunder the influence of two Dominican teachers, Fr. Scrapio Tamayo, O.P., and Fr. Florencio Llanos, O.P.

Brilliant but Stubborn. A distinguished former classmate, Don Francisco Ortigas, recalls Quezon's brilliant record at Letran marred only by one "deficiency" arising from his rebellious nature. For contravening a school order the youthful Manuel is deprived of a quarterly medal in physics, a relatively minor incident that Letran authorities can easily overlook provided that an erring youth makes a simple apology. But the young rebel ^{to apologize} refuses. Ortigas observes: "I then could detect in him signs of future greatness, for whenever he (Quezon) was convinced that a thing was right, he never gave it up." ¹⁶

12/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 10.

13/ Claro M. Recto, "Quezon, Architect of our Freedom," an eulogy delivered at the U. S. T. chapel necrological rites, July 29, 1946.

14/ Quezon's narrative, "An Autobiography." In: Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., Appendix III, p. 488.

15/ "No sentiment is stronger in me than racial pride," said Quezon in an extemporaneous speech at the MIPA Day celebration, Rizal Memorial Stadium, August 23, 1940. In: "Quezon in Action," a six-volume Quezoniana collection of Prof. Juan F. Rivera, U.P. Law Center, Vol. V, pp. 2269-2272. Hereinafter to be referred to as Rivera Collection.

16/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 11-12.

Rebel Explains. For his part, Quezon explains: "I have always been against every established order. I took pride in showing my school or college mates that I had enough nerve to fight or defy authority even though it earned for me some punishment. The pleasure that I obtained in satisfying my rebellious spirit was greater than the pain that I suffered from punishment; therefore, I expected punishment and continued with my rebellious spirit."

1884 (At 16)

Highest Honors. A consistent topnotcher, young Manuel finished two courses at the end of five years in Letran, namely, Bachelor of Arts, summa cum laude, and "Experienced Surveyor and Appraiser of Lands." On February 24th, the Governor-General himself goes to Letran to preside over the commencement exercises. As valedictorian, Manuel has "the great privilege of being called to shake hands with him. I was dazzled by the unexpected honor."

"I Lost my Head." "When I got my bachelor's degree," Quezon recalls, "I felt so big, so important, that I looked down upon everybody, including the Spanish Captain General, who was concurrently the Governor-General. I simply felt I was the biggest man. I had my breast full of gold medals^s, six or seven of them, and I was graduated with the highest honors. I felt that I did not want to talk to anybody. That is not a joke, that is a fact. I felt it then in my heart. I looked with a sort of pity upon everybody. That was the only time I lost my head." 19

Truthfulness. Quezon reveals that from early boyhood his father has given him this advice: "Always tell the truth regardless of the consequences." 20

Death in the Afternoon. After graduation, the proud, over-confident youth goes home to Baler only to find his mother "helplessly ill with tuberculosis. The sight of her broke my heart." He spends most of the time looking after his stricken mother until one day, late in the afternoon, she expires in his arms after receiving the last sacraments. 21

'84

Challenge and Response. Earlier, Lucio calls his son aside and tells him, "If you want to go to the university, you will have

17/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 17.

18/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 12.

19/ Frankness is one of Quezon's sterling qualities. See Gwekoh, supra, p. 17.

20/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 6.

21/ Ibid.

to find means of supporting yourself." The father's savings have all been spent; in fact, he has incurred debts to enable his son to finish the Letran course. This is a challenge which the young man cannot ignore. Of course, he is equal to it. ²²

Shock After Shock. The mother's death comes as a great shock to young Manuel. But more shocking still is the cold, haughty and contemptuous reception accorded him by the local Spanish authorities. One day his father takes him along for a round of courtesy calls. De rigueur. It's a local practice that can't be ignored without incurring the ire of the powers that be. In the convent, the friar-curate, his right leg up resting on one of the long arms of the chair, does not even seem to appreciate the coming. "I felt inside me a sense of revulsion," writes Quezon. "My father kissed the hand which the friar held out to him. When my turn came, I merely took the hand and shook it." ²³ Aha! a future filibustero?

Pride Deeply Hurt. The same thing happens when they call on the politico-military governor, and lastly on the corporal of the guardia civil. The sensitive youth is irked by the master-servant relationship in Spanish colonial society. "But this time," says Quezon, "I saw things in a different light. I realized that we Filipinos were treated as inferiors, and my racial pride was deeply hurt. In college there were some Spanish students who were not only indolent but also plain stupid, and many Filipinos were superior to them in both character and intellect. In my innermost self, I resolved to change that humiliating state of affairs." ²⁴

II. THE MAKING OF A REBEL

'84 "Palabra de Honor." A young upstart fighting the Establishment. One is reminded of Rizal's reference to the earthen jar crashing itself against an iron pot. ²⁵ One dark night the corporal of the guardia civil, a huge hunk of a man, and young Manuel are taking a walk. "A monster of lasciviousness and cruelty," the Spaniard insinuates that Manuel should convince his pretty young

22/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 13.

23/ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

24/ Ibid., p. 14.

25/ Chapter 4, "Cablesang Tales," in Jose Rizal, El Filibusterismo. Translated from the Spanish by Leon Ma. Guerrero. London: Longmans, Green and Co., Ltd., 1965, pp. 24-33.

cousin to yield to the former's immoral advances. Whereupon, Manuel, losing his temper, hits him with a club and almost kills the evil Spaniard. Consequently, the youth is ~~haled into the~~ ^{is} co-mandancia headquarters, and ^{is} accused of being a member of the Katipunan. Manuel vehemently denies the charge, but the military governor peremptorily stops him. "Basta!" he shouts. "You will be confined in the school house until I send you to Manila to be tried by a military court and shot."

Lucio, being the schoolmaster, becomes his own son's warden. After 15 days, however, Manuel is released but only upon the personal assurance - palabra de honor - ~~of~~ his father to the military governor that his son will not join the Katipunan nor fight against the Spanish regime. 26

Why the Katipunan? The whole scenario appears unbelievable to Manuel who has imbibed the libertarian ideas of the Enlightenment in college. The beastly Spanish corporal preying on innocent young girls of the town or flogging to unconsciousness, if not to death, persons who refuse to be an accomplice in his amorous adventures. The military governor hurling a baseless accusation and then sending his victim to jail without trial... Manuel's conscience cries in revolt. "Now," he nods his head, "I fully understand the why of the Katipunan!" 27

1895 Back to Manila. The year before the Revolution, Manuel, accompanied by his father, returns to Manila determined to work his way through school. He is admitted in the centuries-old University of Santo Tomas, thanks to Fr. Tamayo, his old Letran mentor, who is now director of interns. The good Samaritan priest hires him as capista whose job is tutoring students who are weak in Math. In turn, he gets free tuition, board and lodging. Manuel enrolls in the law course, which includes one year preparatory and six years of law proper. Among his classmates are Sergio Osmena, Emilio Jacinto, Juan Sumulong, Flaviano Yengco, Vicente Singson Encarnacion, and Vicente Madrigal. 28

Don't Forget the Poor. Lucio is satisfied that his son at last can pursue a career. Before returning to Baler the old man gives the youth a piece of advice that will keep him in good stead for the rest of his life. "My son," he says slowly but firmly, "just

26/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 13.

27/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 15.

28/ Gwckoh, op. cit., p. 18.

be good and be just to your fellowmen. No matter how high your station in life may be, never forget that you came from poor parents, and that you belong to the poor. Don't forsake them, whatever happens. God bless you." Father and son part after this memorable moment, never to see each other again. ²⁹

Manuel - a Priest? One day in the university he enters a class in dogmatic theology, but a Dominican professor, who has known him since his Letran days, throws cold water on his priestly ambition. "Who has deceived you into believing that you could ever be a priest?" the professor asks Manuel point-blank, then bursts into laughter. "Don't waste your time here. Get out and continue with your law course." ³⁰

III. REVOLUTION OF '96

- 1896 Aug. 23 Cry of Pugad Lawin. The Revolution is ushered in by the famous cry of Pugad Lawin, a forested area in Balintawak. The premature discovery of the Katipunan compels its founder, Andres Bonifacio, and his followers to take to the hills. ³¹ Some classes in Manila decide to close, but the pontifical university remains open/ as the situation seems to be under control, except in certain areas outside Manila. Manuel continues going to class. An enterprising biographer succeeds in getting Manuel's record in the university from first to third year. ³² His well-balanced preparation, combining academic studies and actual practice in a law office, will serve him well a few years later.
- '96 Dec. 30 Rizal's Execution. This is an ominous day for Spain. Jose Rizal, the young author of the Noli and Fili, is executed on charges of complicity in the Katipunan uprising. This turns out to be Spain's greatest blunder as a colonizer. (For the bullet that pierced Rizal's heart, according to the Filipino poet Cecilio Apostol, also shattered the Spanish empire.) It's vacation time, and young Manuel, 18, is spending a few days among his friends in Aliaga, Nueva Ecija, ³³ perhaps unaware of the one event that

^{29/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 14.

^{30/} Ibid., pp. 16-17.

^{31/} Teodoro A. Agoncillo and Milagros C. Guerrero, History of the Filipino People, Quezon City: Malaya Books, 1970, pp. 196-197; and Gregorio F. Zaide, Philippine Political and Cultural History, 2 vols. Manila: Philippine Education Company, 1957, Vol. II, pp. 162-163.

^{32/} Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 21.

^{33/} Quezon, op. cit., p. 30.

will unmake Spain in this part of the world.

1897 Mar. 22 Revolutionary Government. Having consolidated their initial victories, the Cavite insurrectos comprising two rival factions of the Katipunan, namely, the "Magdalo" and "Magdiwang," decide to set up a revolutionary government during a convention held in barrio Tejeros, municipality of San Francisco de Malabon (now Gen. Trias town). The government takes the place of the Katipunan which has ceased to be a secret society. 34

Elected in Absentia. Bonifacio himself presides over the convention to elect top officials of the revolutionary government. Emilio Aguinaldo, the 28-year-old capitan municipal who led the capture of the Kawit tribunal (municipal building), is elected president of the revolutionary government in absentia, being unable to attend the convention because he is manning the defenses of the strategic pass called Pasong Santol in the neighboring town of Dasmarinas. But the election ends in a sour note when Bonifacio, himself elected secretary of the interior, nullifies the result of the convention after somebody questions his qualifications for the Cabinet position. 35

'97 May 10 Bonifacio's Execution. Majority of the convention delegates, mostly from Aguinaldo's "Magdalo" faction, decide to ignore Bonifacio, and go ahead with the induction of the newly elected officials in the convent of Sta. Cruz de Malabon (now Tanza). The situation takes a turn for the worse when Bonifacio attempts to establish a separate government and army under the command of Pio del Pilar. For this blunder, the Katipunan founder is to pay with his life after a court martial. He and his brother, Procopio, are executed in Mount Tala, a few kilometers southwest of Maragondon, Cavite. 36

'97 Nov. 1 Biak-na-Bato Republic. Because of intensified Spanish offensive in Cavite, Aguinaldo and his men comprising the revolutionary government are forced to retreat to Central Luzon. Safely entrenched in the caves of Biak-na-Bato, in San Miguel, Bulacan, the revolutionists decide to adopt a constitution patterned after that of Cuba which is also in the throes of its third and last revolution against Spain. The new charter provides the legal

34/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 202; Zaido, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 169-170.

35/ Antonio M. Molina, The Philippines Through the Centuries. 2 vols. Manila: UST Cooperative, 1961, Vol. II, pp. 107-110.

36/ Eufonio M. Alip, Political and Cultural History of the Philippines. 2 vols. Manila: Alip & Sons, Inc., Vol. II, p. 137.

framework for the Biak-na-bato Republic, which is also headed by Aguinaldo. 37

First Guerrilla War. Foreseeing a long, protracted guerrilla war, Captain-General Primo de Rivera tells the Spanish Cortes that he "can take Biak-na-bato, but cannot assure that he can crush the rebellion." 38 With this frame of mind, he agrees to a truce with the Filipino rebels.

'07 Dec. 14-15 Pact of Biak-na-Bato. Aguinaldo and some 26 revolutionary leaders agree to go on exile in Hongkong ^{after} payment of a large Spanish indemnity plus the promise of reforms asked by the rebels. 39 In the meantime, the Cuban revolution is coming to a boil as the rebels appear to be steadily drawing the United States government to their side. The Americans are anxious to protect their huge investments in Cuba, especially in sugar plantations. 40

Plan for Comeback. In Hongkong Aguinaldo and Company deposit the P400,000 initial indemnity paid by the Rivera government in two banks, using only the interests for their living expenses. Their secret plan is to use the money to buy arms abroad and resume the revolution should the Spanish government fail to fulfill the agreement. 41

1898 Apr. 25 Spanish-American War. The long unresolved Cuba question develops into a full-scale Spanish-American War. American naval forces in Asia are immediately alerted. At the same time American diplomatic representatives hold secret conferences with Aguinaldo and the other Filipino exiles in Hongkong in order to enlist their support against Spain. 42

Quezon Punishment. The young Manuel at this time is boarding in a private house in Intramuros, having been "sent away" from the U. S. T. dormitory by Fr. Tamayo for violating house rules.

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- 37/ Teodoro M. Kalaw, The Philippine Revolution. Kawilihan, Mandaluyong, Rizal: Jorge B. Vargas. Filipiniana Foundation, 1969, pp. 59-65.
- 38/ Leandro H. Fernandez, The Philippine Republic. New York: Columbia University Publication No. 268, 1926, p. 35. Vide Zaide, op. cit., footnote 24, p. 172.
- 39/ Memoirs of General Artemio Ricarte. Manila: National Heroes Commission, 1963, pp. 57-68.
- 40/ Ruth W. Gavian and William A. Hamm, United States History. D.C. Heath and Company, Philippine Copyright, 1966, pp. 569-573; and Renato Constantino, The Philippines: A Past Revisited. Quezon City: Tala Publishing Services, 1975, p. 198.
- 41/ Jose Alejandrino, The Price of Freedom. Translated from the Spanish by Atty. Jose M. Alejandrino. Manila: 1949, pp. 75-98.
- 42/ Patagonia (da Gama) and Alfredo P. Santos, Philippine Diplomatic History. Agoncillo (1858-1941). Manila: National Historical Institute, 1977, pp. 74-75.

"Fortunately," writes Quezon, "the punishment did not include expulsion from my classes." He is supporting himself in his law studies by working as a 25-peso clerk in the Monte de Piedad. 43

'98 May 1

Battle of Manila Bay. From his boarding house in Intramuros, Manuel and other students have the rare privilege of witnessing the Battle of Manila Bay resulting in the sinking of the entire Spanish Asiatic Fleet by the American Asiatic Squadron under Commodore George Dewey after a brief ^{encounter} off the coast of Cavite. Spanish Admiral Montojo, the fleet commander, is himself wounded, and 383 of his men are killed or wounded. For this great naval feat, Dewey is immediately promoted to admiral.

IV. FIRST PHILIPPINE REPUBLIC

'98 May 19

Aguinaldo Returns. The chief of the Filipino exiles returns from Hongkong to resume the unfinished Revolution against Spain. Bad faith on both Spanish and Filipino sides causes the premature termination of the Pact of Biak-na-bato. Because the Filipinos have been fighting the Spanish regime since 1896, it is only natural for them to side with the United States in the war against their common enemy. 45

Promise or Communication Gap? Aguinaldo and his fellow exiles have been buoyed up by Dewey's promise - which Dewey later denies - that the United States will recognize the independence of the Philippines just as she has recognized and supported the freedom of Cuba, which is only at her doorsteps. In other words, the Philippines, being about 10,000 miles away, need not fear of being grabbed by the United States. 46

"Allies" Against Spain? Whether the promise is actually made or not, whether the United States has sought the Filipinos' help in good faith or not, the fact remains that for a brief period of time the Americans and Filipinos ^{find} themselves "allies" against Spain. For the Americans the alliance is a military necessity. In the beginning Dewey does not have enough forces to fight the Spaniards on land. The Battle of Manila Bay, no matter how spectacular, can never bring Spain to her knees in the

43/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 64.

44/ George Dewey, Autobiography of George Dewey, Admiral of the Navy, New York: 1913, p. 223.

45/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., pp. 219-220.

46/ De Ocampo and Saulo, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

Philippines. 47

- '98 May 24 Dictatorial Government. Aguinaldo, heeding the advice of the generals around him, sets up a dictatorial government in Cavite. There is no other way to prosecute the war to victory. He issues a proclamation, published in the first revolutionary organ, La Libertad, warning that those "who directly or indirectly put obstacles to the realization of our aspirations and who abuse, either in word or in act, the enemies who surrender, will be summarily executed." 48
- '98 June 12 Independence Proclaimed. Aguinaldo orders the proclamation of Philippine independence in Kawit, Cavite, over the objection of his new adviser, Apolinario Mabini, who believes that the Filipinos must first prove to the world their capacity for self-government. An American officer, L. M. Johnson, colonel of the artillery, appears as one of the signers of the proclamation. 49 Attesting to his good faith, Aguinaldo furnishes Dewey with copies of all decrees, proclamations, orders, and other documents issued by the newly established government. It cannot, therefore, be said that Dewey is not officially aware of the existence of the Philippine Republic. 50
- '98 June 23 Dictatorial to Revolutionary. Upon Mabini's insistence, Aguinaldo replaces the dictatorial government with a revolutionary government, at the same time setting the stage for the calling of a Congress in Malolos, Bulacan. 51
- '98 July 15 First Cabinet. Aguinaldo forms his first Cabinet perhaps to show the Americans, as Mabini wants/^{it} that the Filipinos are fully capable of governing themselves. Cayetano Arellano, an outstanding lawyer, is offered the premier post of secretary of foreign affairs, but he declines, feigning illness, although actually he is sympathetic to the Americans. The job is later offered to Mabini who accepts it. 52 Almost a year later, Arellano accepts

47/ Ibid.

48/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 33.

49/ Zaide, op. cit., p. 196. Apolinario Mabini, The Philippine Revolution. Translated from the Spanish by Leon Ma. Guerrero. Manila: National Historical Commission, 1969, pp. 51-58.

50/ Dewey's testimony, in U.S. Senate Document No. 331, p. 2928, quoted in Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 35.

51/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 232.

52/ Ibid., p. 233.

the position of chief justice of the Supreme Court offered by U.S. President William McKinley, and stays on the job while the fledgling First Philippine Republic is at war with the United States in defense of her newly won independence. 53

V. OUR AMERICAN "ALLIES"

'98 Aug. 12 First Double-Cross? American representatives, without informing their Filipino allies, sign the Protocol of Peace with the Spanish envoys in Paris. 54

'98 Aug. 13 Mock Battle. In accordance with this Protocol of Peace, the Spaniards surrender the Walled City (Intramuros) to the American forces after a sham battle. Filipino troops, who have earlier placed the city under siege, are not allowed to enter it nor participate in the victory celebration. 55 Second double-cross?

Quezon Is Eye-witness. Student-boarder Manuel is an eye-witness to the American take-over of the Walled City. In fact, he sees the Spanish royal flag being hauled down and replaced by the Stars and Stripes. "I confess to a feeling of sadness when I saw the old flag come down forever," writes Quezon. "After all, I inherited from my mother some Spanish blood." 56

Birth of New Ideology. On another occasion, Quezon reminisces: "As I saw it that late afternoon of August 13, 1898, the sun in the clouds crowning Mariveles with purple and gold, in the gathering darkness of the Pacific, the royal flag of Spain came down and for the first time in my life I saw the Stars and Stripes run to the fore. Little did I realize then that I was witnessing what, in ultimate result, may prove to be the greatest event of modern civilization in the Orient. Little did I know in my immaturity that I was beholding the birth of a new ideology in Asia - an ideology based upon what was then a strange new conception in this part of the world - a conception that government is of the people, by the people, and for the people - a conception based upon the magic words 'liberty' and 'freedom.'" I did not dream then that the first pangs of Philippine nationhood were in their beginnings." 57

53/ Gregorio F. Zaide, Great Filipinos in History. Manila: Verde Book Store, 1970, pp. 67-70.

54/ De Ocampo and Saulo, op. cit., pp. 86-87.

55/ Agoncillo and Guerrrero, op. cit., p. 224.

56/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 37.

57/ Gwekoh, op. cit., pp. 25-26.

'98 Aug. 14 U. S. Military Government. General Wesley Merritt, head of the American expeditionary forces, sets up a military government. As the Americans never bother to inform their Filipino allies about such an important step, which will affect their future for the next half century or so, the Aguinaldo government cannot but view this action with deep concern, if not suspicion. 58

Father, Brother Murdered. Meanwhile, as classes in Manila have been suspended since the Battle of Manila Bay, Manuel goes home to Baler for the first time since coming back to the city, accompanied by his father, shortly after his mother's death. There he learns of the gruesome murder of his father and a younger brother, Pedro, by bandits while on their way home from Nueva Ecija. Orphaned of both his parents, Manuel stays in the house of an aunt, Zenaida, another sister of his mother, who has two winsome daughters, Amparo and Aurora, his future wife. 60

'98 Sept. 15 Malolos Congress. The American military government notwithstanding, Aguinaldo goes ahead with the opening of the Malolos Congress, which is composed largely of ilustrados and military leaders. Quezon, one year short of the age of majority, remains an unknown bystander as this historic event unfolds before his eyes.

'98 Sept. 19 Independence Ratified. Doubtless in answer to the establishment of a military government by the Americans, one of the first acts the Malolos Congress is to ratify the Philippine independence proclaimed by Aguinaldo in Kavit. Thus, after the downfall of the Spanish regime two governments emerge, one American and the other Filipino. The situation is fraught with ominous significance. 5'

'98 Dec. 10 Treaty of Paris. Spanish and American peace commissioners sign the Treaty of Paris over the protest of Felipe Agoncillo, minister plenipotentiary of the Philippine Republic, who is expressly sent to the French capital by Aguinaldo to represent the young Philippine government as America's belligerent ally. Insofar as Agoncillo is concerned, this Filipino-American alliance against Spain is a fact, not a mere figment of the imagination. He was the president of the Hongkong Junta when American Consul Rounseville Wildman first made overtures to Aguinaldo and the other

58/ De Ocampo and Saulo, op. cit., p. 117.

59/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 38.

60/ Ibid., p. 211.

61/ Kalaw, Revolution, op. cit., p. 123.

Filipino exiles in the British Crown Colony to fight side by side with the Americans in the war against Spain. 62

Agoncillo Thesis. Agoncillo is barred from taking part in the peace conference that is to affect the destiny of the Filipino people. Under the treaty, the Philippines is ceded to the United States by Spain whose sovereignty, according to Agoncillo, has already been "extinguished by force of arms by the Filipino revolutionists." His thesis is that Spain, her colonial regime overthrown, has no longer any right to cede the Philippines; and neither has the United States, being technically an ally of the Filipinos, the moral right to accept the cession. 63

'98 Dec. 21 Benevolent Policy? U.S. President McKinley issues the so-called "Benevolent Policy of Assimilation," the first official indication that the Americans have come here to stay. Born of revolution and established on the egalitarian principle that all men are created equal, the United States has abandoned her democratic pretenses and become a new imperial power over the protests of many Americans themselves.

Double-Standard. One anti-imperialist American solon, Senator Mason, asks his colleagues in the U.S. Senate: "Tell me why we should adopt one plan for Cuba and another for the Philippines? Do you say with the 'expansionists' - I mean the expansionists - we promised we would not steal Cuba, but we did not promise not to steal the Philippines?" 64

1899 Jan. 2 Mabini Cabinet. Aguinaldo forms a new cabinet headed by Mabini.

'99 Jan. 4 Luna Protests. Gen. Elwell Otis, head of the U.S. military government, publishes the McKinley proclamation with some amendments to cushion the shock ^{to} of their Filipino allies, Antonio Luna, editor of La Independencia, leads the attack on the proclamation. 65

'99 Jan. 5 Counter-Proclamation. Aguinaldo issues a counter-proclamation protesting "most solemnly against this intrusion of the United States government on the sovereignty of these Islands." 66

On the Sideline. Things are rapidly coming to a head. What can a young man like Quezon be thinking of at this time?

62/ Ibid., pp. 124-125; also in De Ocampo and Saulo, op. cit., pp. 72-74.

63/ De Ocampo and Saulo, op. cit., pp. 275-280.

64/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 41.

65/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 247.

66/ Kalaw, Revolution, op. cit., p. 157.

- '99 Jan. 22 Malolos Constitution. The Congress in Barasoain Church having finished its task, Aguinaldo promulgates the Malolos Constitution, the legal framework of the revolutionary government.
- '99 Jan. 23 Republic Inaugural. The First Philippine Republic is inaugurated in Malolos, with Aguinaldo as President. It is a red letter day for the Filipino people who have just declared their independence. This is their clearest answer to the McKinley proclamation. It is also the first Republic in Asia, antedating by 12 years the birth of the Chinese Republic headed by Yuan Shih-kai, and inspired by Dr. Sun Yat-sen. ⁶⁷
- '99 Jan. 30 Agoncillo Memorial. Back in Washington from Paris, Agoncillo presents a long memorial to the U.S. Senate reiterating the right of the Philippine Republic to world recognition under "the rule of international law." ⁶⁸
- Frustration in Baler. Still hibernating in Baler, Manuel, the would-be lawyer, doubtless feels a sense of frustration as he sees the futile attempt of the young Republic to win recognition, particularly ^{from} her supposed ally, the United States. No matter how just the cause of the Philippine Republic, he can't do anything about it for lack of involvement. His father's palabra de honor, given to the Baler politico-military governor, that he would not fight against Spain has been holding him back. But with Spain out of the picture, it becomes an entirely different story - as far as Manuel is concerned.

VI. REBEL WITH A CAUSE

- '99 Feb. 4 The Fuse. A Filipino soldier attempting to cross the San Juan bridge in the outskirts of Manila at 8 p.m. (Saturday) is shot and killed by an American soldier, Pvt. Robert W. Grayson of the 1st Nebraska Volunteers. This is the proverbial straw that ^{breaks} the camel's back. The Philippine-American War is on. ⁶⁹
- To War! "The news of the hostilities reached Baler almost overnight," writes Quezon. "I decided at once that my duty lay

67/ Kalaw, Revolution. op. cit., pp. 145-146. Also John K. Fairbank, Edwin C. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, East Asia: Tradition and Transformation. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, Reprinted by G. M. S. Publishing Corporation, Philippines, n. d., pp. 740-750.

68/ De Ocampo and Saulo, op. cit., pp. 289-294.

69/ Leon Wolff, Little Brown Brother. How the Americans Conquered the Philippines in 1898-1902. Makati: Erewhon Press, 1971, pp. 9-64.

in fighting for the freedom of my country. Neither my father, while he was alive, nor I had any commitment to the United States Army. On the contrary, it was that army, I thought, which had broken faith with my people." ⁷⁰ Having taken Roman Law in both his second and third year at the U.S.T., Manuel ought to know whereof he speaks. ⁷¹

'99 Apr.

Freedom Fighter. War in any language is electrifying, challenging. Manuel, the uncommitted youth from Baler, is immediately transformed into Quezon, the man of action. He joins the revolutionary forces of Col. Villacorta, "a good and valiant soldier but almost illiterate," in Pantabangan, Nueva Ecija. This man has been continuously in the field since the Cry of Pugad Lawin, never laying down his arms even after the Pact of Biak-na-bato. Commander of the forces that besieged Baler, the last Spanish stronghold to fall into the hands of Filipino insurgents, Villacorta knows Quezon personally. Without much ado, he appoints him his aide-de-camp with the rank of second lieutenant. ⁷²

Quezon's First Spurs. Quezon wins his first spurs fighting the bandits plundering the town of Aliaga, Nueva Ecija. He is no stranger to the town, having been there, vacationing among friends, on the day of Rizal's execution. He has therefore a sentimental attachment to the place. Wiping out all the bandits, Quezon is immediately promoted to first lieutenant.

'99 June

Joins Aguinaldo Staff. Because of his excellent record, Quezon is assigned to the general staff of Aguinaldo in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, which has become the temporary capital of the First Republic after leaving Malolos, pressed by the advancing enemy forces.

Another Promotion. Quezon is assigned to escort General Benito Natividad, wounded in the battle of Calumpit, to General Luna's headquarters in Bayambang, Pangasinan, for medical treatment. Mission accomplished, he is promoted to captain.

'99 June 4

On Inspection. Aguinaldo, accompanied by his staff, including the newly promoted Capt. Quezon, leaves Cabanatuan to inspect fortifications in San Isidro, Nueva Ecija. Actually, they are en route to Angeles, Pampanga, the next capital of the Republic. True enough, Aguinaldo inspects some 3000 troops under the command of youthful General Gregorio del Pilar, making them swear

⁷⁰/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 41.

⁷¹/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 20.

⁷²/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 42. This and succeeding paragraphs are found in The Good Fight, pp. 42-45.

to fight on the side of their Generalissimo "against all comers. Quite a cryptic oath. But the following morning, Aguinaldo and staff proceed in the direction of Bayambang, arriving there late in the evening.

Enigmatic Smile. "On this trip," writes Quezon, "I saw General Aguinaldo dressed in his military uniform with his insignia as full general. I asked him if he was celebrating some happy event and he just smiled and said nothing." 73

June 5 Luna Assassination. General Antonio Luna, commander of all Central Luzon forces, has just arrived in Cabanatuan for an important conference with Aguinaldo when the latter's personal bodyguards gang up on him as he is coming down the stairs of the general headquarters after a verbal encounter with Foreign Secretary Felipe Buencamino, Sr. 74

Quezon's Account. The tragedy takes place about the same time that Aguinaldo and staff are en route to Bayambang. "Before midnight," Quezon recalls, "it was rumored in Bayambang that Luna had been murdered in Cabanatuan by the personal bodyguards of Aguinaldo who were left in the town to protect his mother and wife "

Kalaw's Report. "When Aguinaldo called Luna to a conference in Cabanatuan," writes Kalaw, "the latter, thinking that he would be asked to form a new Cabinet, journeyed to the place indicated, only to meet a "treacherous death planned by the very soldiers he has disarmed and prosecuted for abandoning their posts and for disobeying his orders. Col. Francisco Roman, who accompanied him, was also killed." 75

Supreme Commander. After Luna's death, Aguinaldo takes command of all armed forces of the Republic. Nevertheless, the retreat of the Filipino forces continues with the Americans in hot pursuit.

Quezon With Alberts. Meanwhile, from Bayambang Aguinaldo moves back to Angeles, and thence goes north to Tarlac, Tarlac, where he establishes the general headquarters and the temporary capital of the Republic. In Tarlac, Quezon stays with the family of Col. Alejandro Albert of the revolutionary medical corps. Mrs. Albert treats him like a son. 76

73/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 45.

74/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., pp. 253-254.

75/ Kalaw, Revolution, op. cit., p. 189.

76/ Gwokoh, op. cit., pp. 26-27; also in Quezon, op. cit., p. 46.

'99 July 14 Last Congress Meet. On the run since the fall of Malolos, the Filipino Congress meets in Tarlac and elects a new set of officers led by Ambrosio Rianzares Bautista, as president, five vice-presidents, and six secretaries. Five weeks later (Aug. 23) the same Congress elects Apolinario Mabini, former Cabinet president, as chief justice of the Supreme Court. 77

'99 Staff Work Tame. Quezon is ordered to proceed to Baguio to replace a garrison commander until another officer can be sent there to take his post. Upon his return from the highlands, making the difficult journey on horseback, he feels that staff work at headquarters no longer appeals to him. It's too tame. At his own request, he is assigned to the headquarters of General Tomas Mascardo in Porac, Pampanga. The next day Mascardo sends him to the battlefield as a member of the staff of Col. Leysan, commander of Filipino forces on the defense line between San Fernando and Porac. Once there Quezon sees action galore. 78

Truth to Tell. And here is Quezon's confession: "I heard for the first time in my life the whistle of a bullet. I ducked. Then the number of flying bullets became too numerous to duck, and I felt inside myself an irresistible impulse to run away. Before this I had a very high opinion of my own valor... I felt pretty certain that I could be one of the military heroes of Philippine history. But when the test came, I discovered that my fear of death was instinctively quite strong with me..." 79

Spot Promotion. One day Quezon is assisting Major Liraz in defense of Porac. In the thick of the fight Liraz is fatally hit, and Quezon assumes command of the battalion. But the enemy proves to be too strong for the defenders, forcing Quezon to order a retreat. He figures in more encounters after the Porac fire-fight to earn a spot promotion to major. Meanwhile, Mascardo moves his headquarters to Bataan at a strategic place previously located by the young major. 80

A French Man's Prophecy. Quezon's knowledge of law serves him well even on the battlefield. One day a French man suspected of being a spy is tried before a court-martial set up by Mascardo. The former U.S.T. law student secures the foreigner's acquittal

77/ Kalaw, supra, p. 195.

78/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 36-37.

79/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 48.

80/ Ibid., p. 49.

after a brilliant defense. Impressed by Quezon's legal prowess, the grateful French man makes a startling prophesy: "The young man who took charge of my defense is admirable. His mind is of the sharpest and brightest kind. A glorious and brilliant career is ahead of him. You watch -^a brilliant and glorious career will surely be his." 81

'99 Oct. 12 Guerrilla Warfare. After the collapse of Filipino defenses in Pampanga, Aguinaldo appoints Mascardo to succeed the late General Luna as commander of all troops in Central Luzon. Wounded four times in combat since the first phase of the Revolution against Spain, Mascardo is considered a guerrilla expert. His new position serves to emphasize the new tactics adopted by the Filipino defenders. Aguinaldo issues a general order to all troops to break into small units and resort to guerrilla warfare, doubtless the first of its kind in Asia. 82

'99 Nov. 13 Aguinaldo Odyssey. Aguinaldo, his family, members of his Cabinet, and his security forces leave Bayambang, Pangasinan, by special train bound for Calasiao, their first stopover. Aguinaldo joins the advanced guards commanded by General Del Pilar. The rear guard is led by Col. Montenegro. This is the beginning of the Aguinaldo odyssey that will take him over mountains and across valleys, gorges, and rivers from Pangasinan to La Union until they reach Tirad Pass. Travelling on foot, theirs is an Odyssey of "intense suffering." 83

Spartan Heroism. With 60 picked riflemen, Del Pilar, the "boy general," makes a gallant but hopeless stand at strategic Tirad Pass, ^{some 50} ^{north of} ^{some 50} kilometers ^{north of} Cervantes, capital of Iopanto, to slow down the enemy advance and enable Aguinaldo and his security forces to move farther into the interior. He meets a Spartan death, every inch "an officer and gentleman," quoting the epitaph written by the enemy. 84

'99 Dec. 24 A Lucky Gambler. The tempo of battle slackens a bit in another theatre of war - Bataan province. Tired of eating only boiled rice in the hills, Major Quezon takes his unit to the town of Orion to spend Christmas Eve and the Day of Nativity. The cooperative town mayor distributes Quezon's men in different houses to avoid detection. That night, in a game of monte,

81/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 31; also in Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 63.

82/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 38.

83/ Col. Simeon Villa and Dr. Santiago Barcelona, Aguinaldo's Odyssey. Manila: Bureau of Public Libraries, 1963, pp. 3-7.

84/ Zaide, History, op. cit., pp. 222-223.

Quezon, unrecognized, pits his luck against that of the Americans, beating them all the way until his five-peso "capital" zooms to one hundred American dollars! With this small fortune in his pocket, the young major sends a note to General Mascardo informing him that he is taking a brief furlough in Manila. Quezon stays in the house of the Alberts at 132 Ronquillo, Sta. Cruz. 85

'99 Dec. 25 First Casualties. The long and painful retreat over trackless jungles exacts the first toll. This Christmas Day members of the Aguinaldo family, escorted by army officers, surrender to American forces, thus leaving the generalissimo free to wage a full-scale guerrilla war. 86

1900 Jan. 1 Quezon in UST. Still on furlough, Quezon visits his Alma Mater, the pontifical university, to hear mass, January 1st being his saint's day. He is welcomed by his Dominican professors who invite him to breakfast. However, they get scared when he informs them that he is still an active insurrecto. "Dewey fooled Aguinaldo once," argues the unreconstructed rebel; "McKinley would fool us again." 87

Back to Bataan. The young battalion commander returns to Bataan only to find his chief, General Mascardo, stricken with malaria. Soon he himself contracts the dreaded disease, and is taken to Navotas, a seaside town near Malabon, for medical treatment.

A Turning Point. The guerrilla patient stays in the house of a local fishing magnate who has a son studying in Europe. With plenty of time on his hands, Quezon reads avidly the many interesting books in his host's private library - "books which left in my mind some doubts as to the certainty of hell as taught me by my friar teachers." This is a turning point in Quezon's life. The former would-be priest, in deference to his mother's wish, becomes a Freemason. 88

Two Americans Killed. Fully recovered, Quezon, accompanied by his orderly, goes back to the field. But he makes the mistake of taking a passenger boat from Navotas to Pilar, Bataan. They are detected by a spy. Consequently, an American platoon arrives in Pilar, scouring the place where he and his companion have landed. Not finding ^{their} quarry there but only a valise inadvertently left

85/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 68.

86/ Villa and Barcelona, op. cit., pp. 16-17.

87/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 45-46.

88/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 33.

behind, containing a picture of Quezon and his girl friend, the enemy sets fire to the houses to flush him out. He barely escapes capture, but his orderly is shot and seriously wounded. For the senseless burning of the village and the shooting of his aide, Quezon vows to wreak vengeance on the enemy. Soon enough his troops ambush an enemy platoon, killing two American soldiers. Tit for tat. ⁸⁹

1900 Jan. 31

Two American Commissions. The Schurman Commission submits a report to President McKinley recommending the establishment of a civil government in the Philippines. Consequently, McKinley organizes the Second Commission headed by William Howard Taft, who becomes the first civil governor in the new American colony. The Philippines becomes a blot on the escutcheon of American "democracy."

" Sept. 6

Aguinaldo in Palanan. The 10-month-long Aguinaldo odyssey ends up in Palanan, Isabela, whence the generalissimo will direct the guerrilla war for the next six months. ⁹⁰

" Dec. 23

Annexationists. The Federal Party (Partido Federal) is organized by Dr. T. H. Pardo de Tavera and other pro-American Filipinos, all of them belonging to the ilustrado class. This is the first political party in the Philippines under the American regime. It advocates not only acceptance of American sovereignty but also Philippine statehood in the American Union. It has one American member, Dr. Frank S. Bourns, former army surgeon. Its organ, La Democracia (Democracy), is edited by de Tavera himself. ⁹¹

1901 Jan. 31

Colonial Foundation. The Philippine Commission, which exercises executive and legislative functions, approves Act No. 82, known as the Municipal Law, creating a system of municipal governments each composed of a municipal president, ^aVice-president, and councilors elected by qualified voters of the town. This is the infrastructure of the colonial regime in the Philippines. ⁹²

'01 Mar. 23

Aguinaldo Capture. Through a cleverly plotted ruse, Aguinaldo is captured by a commando-type team of American soldiers under Col. Frederick Funston, with the aid of the "treacherous dogs"

^{89/} Guirino, op. cit., pp. 48-49.

^{90/} Villa and Barcelona, op. cit., p. 87.

^{91/} Zaide, History, op. cit., pp. 237-238.

^{92/} Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 51.

of Macabebe, Pampanga. ⁹³ This marks the beginning of the end of the Philippine-American War which military strategists in Washington have earlier predicted will take only a matter of weeks.

VII. END IS THE BEGINNING

'01 Apr. 1 Aguinaldo Proclamation. The war's biggest prize is brought back to Manila. Eighteen days later Aguinaldo, a war prisoner in Malacanan, takes his oath of allegiance to the United States, and at the same time issues a proclamation urging his comrades in the field to lay down their arms and "accept the sovereignty of the United States." ⁹⁴ This is the end of the war - as far as Aguinaldo is concerned.

Beginning of New Life. But the end of the war marks only the beginning of a new life for Aguinaldo's former staff officer - Major Quezon. To find out if the news about Aguinaldo's capture is true, Mascardo summons Quezon to his headquarters. "You have served your country well as a soldier," the General tells the 24-year-old officer, who is almost reduced to a mere skeleton after a long bout with malaria. "But you are sick and have been suffering from malaria for so long that you simply cannot stand this hard life much longer. It is better for you to surrender. The Americans will let you free... Go back to your university, continue with your studies and finish your career. Our country needs men with education. You will be of service to our people in other fields. Besides, I have a special mission for you. I want you to find out definitely if General Aguinaldo has been captured. If he has, try to get in touch with him and tell him of the situation of our forces here in Bataan and over there in Zambales. And ask him to instruct me whether I should surrender or continue fighting to the last man." ⁹⁵

Quezon Sees Aguinaldo. Quezon, with two orderlies, surrenders to Lt. Lawrence S. Miller, post commander in Mariveles, who helps him get to Malacanan, where he sees the erstwhile supreme, a war prisoner. "General Mascardo has to assume the responsibility and decide for himself whether he wants to surrender or not," Aguinaldo tells Quezon. "If you see him, give him my best regards and tell him what you have seen, that is, that I am in

^{93/} Lazaro Segovia, Story of Aguinaldo's Capture. Translated from the Spanish by Frank de Thoma. Manila: 1969, pp. 135-144.

^{94/} Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 295.

^{95/} Quezon, op. cit., pp. 74-75.

Malacanan, very well treated by the Americans, but a prisoner just the same." 96

A Prisoner, Too. His mission accomplished, Quezon goes to the Albert residence where he plans to recuperate from his illness, and afterwards try to find a job in order to resume his interrupted law studies. His plan comes to naught when one day, at siesta time, he is arrested by American soldiers on a false charge of complicity in the murder of a companion. He is confined with other prisoners, jam-packed like sardines, in the small guardroom of the Postigo Gate (Puerto Postigo), Intramuros. After six months he is accidentally seen by his former Dominican professor, Fr. Florentino Llanos, O.P., who secures his release through the intercession of Archbishop Alcocer. 97

Nervous Wreck. Returning to the Albert residence, Quezon has a nervous breakdown. For the next ^{several} months he is confined at the San Juan de Dios hospital where he meets Dr. Gregorio Singian, who later invites him to stay in his house. After his recovery, Quezon gets back his old clerical job at the Monte de Piedad. He then transfers to the house of Santiago Antonio in Pandacan. Childless, the Antonio couple treats him like a son, refusing to accept any payment for his board and lodging. Meanwhile, Quezon reviews his law subjects for the bar examinations. 98

'01 July 4 Civil Government. The first civil government under the American regime is established in the Philippines with Taft himself as governor.

'01 Nov. 4 Suppressed Nationalism. The Philippine Commission enacts the Sedition Law making advocacy of Philippine independence or separation from the United States punishable by death or long imprisonment. This marks the beginning of a long period of suppressed nationalism in the country. 99

1902 Feb. 27 Lukban Captured. General Vicente Lukban, who successfully directed the Balangiga operations against the Americans, is captured in Samar.

'02 Apr. 16 Last General? Convinced that further resistance is futile, General Miguel Malvar, who succeeded Aguinaldo as generalissimo, gives up to the Americans, marking the end of organized warfare

96/ Ibid., pp. 79-80.

97/ Gwekoh, op. cit., pp. 39-40.

98/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 59-60.

99/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., pp. 280-302.

against the "Yankee imperialists." 100

'02 Apr. 16 Pure Slaughter. "The war against the Americans," Quezon writes later on, "was no war at all. It was slaughter, pure and simple. We had no weapons to speak of, and did not know how to handle the few that we had. Our army has no discipline, no organization. We had men willing to die, and thousands upon thousands died heroically, while others survived through a miracle. We fought only to die, for we are not trained nor equipped to kill." 101

VIII. A PROMISING BARRISTER

- '02 July 2 1st Organic Act. The United States Congress approves the Philippine Bill of 1902, the first organic act under the American regime, providing for the election of delegates to the Philippine Assembly two years after a nationwide census. The Assembly will serve as the lower house, and the Philippine Commission as the upper house of the nation's lawmaking body.
- Barbarians! Savages! Several influential Americans are against the bill, believing that the Filipinos are still backward and unfit for self-government, but Congressman Cooper of Wisconsin, after reciting Rizal's Last Farewell, concludes that a people who could produce a patriot and martyr "with pure and lofty ideals" like Rizal is not undeserving of American civilization and beneficence, least of all freedom in managing their political affairs. 102
- 1903 Race Prejudice. The early American impression of Filipinos as "mostly naked savages, subsisting on dogs, and inhabiting tree-tops" is largely brought about by the exhibition of several Igorots in G-strings at the St. Louis Exposition, thanks to Dean C. Worcester, a member of the Taft Commission. These Igorots are made to represent the "typical Filipinos." For this deliberate misrepresentation, Worcester has earned the reputation as the arch enemy of the Philippine cause. 103
- '03 March Census. Completion of the first Philippine census under the American regime.
- '03 Apr. Bar Topnotcher. Quezon takes the first bar examination under the American regime, copping fourth place with a rating of 87.83

100/ Ibid., p. 262.

101/ Gwekoh, op. cit., pp. 34-35.

102/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., pp. 328-329.

103/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 58-59.

per cent. A certain J. L. Quintos obtains the highest grade of 96.33 per cent, followed by Sergio Osmena, 95.33 per cent, and Fernando Salas, 94.4 per cent. Quezon takes his oath on April 16th. 104

All Wins, No Loss. Judge Francisco Ortigas, a successful law practitioner, invites Quezon to join him in his law office at a salary of P150 a month with the right to have his own clients who seek his professional service. The young barrister wins all law cases entrusted to him. His first case involves the defense of five ignorant farmers accused of aiding revolutionary stragglers in the hills. 105

Champion of the Poor. After the third month, and with personal savings amounting to P2,000, Quezon decides to put up his own law office in Tayabas. Pretty soon he has to refuse many civil and criminal cases because he simply cannot handle them anymore. His fame as a successful lawyer spreads far and wide. Why not? "I charge large fees to the rich, and none at all to the poor," writes Quezon. 106 Modesty aside, he adds: "I hope I may be forgiven if I state that I won the liberty of every man I defended." 107

'03 Aug. 13 In Lieu of King. Quezon is not only a topflight lawyer but also a man with a social conscience. When a fire breaks out in the house of a prominent coconut planter in Lucena, Quezon himself leads the town voluntarios in putting out the blaze. He is personally commended by Col. Bandholtz, the military commander. Not to be outdone, the Lucena municipal council adopts a resolution changing the name of the town's main street from Rey Alfonso XIII to Manuel Luis Quezon. 108

Time for Reckoning. Quezon files a criminal case in Lucena against Fabian Hernandez, his father's arch-enemy, for having taken possession of the two-hectare Quezon farm in Baler by falsifying the dead man's signature. "That tiny piece of land," Quezon recalls, "had supported our family for many years, and that as a young man I had worked hard^{and}/sweated in clearing the land."

104/ Vicente Albano Pacis, Sergio Osmena, 2 vols. Manila: Phoenix Press, Inc., 1971, vol. 1, p. 46.

105/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 86.

106/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 41.

107/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 91.

108/ Gwekoh, supra, p. 43.

field." 109

Triumph of Logic. A celebrated case handled by Quezon is that of Tagalog playwright, Aurelio Tolentino, who is charged with sedition for his literary masterpiece, "Kahapon, Ngayon at Bukas" (Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow). The dramatist is acquitted largely through Quezon's "unerring logic and forceful arguments." 110

IX. START OF GREAT ASCENT

Late 1903

Call of Public Service. Quezon's spectacular record as a provincial lawyer cannot escape official notice. Towards the end of the year (1903), Dr. Pardo de Tavera, a member of the Philippine Commission, offers him the position of provincial fiscal of Mindoro with a salary of P150 a month. As a legal practitioner Quezon is making no less than P1,000 a month. But that is not the point. The challenge to public service is something he cannot refuse. Quezon assumes the Mindoro post, and after a few months he earns kudos from American superiors in Manila, notably Judge James Ross, inspector of fiscals, as "one of the best public prosecutors in the country." 111

1904

Up and Up. Quezon is promoted to fiscal of Tayabas after six months in Mindoro. A busy bachelor, he invites his aunt, Zeneida, widow of the late Pedro Aragon, to keep house for him in the provincial capital of Lucena. She has two unmarried daughters, Amparo and Aurora. The latter has been raised in the Quezon home, becoming the favorite of old man Lucio. The young provincial fiscal sends his cousin Aurora to Manila to study in the Philippine Normal School. 112

Life for Killers. The truth of the saying, "You can't get away with murder," is proved once again when the bandits who waylaid Quezon's father and a younger brother on their way home from Nueva Ecija are captured by the young provincial fiscal with the help of his step-brother, Teodorico. They are prosecuted and sentenced to life imprisonment. 113

'04 Aug. 22

Cause Celebre. But all his previous cases since becoming a lawyer pale into insignificance compared to the Berry estafa case.

109/ Ibid., p. 87.

110/ Ibid., p. 43.

111/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 69.

112/ Quezon, op. cit., pp. 110-111.

113/ Ibid., p. 38.

On this day (Aug. 22) Quezon files 25 complaints for estafa in the Lucena CFI against Francis J. Berry, a lawyer and publisher of the Cablonews-American, "a newspaper with great circulation and much power in the American community." ¹¹⁴ Pitting his legal talents against the best American lawyers in the country-- Fred C. Fischer, later an associate justice of the Supreme Court, Judge W. H. Bishop, former city fiscal of Manila, Judge Kinkaid, and Mr. Green - Quezon secures the conviction of Berry.¹¹⁵

"Days of Empire." Commenting on the case, Francisco says: "At the time when the case was investigated, that is, in 1904, the influence of the military regime was still felt throughout the Philippines, so much so that there were still many Filipinos in prison accused of brigandage. Under the circumstances and considering the reprisals to which he might be subjected, it was then considered foolhardy for a Filipino fiscal to bring to court by means of criminal action a citizen of a foreign country, more so if that citizen was clothed with prestige and influence. Only a fiscal with courage and a strong sense of duty would dare institute such proceedings." ¹¹⁶ Almost overnight Quezon has become the wizzard of the courtroom.

Late 1904

Reprisal and Resignation. Soon after Berry's conviction on September 12th, a fellow American, Capt. Ofley, governor of Mindoro, files administrative charges against Quezon arising from certain acts he allegedly committed when he was fiscal of that province. "Without being previously notified of the charges," writes Quezon, "an investigation ex-parte was held in Mindoro: witnesses were called to testify against me in my absence and under the moral influence of my accuser, Governor Ofley. All the serious charges were found to be without foundation, but some charges of little importance were declared proven, such as for example that I physically attacked somebody. Believing that I was the object of unjust and vexatious prosecutions, I resigned from my office (as provincial fiscal of Tayabas - ABS), against the advice of Judge Ross, then the inspector of the prosecuting attorneys." ¹¹⁷

^{114/} Vicente J. Francisco, Trial Practice in the Philippines, Vol. I, pp. 777-783; quoted in the footnote of the Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 1-63.

^{115/} Quezon, op. cit., p. 98.

^{116/} Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 1-2.

^{117/} End of footnote in Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 12-13. Also in article "An Autobiography," Appendix III, Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 485-498.

1905 Jan. 15

Loss and Gain. The loss of the judicial branch of the government becomes the gain of the legislative department on the provincial level. Desirous of gauging his popularity, especially among the common folks, Quezon runs for the position of vocal in the Tayabas provincial board. He wins literally hands down. 118
An auspicious start for one who, years later, will say that he will never accept an appointive position even if it be that of Governor-General of the Philippines. 119

'05 Feb.

Snowballing Luck. With his seat in the Tayabas provincial board hardly warmed up, Quezon launches his candidacy for provincial governor. Under Act No. 83, the governor is elected by the municipal councilors in a convention. American officers are apprehensive about Quezon's candidacy, he being a former insurrecto. Asked by the constabulary chief, Col. Harbord, if he is loyal to America, Quezon replies: "Colonel, I have taken the oath of allegiance, and I am determined to make that oath good." 120 Quezon's election is a cinch despite the fact that his two opponents, Tolentino and Carmona, belong to the richest families in the province. His lavandera volunteers to take charge of feeding the concejales. The losers file a protest on the ground that Quezon's voters are illiterate, but his election is nevertheless confirmed. 121

Action Governor. As chief executive of Tayabas, Quezon personally leads the constabulary and police in pursuing the band of ladrones molesting the rural folks, engaging them in hand-to-hand fights until the bandits are either captured or killed. That's the end of banditry in the province. 122

'05 Mar.

Sine Qua Non. The publication of the census, as required in the Philippine Bill of 1902, paves the way for the election of delegates to the Philippine Assembly.

X. NATIONAL POLITICS

'05 _____

Centro Catolico. Believing that religion is no bar to politics, Gregorio Aglipay, supreme bishop of the Philippine Independent

118/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 72.

119/ From a newspaper report in an unidentified Manila daily, October 1931. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 844-846.

120/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 53.

121/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 74.

122/ "An Autobiography," loc. cit.

- 7 Mar. Church, enters the arena by organizing the Republican Party. Not to be outdone, the orthodox Catholics put up the Centro Catolico. Both groups aim to counteract the extreme pro-Americanism of the Partido Federal. 123
- 1906 _____ Ban Lifted. Governor-General Henry C. Ide lifts the ban against pro-independence parties. Almost immediately, two parties spring up: the Partido Independista Inmediata, with Osmena and Quezon among the leading organizers, and the Union Nacionalista, organized by Felipe Agoncillo, Rafael Palma, and others. 124
- '06 July Patriot Betrayed? Neither the Aguinaldo capture nor the surrender of Malvar terminates the armed resistance to the American regime. Macario Sakay, a full-fledged Katipunero, continues the forlorn struggle and sets up a "Tagalog Republic" deep in the jungles of the Sierra Madre. But after four years, Sakay is finally induced to surrender by Dominador Gomez, a labor leader, acting on the authority given by Governor-General Ide. However, Sakay is later arrested by American authorities, charged with brigandage, and finally hanged. Sakay dies insisting to his last breath that he is not a bandit but a sincere patriot working for Philippine independence. 125
- '06 Oct. 1 First Governors' Meet. Twenty-nine provincial executives hold the First Governors' Convention in Manila. Sergio Osmena of Cebu is elected chairman of the convention, but Manuel L. Quezon of Tayabas, a forceful and eloquent speaker, clearly dominates the conference, outshining even Osmena, according to observers. Afterwards, Osmena, Quezon and Jaime de Veyra of Leyte are asked by Governor-General Smith to remain in Manila for a few days to assist the Philippine Commission in making some needed pieces of legislation. 126

XI. FIRST PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY

- 1907 Jan. Strength in Unity. Leaders of the Partido Independista Inmediata and Union Nacionalista start negotiation for the merger of the two parties to give the government-backed Progressive Party (formerly Partido Federal) a stiff fight.

123/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 75-76.

124/ Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 240.

125/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., pp. 262-288.

126/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 84-85.

- '07 Mar. 12 Birth of NP. The merger is formally ratified and a new party is born: the Partido Nacionalista. Among the leaders of this new pro-independence party are Osmena, Quezon, Rafael Palma, Macario Adriatico, and others. The first two are destined to lead the country to complete independence. ¹²⁷
- '07 July 30 First Assembly Poll. His star still on the ascent, Quezon leaves the gubernatorial post and runs for deputy or delegate to the Philippine Assembly. This time, with the support of the poor and rich alike, Quezon licks his opponent, Domingo Lopez, by the largest majority ever: 2,237 against 840 votes. ¹²⁸ Quezon's rise in the political firmament appears unstoppable.
- '07 Oct. 16 "A King-Maker." Inauguration of the First Philippine Assembly, the lower house of the Philippine legislature under the new set-up. The American-appointed Philippine Commission constitutes the upper house. Quezon nominates Osmena for speaker, and the latter is unanimously elected. Thus Osmena becomes the highest Filipino leader in the government, next only to the Governor-General in official protocol. Quezon, of course, is elected majority floor leader, the No. 2 man in the Philippine Assembly. He is also appointed chairman of the powerful Committee on Appropriations.
- First Clash. Quite farsighted, though young, Floor Leader Quezon makes a spirited attack on a bill pending in the U.S. Congress providing for free trade relations between America and the Philippines. Says the Tayabas leader: "I fought the measure upon the ground that free trade relations would result in making the Philippines absolutely dependent upon the American markets. This, I contended, would create a most serious situation in the Philippine economic life, especially when the time came for the granting of independence." ¹²⁹ This is Quezon's first clash with the American government.
- 1908 Purposeful Junket. With P34,000 appropriated for the trip, Quezon, accompanied by two secretaries, Teodoro M. Kalaw and F. Theo Rogers, goes to Tsarist Russia to represent the Philippines in the International Congress on Navigation at St. Petersburg (now Leningrad). This appears to be a prelude to his leaving the Philippine Assembly which seems too small for two political geniuses - Osmena and Quezon. Besides, the Tayabas solon does not want to play second-fiddle to any man, not even to his bosom friend,

^{127/} Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 240.

^{128/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 78.

^{129/} Quezon, op. cit., pp. 107-108.

Osmena. Unfortunately, Quezon arrives at St. Petersburg days after the closing of the convention. From there he goes to Paris, and then to America where he becomes the luncheon guest of President Theodore Roosevelt. Quezon is much impressed by the democratic atmosphere prevailing in the highest government circles. He seems to like it there. The trip therefore serves a good purpose. 130

1909 Jan. 7 Plus or Minus? Subjected to scurrilous attacks in the Federalista paper La Democracia concerning his alleged malpractice as a lawyer, Quezon ^{flies} ~~laterally~~ goes off the handle, and gives the editor, Hugo Salazar, a severe shellacking. 131 The irate floor leader at once becomes the butt of humorous remarks. The Cablenews-American, whose editor (Berry) he has successfully prosecuted, ^{rhetorically} asks "If this was what Sr. Quezon learned in his conversations with Mr. Taft and Theodore Roosevelt, and if this was what he had been taught in the Navigation Congress at St. Petersburg." 132

'09 May 15 To Washington, D.C. Quezon is chosen by the Philippine Assembly as Philippine resident commissioner to Washington, succeeding ^{Martin} ~~Don~~ Ocampo, publisher of the nationalist paper El Renacimiento. The other resident commissioner is Benito Legarda, Sr., one of the founders of the Progresista Party, previously selected by the Philippine Commission.

'09 Dec. 24 Eve of New Day. Quezon arrives in the American capital on the eve of a new day for the Filipino people. It's the beginning of his seven-year stay in America that will culminate in the approval of the first Philippine autonomy or independence law. To be able to communicate to the American people and their leaders, Quezon's first task is to learn, possibly master, the English language.

Contemptible! In the early days of his practice as a lawyer, Quezon, still unreconciled to the American regime, used to take special pride in the fact that he knew no word of English and that he was determined not to learn the new language. "How contemptible seemed to me those Filipinos who belonged to the Federal Party which advocated permanent annexation of the

130/ Zaide, Great Filipinos, op. cit., pp. 232-233.

131/ Leopoldo R. Serrano, "The Quezon-Salazar Incident," Historical Bulletin, Vol. VI, No. 3, September 1962, pp. 249-259.

132/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 103.

Philippines to the United States!" says the unrepentant rebel. ¹³³

A "Beautiful" American. Quezon remains bitter against the Americans until he is introduced to Col. Bandholtz, the constabulary chief. Quite an unusual man, Bandholtz, although an American, was the first elected governor of Tayabas. He speaks Spanish fluently and is fast learning Tagalog. Becoming close to Quezon, he offers to teach him English, and for the first time the Tayabas fiscal feels sorry that he speaks no word of English. Bandholtz's successor, Col. James G. Harbord, is another "beautiful" American who has accomplished so much in winning Quezon to the policy of cooperation with the new regime. ¹³⁴

XII. SEVEN YEARS IN U.S. CONGRESS

1910 May 14 Maiden Speech. Four and a half months after his arrival in the United States, Quezon delivers his first speech before the U.S. House of Representatives. It is entitled "The Hope of the Filipinos," referring to the day when the United States will give the people of the Philippines the blessings of freedom. He states: "When that time comes -- and let us hope that it may happen tomorrow -- the day when the ever-glorious Stars and Stripes was raised in the Philippines will eternally be the best-celebrated day of our national life." (Applause.) ¹³⁵ It is well to note that Quezon begins his job in the U.S. Congress with a note of hope. Six years later he will end it with near fulfillment as a result of the passage of the Jones Act.

Free but Poor. In his second speech, Quezon registers vehement opposition to the sale of two large tracts of land in the Philippines to big American capitalists to be converted into sugar plantations, despite congressional policy limiting to 1024 hectares the maximum area of public land that could be sold to corporations or individuals. His thesis is that large American investments will inevitably result in the permanent retention of the Philippines by the United States. "If the preordained fate of my country," he tells his American colleagues, "is either to be a subject people but rich, or free but poor, I am unqualifiedly for the latter." ¹³⁶

^{133/} Quezon, op. cit., p. 86.

^{134/} Ibid., pp. 94-102.

^{135/} Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 87.

^{136/} Quezon, supra, pp. 118-119.

Mid-1910

First Furlough. After giving the U.S. Congress an idea of the nationalist thinking of the Filipino people, Quezon deserves a furlough. His return to the native heath, however, coincides with the visit here of U.S. Secretary of War Jacob M. Dickenson, whose department handles all Philippine affairs. The salutary effect of Dickenson's visit is that he is able to remind local Americans that the government here is a government of laws, not of men - hence an indirect warning against any form of exploitation. ¹³⁷ He probably realizes that no such exploitation can escape the scathing tongue and pen of such an alert and brilliant Filipino leader as Resident Commissioner Quezon.

1911 (Autum)

New England Discovery. Quezon makes a rueful discovery when he goes on a speaking tour of the New England states under the auspices of the Anti-Imperialist League headed by the distinguished American lawyer, Moorfield Storey. As his trip has been well-advertised in advance, he finds many Americans crowding at every train station where he is supposed to get off to speak. They are eager to see a Filipino for the first time in their lives - something like the Igorots in G-strings brought to the St. Louis Exposition by Worcester and labelled as "typical Filipinos." They turn away in great disappointment when they see the Filipino resident commissioner not in G-strings but in a stylish cutaway and top-hat, looking sartorially more elegant than most Americans in the highest councils of state. ¹³⁸

'11

Precursor of Jones Law. Quezon, in his second year in the U.S. Congress, wins a friend of Philippine independence, Rep. John Sharp Williams of Mississippi. A senior minority member of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, Williams has introduced a Philippine bill which, of course, fails to reach first base. After the Democratic Party has won control of the House in the off-year election (1911), Quezon persuades Rep. William Atkinson Jones of Virginia to reintroduce the Williams bill, but the measure is shelved in the Republican-controlled Senate. ¹³⁹

1912 Sept.

Second Flaridel. Playing the role of a second Flaridel (Marcelo H. del Pilar), Quezon establishes his own journal, The Filipino People, which is "devoted solely to the interests of the Filipino people whose name it bears," and for the purpose of "hastening the ultimate establishment of Philippine

¹³⁷/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 115-117.

¹³⁸/ Quezon, supra, p. 120.

¹³⁹/ Ibid., p. 123.

independence upon a self-governing republican basis." The maiden issue carries the name of Quezon on the front page as editor, with publication address at 1524 13th Street, Washington, D.C. The paper, a counterpart of Del Pilar's La Solidaridad, continues publication for four years until the passage of the Jones Act. 140

'12 _____ New Freedom. Fifteen years in the doghouse, the Democratic Party rolls back to power under the leadership of the idealistic university president turned politician, Woodrow Wilson. His "New Freedom" has captured the imagination of the American public. 141 Quezon's advantage is that his earlier contacts with progressive-minded congressmen, like Jones and Williams, have enabled him to get into the good graces of Democratic moguls, including William Jennings Bryan and Wilson himself, and thereby assist substantially in the writing of the Democratic plank on Philippine independence. 142

Quezon's Contribution. The Quezon touch is much evident in the following passage in the Democratic platform: "We favor an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose to recognize the independence of the Philippine Islands as soon as a stable government can be established, such independence to be guaranteed by us until the neutralization of the Islands can be secured by treaty with other powers. In recognizing the independence of the Philippines our government should retain such land as may be necessary for coaling stations and naval bases." 143

'12 _____ Kingmaker for 2nd Time. If Quezon, through his personal charisma and persuasive ability, succeeded in having Osmena elected Speaker of the First Philippine Assembly, this time he scores a more spectacular victory when he gets Francis Burton Harrison appointed as Governor-General of the Philippines, succeeding W. Cameron Forbes. Wilson, since his election, has been looking around for someone to succeed Forbes, a Republican. He has sounded Quezon about it. One day, Harrison happens to visit Quezon, suggesting the name of a friend for the job. But Quezon, making one of those instant decisions for which he is famous, instead tells Harrison to consider himself a candidate for the position. And, indeed, Harrison is appointed Governor-General,

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140/ Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 95-99.

141/ Gavian and Hamm, op. cit., pp. 546-547.

142/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 124.

143/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 142.

thanks to Quezon! 144

1933 Oct. 6

Filipinization. Harrison arrives in the Philippines to assume his ^{post}. With Wilson's instruction that the Filipinos should be given a system of self-government step by step, Harrison immediately proceeds to appoint qualified Filipinos to responsible government positions, replacing the Americans. 145 Meanwhile, conservative Americans just can't forget that Harrison got his job largely through the help of a Filipino. "Hardly twenty-four hours have elapsed since his disembarkation from the steamer," writes an American, Robert Frothingham, in the New York Times, "he (Harrison) ascended the platform before a mixed audience of 500 Americans and Filipinos and, with his arms around the back of Manuel L. Quezon, the Filipino commissioner to the United States, ascribed to him full credit for his appointment by President Wilson to the office of Governor-General." 146

'13

Why Sumulong is Bitter. Another outstanding achievement of Quezon as resident commissioner is his getting Wilson to increase Filipino membership in the Philippine Commission. Heretofore, Filipinos make up the minority of four in the Commission, namely, Jose Luzuriaga, Gregorio Araneta, Juan Sumulong, and Rafael Palma. After Harrison's assumption of office, they are replaced by five Filipino commissioners, namely, Victorino Mapa, Jaime C. de Veyra, Vicente Singson Encarnacion, Vicente Ilustre, and Rafael Palma, who is retained. Is this the reason why Sumulong, in later years, became one of Quezon's staunchest critics? 147

'13

Jones Bill No. 1. After Wilson's triumph, the Democratic Party gets full control of both houses of the U.S. Congress. Quezon, undaunted by the shelving of the Williams bill, submits to William Atkinson Jones, new chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, his proposal giving the Philippines her independence except in matters of foreign affairs which are to remain under American control. The bill provides for independence in eight years (1912). It passes the House but dies in the Senate. 148 This is Jones Bill No. 1.

1914 Apr. 15

Mankind's Liberation. Speaking in Cleveland, Ohio, Quezon tells American industrial leaders that "if you give the

144/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 68.

145/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 130.

146/ Ibid., pp. 126-127.

147/ Vide Quezon-Sumulong Controversy, in Part II (Quezon Reader).

148/ Gwekoh, supra, p. 71.

Filipinos their liberty there will be nothing that they will not gladly concede to you. You will have not only their trade but their gratitude, and you will not only benefit yourselves and them, but you will have given the last touch to the work for the liberation of mankind that you began in 1776." 149

'14 July 15 Women's Champion. Quezon, in a letter to an American suffragette, makes a clear and unequivocal stand in favor of woman suffrage in the Philippines. "If the power of legislation solely resided in me I would not hesitate to give them (the Filipino women) the right of suffrage," he says, "provided first that they shall have expressed their desire to vote and not until then." 150 Ironically, Filipino women gain the right to vote 23 years later (April 30, 1937).

Jones Bill No. 2. In view of Wilson's objection to setting a definite date for Philippine independence, Jones introduces another bill expressing in its preamble America's promise to grant independence "as soon as a stable government can be established in the Philippines." This is reminiscent of Quezon's contribution to the Democratic Party plank. With Quezon carrying the ball for Jones, the bill is approved in the House, 211 to 59. but it is not acted upon by the Senate because of strong Republican opposition. 151

'14 Oct. 15 Quezon Warning. Delivering another strong salvo, Quezon warns Americans that the "progress toward freedom never stops once begun until it reaches its culmination. The Filipino people will never be satisfied with any concession from the United States short of their complete freedom as a people. Such being the case, they will not be satisfied until you shall have placed in their own hands the decision whether they shall be politically independent of the United States." 152

1915 Jan. Self-Development is Best. Continuing his barrage for Philippine independence, Quezon questions "most seriously the statement that any nation can successfully direct the course of development that must be followed by another. The education of the individual is most successful when it affords the best vehicle

149/ Speech, "The New Regime in the Philippines," before the Cleveland Chamber of Industry, Cleveland, Ohio. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 183-188.

150/ Quezon to Mrs. Richard Coke Burleson of W. 45th Street, New York City, July 15, 1914. Ibid., p. 195.

151/ Maximo H. Kalaw, The Case for the Filipinos. New York: 1916, p. 204. Quoted in Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 249.

152/ Speech at the Lake Mohauk Conference, October 15, 1914. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 321-322.

for self-expression; the education of the nation or the race proceeds most naturally as a matter of internal evolution." 153

'15 Feb. 26 International Justice. "The granting of independence to the Philippines," Quezon tells a huge audience in San Francisco, California, "would in itself create so strong a sentiment of gratitude on the part of the Filipino people toward the United States that you would have created in the heart of the Pacific a nation true in its allegiance and friendship to you both in peace and war. As to the prestige of the American flag, what better prestige can you have than that which will come to you as the result of an act of international justice and generosity!" 154

'15 Late Feb. Allergic to Independence? The Democrats and Republicans in the U.S. Congress reach a compromise on the Jones Bill, but when the Republicans propose to eliminate the word "independence" in the preamble of the bill and replace it with "self-government," the proposal is rejected. 155

'15 Dec. 17 Much Ado About Phraseology. The bill is reintroduced on the opening day of the 64th Congress. Senator Hitchcock, chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions, recommends a change in the preamble so that Philippine independence will be granted when the United States deems it will be "to the permanent interest of the people of the Philippine Islands," instead of when the Filipinos should have "shown themselves to be fitted therefor." 156

1916 Jan. 2 Clarke Amendment. Senator James P. Clarke of Arkansas introduces an amendment to the Jones bill, partly modified upon Wilson's request, granting independence to the Philippines "in not less than two but not more than four years." Vice-President Marshall casts the deciding vote in the Senate, 42-41, in favor of the amendment. But in the House, 28 Catholic Democrats cast their votes with the Republicans, spelling the defeat of the amendment. 157

'16 Apr. 27 Ante-Mortem. Before the defeat of the Clarke Amendment, Quezon, from Washington, wires Speaker Osmena, in Cebu, to

153/ Article, "Race Progress in the Philippines," Journal of Race Development, January 1915. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 331.

154/ Remarks at the opening of the Philippine Exhibit at San Francisco, California, February 26, 1915. Ibid., p. 339.

155/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 74.

156/ Ibid.

157/ Ibid.

"secure a cable from the Philippine clergy or bishops favoring the Senate bill with the Clarke amendment," since President Wilson is endorsing the measure. But it is said that the ecclesiastical hierarchy in the Philippines, especially the foreigners headed by Archbishop Jeremias Harty, are not only against the measure but even goad James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, Maryland, convincing the Democratic solons to break away from party ranks and vote against the bill. 158

'16 May 1 Quezon Stand Clarified. Critics vilify Quezon for his alleged indifference to the Clarke amendment, although here at home he is for "immediate, absolute and complete independence." Is he really ambivalent towards the independence question?

"I am for the Clarke amendment body and soul," Quezon tells the U.S. House of Representatives. "The substantial merit of the amendment lies in the fact that it provides for the establishment, within a short period of time, of an independent Philippine government, a government that will be of, for and by the Filipino people, absolutely free from foreign control and interference, a government which it is our fondest ambition to have, as it is our God-given right to establish, the only kind of government under which we can live happily and contented." 159

'16 Aug. 29 Post-Birthday Gift. Ten days after Quezon's 38th birthday, the Jones bill, minus the Clarke amendment, is passed without a record vote by both house^s of the U.S. Congress. The same day (August 29), President Wilson signs it into law. That night, Quezon tenders a farewell party at the New Willard Hotel in Washington, D.C., which an American editor describes as a banquet "without parallel in the parliamentary history of the world." 160

Jones Law. Briefly, the Jones Act creates a bicameral Philippine legislature consisting of the Senate and the House of Representatives with members elected by the people except two senators and nine representatives appointed by the Governor-General to represent the non-Christian tribes. Aside from legislative functions, the Senate is vested with the power of confirmation of all appointments made by the Governor-General. 161 Is

158/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 345.

159/ Speech, "The Japanese Menace," in the U.S. House of Representatives, May 1, 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 257-361.

160/ See topic "No. 3 - America's Tribute," in Part II - Quezon Reader.

161/ Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 75.

Quezon the real author of the Jones Law?

Flashback. In 1913 Quezon wrote James Cardinal Gibbons to refute the latter's stand against Philippine independence. "I do not understand," he said, "why the Catholic Church of the United States should oppose Philippine independence. Seven and a half million out of eight million Filipinos are good Catholics, and their ancestors have been so for centuries... Can it be that the history of some Latin Republics has influenced the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy in this country? Does it fear that the Filipinos, if given their independence, would seize the property of the Catholic Church in the Islands or fail to respect their rights?"

"I assure Your Eminence that there is not the slightest foundation for fear in this respect. The Filipinos, if given their independence, will respect and protect every right of the Church and maintain absolutely intact its property in the Philippine Islands."

"The best proof that such is the disposition of the Filipinos is found in the fact that the great majority of the native priests as well as native bishops of the Catholic Church in the Philippines are earnestly in favor of Philippine independence." ¹⁶²

¹⁶ Quezon Resigns. Thinking that his public career has come to an end with the passage of the Jones Act, Quezon tenders his resignation as resident commissioner to the United States. It has always been his wish to become a private citizen once more and return to his law practice. In fact, he announces his retirement to private life at the farewell banquet tendered in honor of his colleagues in the U.S. Congress. He has kept Speaker Osmeña informed of his retirement plan. ¹⁶³

Advice to Osmeña. Meanwhile, from Washington Quezon advises Osmeña to run for the Senate, the new upper house in the legislature created under the Jones Act, replacing the American-appointed Philippine Commission. Also, under the new legislative set-up, the Philippine Assembly becomes the House of Representatives. Quezon assumes that Osmeña will be easily elected president of the Senate which, naturally, will have more powers than the House of Representatives, and the "proper place from which to exercise the continued leadership of our party." ¹⁶⁴

^{162/} Quezon to Gibbons, February 27, 1913. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 132-133.

^{163/} Quezon, op. cit., p. 131.

^{164/} Ibid.

Osmeña's Blunder. But Osmeña believes otherwise. He decides to remain Speaker of the lower house (House of Representatives), thinking that he will continue as head of the Nacionalista Party and of the Filipino participation in the American-controlled Philippine government. It turns out that this is a mistake - the greatest political blunder made by Osmeña in his life. 165

'16 Aug. Osmeña's Cable. In a spirit of gallantry, Osmeña cables Quezon notifying him that his candidacy for the Senate will be filed precisely with a view to having him elected president of the new Upper House. Apparently the Cebuano solon believes that with Quezon as Senate president, the latter can work hand-in-hand with Osmeña, the No. 1 Filipino leader.

Centuries of Sufferings Saved. Commenting on Quezon's signal achievement in securing the Jones Act, Osmeña, in the same cable, says, "No other living Filipino could have fulfilled such a tremendous task with such a rare success in so short a time... (and) your sincere and steadfast efforts have saved for our country centuries of sufferings which other less fortunate peoples have to go through on their way to final emancipation." 166

'16 Sept. 27 Hero's Homecoming. Despite pouring rain and strong winds, the residents of Manila and nearby towns and provinces give Quezon a tremendous welcome never before seen in the city. "Not even on the day of my inauguration were the people in the streets so wild in their demonstration," Quezon recalls. An opening in the thick walls of Intramuros, facing the Letran College, his Alma Mater, is ordered by the Manila municipal board and christened Quezon Gate. Then he is presented with a silver hatchet on which is inscribed a sonnet specially written by the Filipino poet laureate Fernando Maria Guerrero. 167

'16 Oct. 3 Overwhelming Victory. Less than a week after his arrival, the first election under the Jones law is held. Quezon's candidacy has been filed by his party. Without lifting a finger, so to speak, he is elected senator by an overwhelming majority. 168

XIII. THE FIRST SPLIT

'16 Oct. 16 Senate President or Speaker? On the opening day of the

165/ Gwelon, op. cit., p. 81.

166/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 150-151.

167/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 132.

168/ Gwelon, op. cit., p. 79.

Philippine Legislature, the Senate and the House of Representatives promptly elect Quezon as president and Osmena as speaker, respectively. It appears that up to this point Osmena sincerely believes that it is "in the speakership where the Filipino leadership in the government ought to reside because the House (is) the more representative body and as such the more sensitive to the popular will." 169

But Quezon, with his seven-year experience in the U.S. Congress, knows that Osmena is wrong. Not only is the Senate, under the Jones Act, vested with legislative powers, but it also shares in the administrative functions as evidenced by its power of confirmation of all appointments made by the Governor-General. "Wherever the bicameral system exists," says Quezon, "the Lower House is supposed to serve as a very sensitive thermometer registering the most momentary and temporary changes in public sentiment, while the Senate must represent the serene, mature and prudent judgment of public opinion. In other words, the Senate must be a safe, immovable dam to contain the overflow of popular passion. The voice of the people is the voice of God only when it expresses a judgment formed within the safe channels of serene reflection... We must act when we are sure that we know public opinion and that this opinion has been formed conscientiously."

Passes into History. With the inauguration of the Philippine Legislature, the American-appointed Philippine Commission passes into history. Incidentally, the Legislature is also the first all-Filipino lawmaking body in history.

'16 Nov.

Wilson is Reelected. Another significant event of the year is Wilson's reelection, defeating Republican candidate Charles Evan Hughes. Ironically, the slogan, "He kept us out of war," contributes so much to his victory. 171 As soon as Wilson's victory is announced, the Philippine Senate and House of Representatives hold a joint session presided over by Osmena and Quezon to approve a resolution of congratulations. 172

1917 Apr. 2

America Enters War. As Germany steps up her all-out submarine warfare, sinking hundreds of unarmed neutral (including American) ships, Wilson is constrained to appear before the U.S. Congress to ask for a declaration of war. He calls on all Americans to

169/ Ibid., p. 81.

170/ Ibid., p. 83.

171/ Gavian and Hamm, op. cit., pp. 555-556.

172/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 172.

join in the "crusade for democracy and lasting peace." Congress promptly votes for war, so Wilson on April 6th signs the war declaration not as one of the Allies but as an "associated power" leaving the U.S. free to make a separate peace. 173

1917 Mid-May Loyalty to U.S. Shortly after America's entry into the war, the Philippine Legislature, upon Quezon's initiative, holds a special session and approves the Militia Act creating the Philippine National Guard consisting of 25,000 men, which the Senate President, in an unheralded trip to the U.S., subsequently offers to President Wilson, to fight side by side with the American Expeditionary Forces in Europe. 174 The Legislature also authorizes the construction of a destroyer and a submarine for the U.S. Navy. In addition, the Filipino people contribute P1,000,000 to the American Red Cross and subscribe many millions of pesos in Liberty bonds. 175 Quezon himself organizes a mammoth "Loyalty Parade" in Manila winding up in front of Malacañan. Such is the Filipino loyalty to America that nearly all American armed forces are withdrawn from the Philippines for assignment to Europe. One day, an American Negro soldier is reported to have told an American General: "Boss, we are the only Americans now in the Philippines!" 176

1918 Jan. Quezon's Offer Accepted. Quezon's offer of the 25,000-man Philippine National Guard is officially accepted by the U.S., but government red-tape delays the training of the Filipinos who are raring to go to the front. 177 The PNG training camp in Rizal province will hum with activity only after the death of Private Tomas Claudio on the European front on June 29th. Consequently, the camp will be named Camp Claudio.

1918 Oct: 16 Gallantry for Gallantry. Governor-General Harrison creates the Council of State, composed of the department secretaries, the Senate President and the House Speaker. Its function is to advise the Governor-General on important state matters. 178 To reciprocate Osmena's gallantry in having his candidacy for senator filed by the party in the 1916 election, Quezon nominates Osmena for vice-chairman of the Council of State, next

173/ Gavilan and Mann, supra, pp. 603-604.

174/ Gwetch, op. cit., p. 85; Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 177.

175/ Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 252.

176/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 134.

177/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 139.

178/ Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 251.

only to Harrison, thus retaining the leadership of the Philippine participation in the government. ¹⁷⁹ The days of Osmeña's hegemony, of course, are numbered.

¹¹³ Board of Control. Harrison approves the bill creating the Board of Control whose primary duty is to supervise all government-owned and controlled corporations. It is composed of the Governor General, the President of the Senate, and the Speaker of the House of the Representatives. Although Harrison is the chairman, he can always be outvoted by Osmeña and Quezon. Harrison's policy of government going into business is a bold departure from the standard American political practices, but his aim is merely to accelerate the country's economic development. ¹⁸⁰ Among the government firms established or acquired under the new policy are the Philippine National Bank, the Manila Railroad Company, the Manila Hotel Company, the National Development Corporation, the National Coal Company, and the National Cement Company. The aim of the legislature in creating these big companies is to preempt investments by huge American corporations that could eventually hamper efforts to cut political ties with the United States. ¹⁸¹ In the Board of Control, Harrison completely abdicates his authority to the Filipinos. ¹⁸²

¹¹³ Nov. 7 Commission of Independence. The Philippine Legislature approves a concurrent resolution creating the Commission of Independence for the purpose of formulating a strategy for securing Philippine independence. It is believed that after having convinced America of the Filipinos' loyalty to her ideals, and cooperated in her war efforts to make the world safe for democracy, she will now be disposed to grant the independence promised in the preamble of the Jones Law. In line with this objective, the Commission recommends the sending of an independence mission to the United States. ¹⁸³

¹¹³ Nov. 11 Armistice Signed. After the abdication of the German Kaiser, who initiated the war, German revolutionaries take over and set up a republic. It is this German republic that will sign the Armistice to save Germany from invasion. ¹⁸⁴ Because of military ineptitude in Washington, D.C., the Philippine National

^{179/} Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 351.

^{180/} Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 252.

^{181/} Quirino, op. cit., pp. 136-137.

^{182/} Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 352.

^{183/} Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 303.

^{184/} Cavian and Hamn, op. cit., pp. 611-612.

Guard is mustered into the U.S. Federal Army only a few days before the signing of the Armistice. Thus no Filipino Guardsman ever sent to the Western Front.

10 Dec. 13 Advanced Party. Senate President Quezon, chairman of the First Independence Mission, arrives in Hongkong with a small group consisting of Jorge B. Vargas, executive secretary of the mission, Guillermo Cabrera, Quezon's private secretary, Dr. Bernabe B. Tanante, his personal physician, and a cousin, Aurora Aragon y Molina, accompanied by her maid. ¹⁸⁵ Officially, Quezon had left Manila ahead of the main body of the mission "to sound an official opinion" in Washington concerning the mission's objective. ¹⁸⁶ In Hongkong the Quezon party is to take another ship for San Francisco, California.

10 Dec. 14 Surprise Wedding. Injecting a very personal note to this tale, Quezon and cousin Aurora decide to get married in a civil ceremony before the American consul-general in Hongkong. The groom is 40, and the bride is about 10 years younger. They have been engaged for 12 years. "Contrary to Filipino custom which celebrates marriages at great expense and with pompous ceremonies," Quezon writes, "my bride and I were married in Hongkong in our street clothes and with the attendance of only the members of my staff." ¹⁸⁷

Catholic Rites. The surprise marriage causes a minor furor in Manila Catholic circles because the bishop of the British Crown Colony has originally refused to perform the rites, Quezon being a Freemason. But after a hectic exchange of cables between the Hongkong prelate and the archbishop of Manila, the Catholic ban on such mixed marriage of a Catholic and a Freemason is lifted, and the couple are re-married three days later in the Hongkong Cathedral. After a brief honeymoon, the couple proceed to the United States. ¹⁸⁸

XIV. FIRST INDEPENDENCE MISSION

1919 Feb. 23 First Mission Leaves. Having received a "go signal" from Quezon in San Francisco, the main body of the mission headed by the

¹⁸⁵/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 125.

¹⁸⁶/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 129.

¹⁸⁷/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 136; Armando J. Malay, Occupied Philippines. The Role of Jorge B. Vargas During the Japanese Occupation. Manila: Filipiniana Book Guild, 1967, pp. 4-5; and Quirino, op. cit., pp. 129, 131.

¹⁸⁸/ Ibid.

vice-chairman, Secretary of the Interior Rafael Palma, leaves on the U.S. transport Sherman, lent by Secretary of War Newton Baker. ¹⁸⁹ In the absence of President Wilson, who is in Europe campaigning for his "Fourteen Points" among the Allied powers, Baker on April 4th receives the mission in Washington. Appearing before the joint committee of American senators and representatives on June 1st, Quezon makes a vigorous plea for Philippine independence. But aside from making a "very good impression" on the committee, the mission returns to the Philippines practically empty-handed.

'19 Mar. 17 Declaration of Purposes. To serve as guideline for the independence mission, the Philippine Legislature approves a significant document, "Declaration of Purposes," asking the United States to add "another glory to her banner by establishing the first really democratic republic in the East," and by extending to the Philippines "generously and freely the same measure of humanity and justice that she applied in the case of Cuba." ¹⁹⁰ In addition, the mission presents a long memorial to the Congress of the United States asking for immediate independence. ¹⁹¹

'19 _____ Dissenting Note. From the combative Cebuano editor, Vicente Sotto, this dissenting note is heard: "Never in all history has a nation ever attained its independence with resolutions, memorials, and missions." ¹⁹²

'19 Sept. 23 First Child. The first fruit of the marriage that is intimately linked with the First Independence Mission is a baby girl named Maria Aurora (Baby).

'19 Oct. 29 Independence Fund. The Philippine Legislature approves a bill appropriating P1,000,000 annually for the use of missions to be sent to the United States periodically to work for Philippine independence. The amount is included in the budgets of the Senate and the House, each sharing equally, thus preventing a veto by a governor-general not sympathetic to the Philippine cause. The law further provides that expenses of the mission are exempted from pre-audit as required of other appropriations. ¹⁹³

^{189/} Malaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 130.

^{190/} Zoilo H. Galang, ed., Encyclopedia of the Philippines, 10 vols. Manila: Philippine Education Co., Inc., 1936, Vol. VI, pp. 223-234.

^{191/} Ibid., pp. 243-307.

^{192/} Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 201.

^{193/} Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 372.

- '19 Nov. Republican Victory. Fearful of further "entanglements with European affairs" brought about by the Wilson administration, the American people in this year's presidential election vote the Republicans back to power. Republican candidate Warren Harding of Ohio gives Democratic candidate James M. Cox a severe drubbing. Wilson, at this time, has been reduced to a helpless invalid following his collapse in September while campaigning for his brainchild, the League of Nations. 194
- '19 Dec. 2 Wilson Recommendation. In a farewell message to the U.S. Congress, President Wilson confirms Harrison's report that the Filipino people, since the enactment of the Jones Law in 1916, have already established a stable government, hence he recommends that independence be granted to the Philippines. 195 Unfortunately, however, under the new Republican administration, the Wilson recommendation has become an exercise in futility.
- 1921 Mar. 4 Wood-Forbes Mission. Newly inaugurated President Harding appoints a two-man special mission composed of Leonard Wood and W. Cameron Forbes to look into the state of affairs in the Philippines, especially after the long Harrison administration (1919-1920). The mission spends four months in the Philippines. 196
- '21 Mar. 5 Harrison Resigns. Francis Burton Harrison resigns as governor-general the day after the inauguration of President Harding. He is temporarily succeeded by Vice-Governor Charles E. Yeater. 197
- '21 Apr. 9 Second Child. Birth of the second Quezon child, Maria Zenaida (Nini), named after a sister of her grandmother.
- '21 Oct. 8 Adverse Report. The Wood-Forbes mission submits its report to Harding stating, among other things, that conditions in the Philippines have been most unsatisfactory because of Harrison's rather hasty Filipinization of the government service. The mission makes the following recommendations: 1) the existing political status of the Philippines be continued; 2) annulment by the U.S. Congress of all Philippine laws curtailing the powers of the American governor-general; 3) in case of a deadlock between the Governor-General and the Philippine Senate in matters of appointment, the President of the United States should have

194/ Gavian and Ham, op. cit., pp. 621-622.

195/ U.S. Congressional Record, 66th Congress, 3rd session, Vol. 60, Part I, p. 26. Quoted in Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 305.

196/ Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 305.

197/ Ibid., p. 254.

the last say; and 4) the United States should not be left in a "position of responsibility without authority." ¹⁹⁸ The report concludes that the Filipinos are not yet prepared, economically and military, to assume the responsibilities of independence. ¹⁹⁹

Wood Appointed. Wood is still in the Philippines, investigating local conditions, when he is appointed Governor-General, succeeding Harrison. ²⁰⁰

'21 Hurried Trip. Teodoro M. Kalaw says that in view of many rumors about the Wood-Forbes mission, mostly unfavorable to the Philippines, Quezon is "obliged to leave hurriedly for America to find out the real situation." From Washington Quezon cables Osmeña saying that he has conferred twice with President Harding, and the latter has assured him "very emphatically that in no case would a retrogressive policy be adopted." ²⁰¹

'21 Oct. 11 Cabinet Resigns. Filipino department secretaries tender their courtesy resignations to Vice-Governor Yeater in order to give Wood full liberty to form a new cabinet of his choice. ²⁰²

'21 Oct. 15 Wood Takeover. Wood assumes his office as the new Governor-General under the most portentous circumstances. ²⁰³ Four days later, he tells the press that he is not changing the members of his cabinet. But the Filipino department secretaries feel uncertain about the future since the Wood-Forbes report is opposed to the grant of Philippine independence, the cardinal objective of the Nacionalista Party to which all of them belong. ²⁰⁴

'21 Nov. 3 Osmeña's Second Resignation. Speaker Osmeña, head of the Filipino participation and Nacionalista Party president since 1907, unexpectedly tenders his resignation over the leadership question during a caucus of party leaders in the Legislature. But the resignation is immediately and unanimously rejected. The leadership question will be taken up again as soon as Senate

^{198/} W. Cameron Forbes, The Philippines, 2 vols. Boston: 1928, Vol. II, p. 302. Quoted in Quirino, op. cit., pp. 133-139; and Molina, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 283.

^{199/} Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 305.

^{200/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 145.

^{201/} Ibid., pp. 144-145.

^{202/} Ibid., p. 145.

^{203/} Molina, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 284.

^{204/} Ibid.

President Quezon recovers from an illness. ²⁰⁵ The first resignation was tendered by Osmena at a previous party convention.

'21 Nov. 9 **Wood Gets Involved.** The Senate holds up the first appointments made by Wood, except those of the Justices of the Peace, on the ground that the Senators have not been previously consulted. This is a protest against Osmena's continued exercise, apparently without any legal basis, of the authority to recommend or pass over appointments submitted to the Governor-General. In fact, it is suspected that Osmena, as leader of the party, has been consulted by Wood over the appointments. A common complaint is that vacancies cannot be filled without the knowledge and consent of Osmena. ²⁰⁶

'21 Nov. 14 **Quezon Denial.** Quezon, however, denies the alleged Senate opposition to the Wood appointments. In fact he says the appointments of the Justices of the Peace have been quickly confirmed. ²⁰⁷

'21 Dec. 12 **MP Convention.** The leaders cooperate in drafting a broad party platform adequate enough to refute the adverse Wood-Forbes report. But the convention gets bogged down on the issue of leadership. ²⁰⁸

'21 Dec. 16 **Two Separate Meets.** Pro-Quezon Nacionalista senators hold a secret meeting at the Hignon hotel, while pro-Osmena representatives meet at the Ayuntamiento. In the former meeting, Quezon declares that the issue does not involve personal rivalry between him and Osmena but is based on principles. Quezon is for collective leadership, while Osmena is for unipersonal leadership. ²⁰⁹

'21 Dec. 17 **Osmena-Quezon Conflict.** ^{is the emergence of} What has been happening is the emergence of symptoms of controversy between Speaker Osmena, still acknowledged as the leader of the Nacionalista Party and of the Filipino participation in the government, and Senate President Quezon who, protocol-wise, precedes the Speaker. Their respective positions are summed up as follows:

Osmena Theory: "It is imperative that we have a directing leadership in the government that we may be able to coordinate

^{205/} Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 275, quoting the Manila Daily Bulletin, November 4, 1921. Microfilm, Newspaper Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

^{206/} Ibid., p. 276, quoting reports in the Manila Daily Bulletin, November 9-10, 1921. Ditto.

^{207/} Ibid., p. 278.

^{208/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 152.

^{209/} Ibid., p. 153.

our efforts for the attainment of our goal. Especially at this crucial moment when we need more than ever to present a solid front in the struggle for independence, is such leadership necessary so that we may have a better fight for our country's cause in the face of the danger that threatens it."

Quezon Theory: "It is not necessary to have a single directing leadership in the government; what we need is a program of government such as that which our Party is now adopting and let the chairman of each house of the Legislature and each elective officials in the government work for the realization of the program and act within the powers inherent in the office each occupies. Each particular case that comes up should be submitted to the majority for decision." 210

'21 Dec. 18 Battle is Joined. Pro-Osmena Nacionalista representative^s pass a resolution reaffirming their confidence in Osmena as the principal leader in the government. This stand is, of course, opposed by the Nacionalista senators. 211

'21 Dec. 20 Battle Positions. Quezon issues a press statement saying that the Nacionalista Party majority in the Senate opposes the existence of a party leader in the government because "it would bring as a consequence the concentration in a single individual of all powers of government." Osmena, making his first move, gives up his political powers as Speaker of the House. Whereupon Quezon follows suit, saying that he is only complying with the democratic and liberal practice in the Senate, hence the "political struggle is over". Osmena counters that "the fight has just begun," and presents his resignation as Nacionalista Party president, and vice-president of the Council of State. 212

'21 Dec. 22 Quezon's Rebuttal. In answer to the Osmena move, Quezon says he is not resigning as Nacionalista Party vice-president and member of the Council of State, because he has not accepted the former and has stopped attending the latter. He adds there is no need to form a steering committee in the Senate, as Osmena has done in the House, because "the entire Senate would henceforth exercise the political powers of the Senate President." 213

210/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 281, quoting the Manila Daily Bulletin, December 17, 1921. Microfilm, Newspaper Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

211/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 155.

212/ Ibid.

213/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 280, quoting El Ideal, December 22, 1921, De la Rosa Collection.

Wood's Diary. In the entry in his Diary for this day (Dec. 22) Wood says Quezon has conferred with him to present his side in the raging controversy with Osmena. "he (Quezon)," writes Wood, "said that the real trouble was that Osmena demanded to be consulted with reference to appointments and that he insisted on the Senate being entirely subordinate to the House, and also wanted him, Quezon, to come out with a written statement accepting a subordinate position to the Speaker." 214

Prelude to War. Osmena and Quezon are seen together at a dinner in the lobby of the Ayuntamiento, drinking to each other's health, amidst loud clappings by senators and representatives. To the question if he is ready to see the Nacionalista Party divided, Osmena tells the press that if "the man who supports the theory of collective leadership so desires, he could not help it." But Quezon says he "will always stand by my theory of collective leadership if I have to leave the Nacionalista Party. The time has come for the establishment in the Islands of political parties which should fight for principles, not necessarily for the control of the government." 215

'21 Dec. 25 "I Accuse." Like a military tactician taking advantage of the element of surprise, Quezon writes a long letter to Osmena directly accusing him of exercising complete control of the Legislature and every member of the cabinet, causing widespread discontent in the Party and in the government. Warning that the country demands a government that is truly popular and democratic, he says that "if we do not give what they (the people) want they will look for another party that will give it to them." 216

'21 Dec. 25 Osmena's Counter-Accusation. Stating that Quezon has "acted far beyond control," Osmena answers the Quezon accusation by citing "recurrent information" to the effect that Quezon is "recruiting men in and outside the Party, that he is decided to bolt, and that the only thing that he is waiting for to strike a blow is an appropriate opportunity." 217

1922 Jan. 10 Quezon Resigns? Quezon hands a letter of resignation to the Senate, saying that "owing to the state of my health, I cannot

214/ Leonard Wood Diary, entry for December 22, 1921. Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C. Quoted in Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 278.

215/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 285, quoting the Manila Times, December 23, 1921. Microfilm, Newspaper Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

216/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 285-288. De la Rosa Collection.

217/ Ibid., pp. 289-297, quoting a story in the Manila Times, December 25, 1921. Microfilm, Newspaper Division, Library of Congress, Washington, D.C.

continue discharging the duties of President of the Senate, and for this reason I have the honor of tendering my resignation." He then announces his retirement from public life. But he adds that should the people insist, he is willing to go on a mission to the U.S. Commenting on the Quezon resignation, Osmena, who has previously resigned, says that "there has been no victory for anyone. Everything has turned out for the good of the people. The most important matter now on our hands is the sending of the mission to Washington." 218

But when his resignation is taken up in the Senate, Quezon delivers a long speech on the principle of collective leadership. "One should risk his party's displeasure only when thereby he is certain he is serving the best interests of the country," he says. "No one is obliged to remain within a party if he does not serve in it the interests of the people and refuses to respect its will."

'22 _____ Leadership to Quezon. When Osmena insists on his resignation, saying that his "role has always been to unite and not to divide," the leadership is then offered to Quezon, who demurs, saying: "How can I run a party which has demonstrated itself hostile to me?" 219

'22 Jan. 30 Ground for Split. Speaking at the Club Nacionalista, Osmena declares he cannot believe that a split will break up the party. "The Nacionalista Party is not ours," he says. "It belongs to the people. We cannot dissolve what the people have created. We should not abuse the people's confidence by a division amongst us, but should keep the party united for the judgment of history."

Quezon, on the other hand, tells the U.P. students that "if in order to have a government of laws, it is necessary to destroy a political party, then let us do so... The Nacionalista Party will be divided, and this division will be healthful for the national cause of independence." 220

'22 Feb. 7 Not Interested? Quezon writes young Governor Manuel A. Roxas of Capiz that the "Colectivistas are not interested in the party leadership. They do not want to be answerable for the leadership of the party, nor do I want to become its president." 221

'22 Feb. 15 Heart-to-heart Talk. In the evening Quezon visits Osmena in

218/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 155.

219/ Ibid., p. 156.

220/ Ibid., p. 157.

221/ Ibid., p. 158.

his office, and the two have a long heart-to-heart talk. 222

Group Gives Up. One source (T.M. Kalaw) says the original Committee on Conciliation resigns in futility, apparently because "many speeches continued to be delivered everywhere supporting either Osmena or Quezon." One Osmena speech arouses the suspicion and ire of some Colectivistas. This speech alludes to some members of the party "trying to rise to power through the window." Then he adds: "No true Nacionalista cares to ascend to power by clandestine means." 223

'22 Feb. 16 Both Retiring? Quezon, in a confidential letter, asks Osmena to "confirm in writing what we agreed upon last night, namely, that neither you nor I shall accept any position, elective or appointive, during the next Legislature, and that, therefore, we shall not take part in the direction of the Party outside or inside the government." He further states that "since you yourself have expressed publicly and privately your desire to retire to private life and my own plan of separating from politics is also known, it is believed that neither you nor I have any inconvenience in putting down all this in writing." 224

Osmena, Quezon to U.S. The Nacionalista Party Convention approves two resolutions, namely, 1) giving Osmena and Quezon a vote of gratitude for their "high and meritorious services to the Party and to the country"; and 2) asking Osmena and Quezon to go to the United States to head jointly the Second Independence Mission. 225

'22 Feb. 17 Birth of New Party. Despite the public manifestations made by Osmena and Quezon on party unity, a group of Colectivistas, still smarting from Osmena's allusion to party members trying to seize power by clandestine means, proceed to hold a public meeting at the Manila Grand Opera House to announce the birth of a new party. Quezon, in a stirring speech, formally announces his secession from the Nacionalista Party, and the formation of a new party based on the principle of collectivism."

"The Nacionalista Party," he says, "has never been and never will be the people. My loyalty to my party ends where my loyalty to my country begins. Even if it were not the Nacionalista Party, let it be another party, from the moment that my

222/ Pacis, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 207.

223/ Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 145.

224/ Pacis, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 297-298, quoting from a letter in the De la Rosa Collection.

225/ Pacis, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 302.

convictions do not coincide with the ideal for which the party stands, I consider it my duty to leave it. A man to be worthy of the name should put his convictions into practice, profess them with faith, defend them with courage, happen what may." 226
(Underscoring supplied. - ABS.)

Most of the senators and a number of representatives join Quezon's splinter group later known as the Colectivistas. Among the Quezon followers are the so-called liberals, young and old, college professors and students. 227

'22 Feb. 21 Challenge Accepted. Taking up the gauntlet, Osmena abandons his retirement plan, telling his followers that "it is our duty, in this hour of supreme crisis, to give strength and vigor to our common party whose birth we saw and whom it is our duty to love." 228

The Nacionalista Party split has now become a fact.

XV. SECOND INDEPENDENCE MISSION

'22 Apr. Second Independence Mission. Towards the end of April Quezon and Osmena jointly head the Second Independence Mission to the United States, this time specifically to counteract the adverse effects of the Wood-Forbes report and, if possible, to hear President Harding's views on the Philippine question. Wood has approved the P500,000 appropriation for the expenses of the mission, although he believes the missionaries are "on a wild-goose journey." 229

'22 June 6 Hands Off Election. The election for senators and representatives takes place when the mission is still en route to Washington. Osmena and Quezon, who are both candidates for senator, leave the campaign to their followers. Osmena, this time, has decided to run for the Upper House, perhaps hoping that he can unseat Quezon from the Senate presidency once the Nacionalista Party loyalists or "Unipersonalistas" win the majority in that body. The Independence Mission arrives in Washington just one week (June 13) after the Philippine election. 230

'22 June 17 Memorial to Harding and Congress. The mission presents a long memorial to Harding stating, among other things, that "the present is the time for the United States completely to discharge

226/ Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 576-577.

227/ Pacis, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 304.

228/ Letter to Nacionalista leaders headed by Rafael Palma. De la Rosa Collection. Pacis, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 303.

229/ Hermann Hagedorn, Leonard Wood. 2 vols. New York: 1931, Vol. II, p. 415. Quoted in Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 148.

230/ Pacis, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 311.

its obligations to the Philippines. The Filipino people have fulfilled their part in the covenant with America... If the independence of the Philippines could now be secured as an amicable agreement between the two peoples, nay, even as an act of magnanimity on the part of a sovereign power, how much would that mean to the peace of the world!" ²³¹ Two days later, a copy of the memorial is submitted to the U.S. Congress. ²³²

'22 June 22

Harding's Reply. "We do not propose to retain under our flag any people to whom retention will not be agreeable," Harding says in his reply to the memorial. "I do not have anything but phrases of eulogy for your aspirations towards independence and complete sovereignty. No one in America would like to see you without national aspirations. The only thing on which we really disagree is the date when independence should be granted. The date today is not yet propitious. But we are not considering the taking of any retrogressive step nor do we plan to diminish our internal control." ²³³

"I can only commend the Philippine aspirations to independence and complete self-sovereignty," he adds. "None in America would wish you to be without national aspirations. You would be unfitted for the solemn duties of self-government without them. It is fair to assume that our only difference of opinions relates to the time for independence. You crave it now, and I do not believe the time has arrived for the final decision." ²³⁴ The Independence Mission returns empty-handed.

'22 Sept.

Election Results. Quezon and Osmeña are easily elected to the Senate. The Colectivistas win four seats in the Senate, the Unipersonalistas three (including Osmeña), and the Democratas four. Of the 11 hold-over senators, 1 is a Democrata, and most of the rest, although previously elected Nacionalistas, have joined Quezon. In the House, the Colectivistas win 32 seats, Democratas 26, and Unipersonalistas 21. In the Senate, Quezon is elected president, and Osmeña Senate President protempore. In the House, neither the Colectivistas nor Unipersonalistas can, individually, elect a speaker. The Colectivista candidate for speaker is the young and brilliant Manuel A. Roxas of Capiz; that of the Unipersonalistas, Mariano J. Cuenco; and the Democratas, Claro M. Recto. Previously, the Colectivistas, in a caucus, have nominated

²³¹/ Galang, op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 312-324.

²³²/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 165.

²³³/ Ibid., pp. 165-166.

²³⁴/ Galang, supra, . . . pp. 544-548.

Antonio de las Alas as candidate for speaker, but Quezon has convinced the Batangas solon to withdraw in favor of Roxas. For ten successive days the Lower House is unable to elect its speaker, ²³⁵

forcing the three parties to seek an alliance that can give the victory to the chosen candidate. After the Democratas fail to conclude a pact with Osmena's Unipersonalistas (Oct. 19), Quezon's Colectivistas, in turn, try their luck and succeed in concluding a "Pact" with the Unipersonalistas in three stages, namely -

'22 Oct. 21 First Step. Colectivista and Unipersonalista senators and representatives reach an agreement to elect a Colectivista Speaker and a Unipersonalista Speaker Protempore, premised on the eventual union of the two parties.

'22 Oct. 24 Second Step. Representatives of the two parties sign an agreement detailing a joint legislative program of two parts, namely, 1) a joint program of campaigning for independence and the Filipinization of the Supreme Court; and 2) undertaking domestic objectives, including a responsible Cabinet, maintenance of the Council of State, improvement of the conditions of labor, expansion of benefits for veterans of the Revolution, and faster development of the non-Christian provinces. ²³⁶

'22 Oct. 26 Third Step. Signing of a Pact of Union and Understanding in which the two parties agree to act together in the Legislature and to have their respective parties convene in simultaneous convention to approve the permanent reunion of the two parties. ²³⁷

Roxas Speaker. On the day the Pact is signed, Roxas accepts the offer of speakership tendered by Quezon, newly re-elected Senate president, and agrees to the condition that "I shall be obliged to present my resignation as Speaker of the House of Representatives if the fusion is not carried out." ²³⁸

'22 Nov. 19 Charter Plan Rejected. Undaunted by the Harding reply to the memorial of the Second Independence Mission, the Philippine Legislature approves a resolution asking the U.S. Congress for authority to draft a Constitution for the Philippines. This is not heeded by Congress. ²³⁹

²³⁵/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 251.

²³⁶/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 315.

²³⁷/ Ibid., pp. 314-315.

²³⁸/ Ibid.

²³⁹/ Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 306.

XVI. WOOD REACTIONARY REGIME

1923 July 17

Wood Cabinet Crisis. Headed by Senate President Quezon and Speaker Roxas, the Filipino members of the Council of State and the Secretaries of Department jointly tender their resignations in protest against Governor-General Wood's policy "to intervene in, and control, even to the smallest detail, the affairs of our government, both national and local, in utter disregard of the authority and responsibility of the department heads and other officials concerned." ²⁴⁰ That triggers the mass resignations is the Conley Case.

Fuse of Crisis. Ray Conley, an American member of the Manila secret service force and chief of the gambling squad, is suspected of receiving bribes. Mayor Ramon Fernandez orders him watched, and when sufficient proofs have been found, suspends him from office. The case is elevated to Secretary of the Interior Jose P. Laurel, who confirms the suspension. Thereupon Governor-General Wood intervenes, and ignoring the city mayor and the secretary of the interior, orders Conley reinstated. Upon receiving the Governor-General's order, Laurel and Fernandez resign from their respective positions, thus setting the stage for the mass resignations of Filipino leaders headed by Senate President Quezon. ²⁴¹

'23 July 18

Here Protest, Not Rebellion. After hearing that Wood, considering the mass resignations as an act of "rebellion against the authority of the United States," has ordered the American Army in the Philippines to be ready, just in case, Quezon writes to reassure the Governor-General. "I desire most emphatically to affirm that the people of the Philippine Islands are loyal to the United States government," says the Senate leader, "and that they are not contemplating any revolt against the sovereignty of the United States." He adds that "to talk of revolution when our people are unarmed and unprepared is comic." Later on Quezon tells the Associated Press that what the Filipino leaders have done "is not even a protest against the administration of President Harding, but against General Wood personally... a protest against (his) encroachment upon constitutional rights already enjoyed by the Filipino people and against the

^{240/} Conrado Benitez, History of the Philippines. Boston: Ginn and Company, 1954, pp. 318-319.

^{241/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 176.

usurpation of powers in direct violation of existing laws." 242

'23 Aug. 2

Death of Harding. Coming from an inspection tour of the Alaskan region, President Harding dies suddenly in San Francisco, California, under mysterious circumstances. He is succeeded by Vice-President Calvin Coolidge, "cool as ice and impenetrable in the mysterious recesses of his thinking." A more formidable stumbling block to Philippine independence is installed at the White House. 243

'23 Aug. 11

The Collectivistas and Unipersonalistas meet in a national convention and ratify the Pact of Union and Understanding. 244

'23 Oct.

Wood Vs. Quezon. To bring the issue directly to the people, Quezon causes a vacancy in the Senate through the resignation of Senator Pedro Guevara of the fourth senatorial district (Laguna, Rizal, Bataan and Manila). A special election is set in October. Then Quezon launches the senatorial candidacy of Ramon Fernandez, the first victim of Wood's arbitrary rule. After some prodding by his fellow Democratas and by the Wood administration, Judge Juan Sumulong, "the brains of the Opposition," is drafted to fight Fernandez. This is right in the trap set by Quezon. The campaign issue, as formulated by Quezon and the Coalesced Nacionalista, is the "question of political autonomy and respect for the law as against the centralization of power and despotism; a clean and honest government against a government dirty and depraved" under Wood for supporting Conley. The Democratas are thus obliged to defend Wood. In the ensuing electoral fight dubbed as "the battle of this generation," Quezon's candidate, Fernandez, wins by a large majority over Sumulong. 245

'23 Oct.

Wood's Recall Asked. The Philippine Legislature approves a joint resolution demanding the recall of Wood and the appointment of a Filipino governor-general. Washington shelves the request. This is followed by another resolution providing for a plebiscite on independence, but Wood vetoes the measure. The Legislature quickly repasses it over Wood's veto, so it is referred to Washington. The new undiplomatic president, Mr. Coolidge, confirms the Wood veto, at the same time rebuking the Filipino leaders for the current deadlock in insular affairs. 246

242/ Ibid., pp. 178-179.

243/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 247.

244/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 317.

245/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., pp. 181-182. Also in Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 244-246.

246/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 163-163.

'23 Dec.

Roxas Mission. Late in the year (1923) the Philippine Legislature decides to send a special mission to Washington headed by the young Speaker Roxas. The latter then invites the Democrats to join him in order to present before the American people a solid front against Wood. But the opposition party declines the invitation. "Quezon has pushed his party into a quagmire," says Ruperto Montinola, the "colossus of the South." "Let him take care of his troubles himself." Meanwhile, speaking at the Lyric Stadium in Iloilo, Roxas condemns Wood's "autocracy" as being "worse than the whole Spanish regime in suppressing and curtailing the rights of the Filipinos." Turning to Montinola, the dynamic Speaker concludes: "Let our people take Montinola by the collar and make him kneel to ask forgiveness for his unpatriotic and criminal act in supporting Wood and the enemies of independence!" 247

1924 Jan. 8

Memorial of Grievances. Speaker Roxas, assisted by the two Filipino residents commissioners, Isauro Gabaldon and Pedro Guevara, presents to President Coolidge a memorial containing a long litany of grievances against Governor-General Wood. "The recent incident (i.e., the Wood Cabinet crisis - ABS) simply serves to bring home the compelling need that the Philippine question be now settled once and for all," the memorial states. "The time for Philippine independence has come. It can be postponed no longer. Filipino welfare calls for it; Filipino ideals long for it; and the good name and pledged faith of America require it. In deep gratitude for all that America has done for the Filipinos... we respectfully and earnestly submit that the next step in the development of our relationship is the fulfillment of the promise of the United States to our people, the immediate establishment of a Philippine free republic, consecrated to the ideals of liberty and justice which America has upheld throughout her history." 248 Coolidge's reply, dated February 21, is negative. 249

'24 Jan. 9

Con-Con. Rep. Henry Allen Cooper introduces a resolution providing for the holding of a Constitutional Convention to draft a constitution for an independent Philippine Republic. The resolution is approved by the House Committee on Insular

247/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 251-253.

248/ Galang, op. cit., Vol. VI, pp. 478-484.

249/ Ibid., pp. 549-555.

Affairs. In the Senate, although the majority favor the granting of Philippine independence, opinion is divided on the date of American withdrawal from the Philippines. 250

'24 Feb. 15 Fund Suspension. Questioning the constitutionality of the law appropriating funds for the independence missions to the United States, Insular Auditor Ben F. Wright orders the suspension of payments from the funds on the ground that the standing annual appropriation is not necessary for the support of the legislature. 251 This move stirs much resentment among the people, threatening the immediate paralyzation of the entire independence campaign, including the dissolution of the Commission on Independence, the Executive Office under the Commission, the Press Bureau in Washington, etc. 252 The resulting crisis brings the Nacionalistas and Democratas in a united protest against the Wright actuation. A National Collection Committee, with branches in the provinces, is immediately organized to raise funds for the independence cause. Under the able management of Arsenio N. Luz, former newspaperman and director of commerce and industry, the Committee is able to reach the quota by popular subscriptions after a few months. 253

'24 Feb. 20 Fairfield Bill. Congressman Louis M. Fairfield of Indiana, chairman of the House Insular Affairs Committee, introduces a bill providing for the grant of independence to the Philippines after a 30-year transition period under an autonomous government known as Commonwealth, headed by a Filipino Governor-General. The government, of course, will be under the "supervision" of a United States Commissioner vested with certain emergency powers subject to the decision of the President of the United States. After the transition period, a plebiscite will be held to determine if the Filipinos will want the Commonwealth to continue or be granted absolute independence. 254 Incidentally, Sen. William H. King of Utah also introduces a bill providing for immediate and complete independence, but no final action is taken by the U.S. Congress on both measures for lack of time. The Fairfield bill is the precursor of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting and the Tydings-McDuffie bills. 255

250/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 373.

251/ Ibid., p. 372.

252/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 187.
253/ Ibid., p. 188.

254/ Ibid., pp. 191-192.

255/ Ibid., p. 192.

'24 Mar. 17 Wood's Controversial Cable. To stem the rising sentiment in the U.S Congress favoring the grant of Philippine independence, Wood, reportedly at the instigation of the chief of the Bureau of Insular Affairs, dispatches a cable to Washington saying that the Filipino people are not yet ready for independence. ²⁵⁶ Wood adds that independence will "signify the ruin of the tobacco and sugar industries, the destruction of faith in investments and of the finances of the Islands, followed by laziness and disorder that would be a big blow to Occidental civilization." ²⁵⁷

'24 _____ Third Parliamentary Mission. With Senate President Quezon as chairman, the Third Parliamentary Mission is dispatched to the United States to follow up the various independence measures filed in the U.S. Congress. Besides Quezon, the mission is composed of Sen. Osmena and Rep. Claro M. Recto, members, and Francisco Zamora, secretary. The mission is still in Yokohama, Japan, en route to America when it is informed by the Philippine Press Bureau in Washington of the Wood cable opposing the grant of independence. ²⁵⁸ Upon their arrival in Washington, the Quezon mission is joined by Roxas and the two Philippine resident commissioners.

'24 Apr. 17 Mass Protest Vs. Wood. Led by Acting Speaker Antonio de las Alas, a mass rally is held at the Manila Grand Opera House protesting against the Wood cable, and reiterating the Filipinos' demand for "immediate, absolute, and complete independence." ²⁵⁹

'24 Apr. 30 Coup d'Grace. The Attorney General of the United States rules that the Commission on Independence is illegal because it is exercising powers that belong exclusively to the U.S. Congress. ²⁶⁰

'24 Dec. 4 Third Child. ^{comes to} Death - the third Quezon child, Luisa Corazon Paz, an infant.

1925 July Coolidge Envoy. Because of the continuing friction between Wood and the Filipino leaders, President Coolidge dispatches Col. Carmi Thompson to investigate Philippine conditions in order that he can secure "a better administration" of its affairs. Like the Wood-Forbes mission before him, Thompson reports that complete independence for the Philippines "is impossible, now and for a long time to come, because the Filipinos lack the

^{256/} Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 373.

^{257/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 190.

^{258/} Ibid., p. 189.

^{259/} Ibid., p. 191.

^{260/} Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 307.

financial resources, social homogeneity and solidarity required of an independent nation. He warns that termination of free trade relations between the United States and the Philippines will mean economic disaster for the Islands. 261

'25 Aug.

Osmena Mission. For the second time in a year Senator Osmena is sent to the United States on a special mission by the Philippine Legislature. The idea is to step up the independence campaign, taking advantage of the new atmosphere in the U.S. Congress favorable to the Philippines. Acting as his technical adviser is Teodoro M. Kalaw, former secretary of the interior, who is now executive secretary and chief adviser of the Independence Commission. 262 In America, Osmena asks the U.S. Congress to authorize the Filipino people to draft their own constitution. This is reminiscent of the resolution passed by the Philippine Assembly in December 1910 petitioning the U.S. Congress for authority to draft a constitution, to which the Philippine Commission objected. 263 From Washington, Osmena cables Quezon and Roxas in Manila ruefully stating that there is "no prospect now for consideration of any independence bill, while the introduction of reactionary legislation is imminent." 264

'25 _____

Change of Climate. True enough, the climate of opinion has drastically changed in Washington. Rep. Keiss has introduced two measures, the first designed to increase the powers of the Insular Auditor in the Philippines, and the second authorizing the Governor-General to control and dispose of revenue collected from duties on Philippine products exported to the United States. Shortly before the Congress adjournment, Rep. Bacon introduces his infamous bill seeking the permanent separation of Mindanao, with Sulu and Palawan from the rest of the Philippines, and a special form of government in these areas. 265 The period of reaction has set in.

'25 Sept.

General Elections. The Colectivistas and Unipersonalistas formally effect their fusion under the name Partido Nacionalista Consolidado with Quezon as the president. This fusion explains the overwhelming victory of the newly merged party over the Democratas. Quezon's political leadership will remain firmly

261/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., pp. 375-376.

262/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., pp. 192-193.

263/ Zaido, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 308.

264/ Kalaw, supra, p. 196.

265/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 374.

entrenched for the next decade. 266

1926

Supreme National Council. Even before Osmeña's return from his special mission to the U.S., Quezon has organized a Supreme National Council composed of Nacionalista (Consolidado) and Democrata leaders. Quezon's idea is to secure a more solid front in the Filipino struggle for independence. The Democrata Party is given equal representation with the ruling majority party in the inner council of this fusion. Quezon, of course, sits at the head of the table, with Judge Sumulong on his right. Comments a biographer: "Mr. Quezon's leadership has achieved the impossible - that of moulding a cogent and solid spiritual devotion to an idea out of years of adversities against Wood." 267

Kalaw, however, says that the Supreme National Council is intended to "supplant the Commission on Independence which had been created with the same objectives, but with the difference that now the two major political parties are recognized on a fifty-fifty basis." 268 Still another observer says that the formation of the Council serves to enhance Quezon's leadership. "By joining the Supreme National Council," he adds, "the Democratas abdicated their position as an effective fiscalizer to the powerful Nacionalista Party and lost forever their opportunity to develop into a full opposition party." 269

'26 Feb. 22

Prayer Day. The Supreme National Council holds a mammoth field mass on Washington's birthday - previously declared a Prayer Day - at the Luneta park in Manila, invoking the Deity's help "to stay the hand that would smite our liberties," and to "grant us the grace to forgive those who seek to destroy our freedom." 270

'26

Anti-Wood Drive. Under the aegis of the spiritual fusion of the Nacionalista and Democrata parties, Quezon steps up his anti-Wood campaign in the provinces, painting the Governor-General as "a tyrant and usurper of power." It is at this time that the immortal Quezon dictum is heard around the world. "I would rather have the Legislature abolished and allow the Governor-General to govern alone," he says in one of his fighting speeches. "There has been no party in power since he (Wood) took over his post. Because he is the power, the only

266/ Caballero and Concepcion, *op. cit.*, p. 265; and Pacis, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 313.

267/ Caballero and Concepcion, *supra*, p. 266.

268/ Kalaw, *Aide-de-Camp*, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

269/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

270/ Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 130.

power, I would prefer a government run like hell by Filipinos to one run like heaven by Americans, because no matter how bad a Filipino government might be, it can still be improved." ²⁷¹
(Underscoring supplied. - ABS.)

- '26 June 23 Only Son. Birth of Manuel (Nonong) Quezon, Jr.
- '26 Nov. 9 Big Setback. Wood deals the Filipino struggle for self-rule a big blow when he abolishes the Board of Control on the ground that it is unconstitutional, assuming the powers that belong only to the Chief Executive. Wood contends that under the Jones Law he is vested with supreme executive control, and it is unconstitutional for the Legislature to compel him to share his powers with the Board of Control. Quezon and Osmena elevate the case to the Supreme Court of the Philippines, which subsequently sustains Wood. The decision of the local Supreme Court is affirmed two years later by the U.S. Supreme Court. ²⁷²
- '26 Quezon-Aguinaldo Controversy. Left without his standby, the Democratas, who have been won over by the Nacionalistas under the Supreme National Council, Wood then woos General Aguinaldo, Quezon's commander-in-chief in the Revolution. Aguinaldo's son-in-law, Jose P. Melencio, husband of his eldest daughter, Carmen, is appointed representative for one of the non-Christian provinces. ²⁷³ Aguinaldo, in fact, has been on friendly terms with Wood since the latter's arrival in 1921. His Veteranos de la Revolucion has been attacked by the Nacionalistas as unpatriotic for its refusal to join the Quezon brainchild, the Supreme National Council. ²⁷⁴
- 1927 Feb. Quezon Expelled? Stung by the Nacionalistas' attack, Aguinaldo prods his Veteranos into expelling Quezon, a revolutionary major, from the veterans' organization. But the Senate president quips back: "My alleged expulsion is a farce. While I am a veteran, I have never affiliated myself with the association, and from the time General Aguinaldo, for purely personal motives, came out in support of General Wood I have considered any connection with it not only an inconsistency but a betrayal of public trust on my part." ²⁷⁵

- ²⁷¹/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, supra, p. 209.
- ²⁷²/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 368.
- ²⁷³/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 254.
- ²⁷⁴/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 131.
- ²⁷⁵/ Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 268.

'27 Plebiscite Issue. To disprove allegations by some American quarters that only a few Filipinos favor independence, the Philippine Legislature approves a bill providing for a plebiscite on "complete, immediate and absolute independence." Wood vetoes the measure on the ground that the Legislature, under the Jones Law, has no authority to initiate such a plebiscite bill. The Legislature repasses the bill over Wood's veto. It then goes to President Coolidge for final decision. 276

Wood, already operated twice for hernia on both the left and right sides, sails for the United States for medical treatment. 277

'27 Apr. 6 Wood Sustained. President Coolidge upholds Wood's veto of the plebiscite measure on the ground that it is untimely, adding that with a "yes" or "no" answer the people will not be able to explain their vote, nor can they give any other answer. 278

'27 Apr. 7 "Iron" Wood Dies. After serving nearly seven years in Malacan- nan, General Wood expires on the operating table in Boston after Dr. Harvey Cushing has removed his 17-year-old brain tumor. 279 His Filipino critics can now breathe a sigh of relief. "It is with deep regret and sorrow that I heard of the death of Governor-General Wood," says Quezon. "I admired in him the courage with which he fought for his ideas, and he never resented the frankness with which I expressed to him my views when we were not in accord..." 280 Wood is also described as the "flint that produced the sparks," hardening the Filipino national character in the struggle for independence. 281

'27 June for Off to Shanghai. Feeling indisposed several times, after those hectic months of political wrestling within his own Nacionalista Party exacerbated by barbed comments from the opposition, Quezon sails ^{for} to Shanghai for a much-needed vacation. Meanwhile, another independence mission to the United States is being planned, but is severely criticized by the opposition because no accounting has yet been made of previous missions. Nevertheless, contributions to the independence fund keep coming in, manifesting undiminished patriotic fervor.

276/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 376.

277/ Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 269.

278/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 376.

279/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 188; and Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 272.

280/ Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 779.

281/ Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 275.

'27 July

When Cat is Away. In the absence of Quezon, Osmena is elected Senate president pro tempore at the opening of the **regular** session of the Legislature. The serious business of **lawmaking** is interrupted every now and then by some tragi-comic manifestations. Bicolandia's Senator Alegre refers to Wood-appointed Senator Jose Alejandrino as a "representative of Malacanan." The latter counters by calling Alegre "a bad Spaniard, a Filipino by accident and convenience, hence little qualified to give lessons in patriotism." Then again the one-time revolutionary general is called "a useless senator of Mongolian features, an ignoramus whose salary should be suppressed because he did nothing but sit in the Senate as a mere decoration." Meanwhile, in the House, which is presided over by Speaker Roxas, Tomas Confesor refers to all Wood appointees as "representatives of Malacanan" and "of the sovereign power," to which Pedro de la Lana, a former newspaperman, makes a tart reply, calling the Iloilo solon a "liar" and a "rascal." Provoked, Confesor throws at De la Llana the "proposed budget for 1927." 282

XVII. A SICK MAN FIGHTS ON

'27 Oct. 1

New Mission. Entirely financed ^{by} public contributions, the fourth (?) independence mission sails ^{for} the United States with Quezon and Osmena as joint chairmen. Quezon, who is intermittently ill, needs the support of his one-time political rival. They arrive in Washington just in time to fight reactionary measures, such as the Willis bill appropriating \$125,000 from the internal revenue tax collected in the United States on Philippine cigars and tobacco for salaries of technical advisers to the Governor-General; another bill proposing the appointment of governors for the Mohammedan and non-Christian provinces without the consent of the Philippine Senate; and a third bill imposing a duty on Philippine sugar aside from restricting its importation into the United States. Says Quezon: "Such attempts are an outrage, since there are already tariff laws discriminating against Philippine industries in favor of American industries." 283

282/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 271-272.

283/ Ibid., p. 276.

'27 _____

MLQ Wants Stimson. Another purpose of Quezon's trip to Washington is to secure the appointment of Col. Henry L. Stimson as Wood's successor. 284

Dreadful Disease. Advised by Chief Justice William Howard Taft to have himself examined to know what illness is troubling him, Quezon goes to the New York Institute of Health where he learns, to his utter disbelief, that he is suffering from tuberculosis. "No," he exclaims, "not that dreadful thing!" But another specialist confirms the first medical finding, and he is advised to have "complete rest for at least one year if he expects to live." Consequently, Quezon enters the Pottenger Sanatorium in Monrovia, California. 285

1928 Jan. 19

Why Stimson? Despite his illness, Quezon continues his struggle for the independence cause. From the hospital he wires his aide in Washington, Vicente Bunuan, to try to get a copy of the Stimson testimony in the U.S. Congress favoring the reactionary bills to which he has previously objected. What he likes with Stimson is that the latter has never pretended to be in favor of Philippine independence because he is anxious about the fate of the Filipino people once they become free and without the protection of the United States. Quezon can talk freely to him. "If the United States retained the Philippines under the American flag," he tells Stimson, "and taxed our products entering the United States while keeping open the Philippine market for American goods, I would start a revolution against the United States!" Stimson merely smiles, saying: "I would not blame you." 286

'28 Feb.

Family Reunion. Dona Aurora and the Quezon children, Maria Aurora (Baby), Zeneida (Nini), and Manuel, Jr. (Nonong) arrive at the Monrovia sanatorium, and their presence gives the patient great pleasure. 287

'28 Apr.

From Sickbed. Worried about the possibility that some reactionary bills might be "railroaded" in the U.S. Congress, Quezon, from his sickbed in Monrovia, wires

284/ Quezon, op. cit., pp. 140-141.

285/ Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 277.

286/ Quezon, op. cit., pp. 145-146.

287/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 280.

Bunuan again: "Inquire confidentially of Senator (Burton K. Wheeler if danger of passing pending measures is great and if he thinks my presence in Washington is necessary or if memorandum, as you suggest, is sufficient STOP Although dangerous to my health I will take the risk if necessary and go to Washington the first week of May..." 288

'28 May 4

Spirit Willing But... His condition has not improved. "I am afraid," he wires Bunuan, "I am not well enough to make the trip to Washington. Yesterday I had some temperature, and I am writing this in case there is something I could do through the mail..." 289

No Peace of Mind. Informed that nightly meetings are being held in the U.S. Congress to dispose of pending measures, Quezon finally makes the long trip by train on the Santa Fe Chief. But during the trip, he succumbs to physical exhaustion. On May 17th, he wires Bunuan from Kansas City: "Am too weak to continue the trip to Washington."

Temporary Victory. Because of Quezon's intervention, the U.S. Congress decides to put off action on Republican measures seeking to curtail certain powers already enjoyed by the Filipinos. The sick man regains his peace of mind. 290

'28 _____

Spiritual Desolation. With plenty of time on his hands, Quezon, a Freemason, reads all sorts of books during his long confinement: history, politics, economics, biographies, and even detective stories. Then he comes across a 36-page book - or pamphlet - written by an American mystic, Annie Fellows Johnston. He reads it over and over again, getting more interested with each reading. At last he realizes something missing in him - something that makes his life, despite his fame, power and pelf, spiritually desolate. This something is his "lack of faith in the supernatural life - his lack of religion." As subsequent events show, this is the starting point of his return to the faith of his forefathers, which will find its culmination about two years later. 291

'28 June

Third Term. Despite his absence and his continuing illness, Quezon is reelected senator of the fifth district

288/ Ibid.

289/ Ibid., p. 281.

290/ Ibid., p. 283.

291/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 192-193.

(Tayabas, Batangas, Mindoro, and Marinduque) for the third term. ²⁹²

'28 Mid-Aug. Welcome Home! A crowd of about 1500 welcome Quezon and his family at the pier. Quezon appears to have recovered from his bout with the dreaded disease.

'28 Aug. 24 Resigns but Stays. His health remaining delicate despite his apparent recovery from TB, Quezon tenders his resignation as president of the Senate, and of the Nacionalista Party, but his colleagues turn it down. Senator Camilo Osias remarks at a party caucus that "it is never the part of political wisdom or expediency to change leaders at this time." ²⁹³ A week later, Quezon takes his oath as Senate president, and delivers a speech keynoting the spirit of cooperation with the new Governor-General (Stimson). Upon Quezon's initiative, the Legislature enacts the Balo bill appropriating \$125,000 (P250,000) for Malacanan technical advisers. Stimson, in turn, revives the Council of State which ceased to exist as a result of the Wood Cabinet crisis of 1923. ²⁹⁴

Triumph of Conscience. Showing every evidence that he is on the threshold of a new life, Quezon begins his term in the Senate with a fresh outlook on his career in the public service. "I am not wedded to the Presidency of the Senate," he declares with conviction, "or to the leadership of the Nacionalista Party. I can live and be happy without either position or both. But I cannot part with my conscience and cannot therefore live and be happy with a troubled conscience for having been recreant to my duties, or for having lost my self-respect. The loss of self-respect or peace of mind is too heavy a penalty to pay for political power or riches." ²⁹⁵

1929 Mar. 4 Hoover Sworn In. Herbert Hoover, the U.S. secretary of commerce since 1921, is sworn in as the 31st president of the United States, succeeding fellow Republican, Calvin Coolidge, who did not choose to run. ²⁹⁶ One of his first official acts is the recall of Stimson from the

^{292/} Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 92.

^{293/} Ibid.

^{294/} Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 287.

^{295/} Ibid., p. 298.

^{296/} Gavian and Hamm, op. cit., pp. 657-668.

Philippines to become the new secretary of state. Dwight F. Davis, the outgoing secretary of war, is named to succeed Stimson as Governor-General of the Philippines.

'29 July 18 Davis' Arrival. Davis arrives in Manila and begins his brief stay in the Philippines marked by "close, cordial and constructive cooperation" with the Filipino leaders. Quezon, of course, is away from the Philippines most of the time because of poor health. "All that I can say of Governor Davis," the Senate President says, "is that he was a gentleman personified and well-liked by the Filipinos." 297

'29 _____ Special Mission. A special mission headed by Speaker Roxas is sent to the United States because of the introduction in the U.S. Congress of the Timberlake bill limiting the tonnage of Philippine sugar entering the United States duty-free. The measure is backed by American beet sugar and Cuban sugar industries, largely American-owned, which are affected by competition from insular duty-free products. 298

'29 Sept. To Japan. His health still none too good, Quezon turns over the party leadership to Senate President Protempore Osmena, who has just returned from the Vatican, and sails to Japan for an indefinite vacation. 299

Doctor of Laws. Sometime during the year, Quezon is conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, by the University of the Philippines.

'29 Oct. 23 33rd^o Mason. Quezon is elected to 33rd degree, the highest honor in masonry, by the Supreme Council of the Scottish Rite Masons in Washington, D.C. 300 This means that the beginnings of "spiritual renaissance" which he felt during his confinement at the Monrovia sanatorium have not yet come into full bloom.

'29 Oct. 29 Stock Market Crash. With Hoover's election slogans, "Four more years of prosperity" and "Two cars in every garage," the New York stock market reached a peak early in September. Shortly afterwards European and American investors began quietly selling their stocks. On October 23rd prices

297/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 147; also in Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 290.

298/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 195; also in Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 291.

299/ Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 292; also in Gwekoh, op. cit., p. 93.

300/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 294.

broke, dropping 18 points on the average. The stampede of selling begins, reaching its climax on October 29th, with stocks slumping 40 points, causing a total loss in stock values worth 14 billion dollars. ³⁰¹ This is the beginning of the longest depression in United States history. Dairy, cordage, cottonseed oil, and domestic sugar interests ask the U.S. Congress to limit the entry of duty-free products from insular territories or abolish altogether all tariff concessions. This also marks a turning point in American attitude towards Philippine independence. There begins a growing agitation in the U.S. Congress for cutting the Philippines adrift to justify restrictions on Filipino immigrations and on the entry of Philippine products into the United States. ³⁰²

'29 Dec.

117

Independence Bill. Sen. William H. King, one of Quezon's steadfast friends in the U.S. Senate, reintroduces his bill providing for Philippine independence after the holding of a constitutional convention. ³⁰³

1930 Feb. 22-26

Independence Congress. Timed with the independence agitation in Washington, the First Independence Congress is held at the Manila Grand Opera House. The first plenary session is presided over by Felipe Agoncillo, former secretary of the interior; the second, by Rafael Palma, president of the University of the Philippines. The Congress has been organized by Dean Maximo Kalaw, former Quezon secretary in Washington, D.C., when the latter was the resident commissioner. The Congress, says Kalaw, is "an expression of our solidarity, an assembly not for the glorification of any set of leaders but for the common understanding of all leaders, not for partisanship but for common leadership, not for distrust but for tolerance." Quezon, who is ill, cannot attend the Congress. However, he sends a message of support. ³⁰⁴

'30 Apr.

Sen. Samuel M. Shortridge of California introduces an amendment to the tariff bill limiting for five years Filipino immigration to students, visitors, businessmen and government officials, making the arrangement permanent after

^{301/} Gavian and Hamm, op. cit., p. 670.

^{302/} Quirino, op. cit., pp. 200-202.

^{303/} Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 292; also in Quirino, op. cit., p. 201.

^{304/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 231.

the grant of independence. However, the majority of the Americans believe that as long as the Philippines is a colony, the U.S. government cannot impose unfair restrictions on Filipinos. The alternative is to set the Philippines free. ³⁰⁵ The Shortridge proposal is defeated.

XVIII. INDEPENDENCE IS SO NEAR

- '30 _____ Auspicious Start. Both Senate and House insular affairs committees start public hearings on the various Philippine bills filed in the U.S. Congress. Quezon wants to attend these hearings to present the Philippine side. However, a special mission headed by Speaker Roxas has earlier left for Washington.
- '30 May 30 World Congress. Indicating that they, too, are abreast of what is happening in their homeland, representatives of Filipino groups in Paris and in other foreign countries gather in the French capital and adopt a resolution urging the people and government of the United States to "grant the Philippines immediate, complete, and absolute independence." The resolution is attested to by Gregorio Y. Zara, secretary of the First Philippine Independence World Congress in Paris. ³⁰⁶
- '30 June 2 Hawes-Cutting Bill. The Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions reports out the bill introduced by Senator^s Harry B. Hawes of Missouri and Bronson M. Cutting of New Mexico providing for the drafting of a constitution for the Philippines, its ratification and the establishment of an autonomous government for a period of five years, and the granting of independence after an affirmative plebiscite. But no action is taken by Congress until the end of the year. ³⁰⁷
- '30 Aug. Quezon to U.S. Feeling well enough to make the trip, Quezon sails to the United States to join the Roxas mission in Washington. Upon his arrival in California he first checks in at the Pottenger sanatorium for medical examination. In September the doctors find "a low-grade activity

^{305/} Quirino, op. cit., pp. 201-203.

^{306/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, supra, pp. 231-232.

^{307/} Quirino, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

in the upper portion of the left lung; but the serious lesion... is the one on the right side." Their finding is that Quezon is definitely suffering from "chronic fibrous tuberculosis with some recent softening." 308

'30 Aug. 18 Eve of 58th. Quezon is en route to the United States aboard an ocean liner, with his wife, Dona Aurora, and a maid or nurse, when the idea of addressing a letter to his friend, Most Rev. Michael J. O'Doherty, archbishop of Manila, occurs to him. It is the eve of his 52nd birthday, and he feels it's time he bared something very important that has been going on in the deepest recesses of his mind and soul since the first half of 1928 while confined at the Monrovia sanatorium. Writing in Spanish, he tells the Catholic prelate that it has been 25 years since he left the Church and became a member of Masonry. "I must confess," he says, "that during all this long period of my life, I had practically forgotten my God, if not completely ceased to believe in Him, although He, in His infinite goodness and mercy, continued to heap blessings upon me."

Then came the day when he felt "a complete desolation in spite of the material goods which I enjoyed... (because of) my lack of religion... In such a frame of mind, I asked certain ministers of the Catholic Church to help me in regaining the Faith which I had professed by virtue of my baptism... I am now therefore prepared to reenter my old Church and I fervently desire to be readmitted therein. I want to be a Catholic again..."

Quezon adds that he is abandoning Masonry and, therefore, requests the Manila archbishop "to lift the ecclesiastical censure which I have incurred, in order that I may enjoy the spiritual benefits of the Catholic Faith." Signed by Quezon, the letter is attested to by Mrs. Quezon and one Carmen Peña, probably a member of the Quezon household. It is dated "Meridian Day, August 18, 1930." 309

'30 Bucks NR Appointment. While undergoing a thorough physical examination in the Pottenger sanatorium, Quezon is informed of the appointment of Nicholas Roosevelt, cousin of President Theodore Roosevelt and special correspondent

308/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 208, quoting a family correspondence in Box No. 10, Quezon Papers, TNL.

309/ Quezonian Review, Vol. I, No. 9, August 30, 1947, pp. 35-38. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 831-833.

of the New York Times, as vice-governor of the Philippines. From his hospital suite he addresses a letter to President Hoover, through the Secretary of War, strongly protesting the Roosevelt appointment. He bewails how "humiliating it will be for the Filipino people to have as head of their Department of Public Instruction one who has branded them as dishonest and deceitful, and how extremely embarrassing it will be for the Filipinos in public life to deal officially and socially with one who has written of them with contempt." ³¹⁰ In Manila, a mammoth parade is held featuring the burning of Roosevelt's offending book at the foot of the Bonifacio monument in Balintawak. ³¹¹ Consequently, Roosevelt's appointment is withdrawn. In Congress several bills restricting or prohibiting Filipino immigration are disapproved largely because of Quezon's protest. ³¹²

'30 Nov.. Democrats Win. After a decade in limbo, the Democrats finally win control of the U.S. House of Representatives, and breaks even in the Senate. ³¹³ This is a good sign for the Philippine cause.

'30 ——— Relapse. Late in the year, Quezon is on his way back to the Philippines when he suffers a relapse from long and strenuous congressional hearings, forcing him to return to the Monrovia sanatorium. ³¹⁴

1931 Jan.-Apr. Boredom. Quezon spends four long months, January to April, in the hospital. Fortunately, his wife, Dona Aurora, is with him, doing the house-keeping in a rented apartment at 193 East Hillcrest in the dreary town of Monrovia. To ease the boredom of medical treatment and convalescence, Quezon leases a suite of rooms in a nearby hotel for his friends whom he has invited to play bridge with him. ³¹⁵ About this time, Sen. Harry Hawes, co-author of an independence bill, and Secretary of War Hurley have visited the Philippines, one after the other, to look into local conditions to reinforce their arguments, for or against the grant of

^{310/} Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 295-296.

^{311/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 233. The book is entitled The Philippines: A Treasure and a Problem. New York: J. H. Saer and Co., Inc., 1926.

^{312/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, supra, p. 235.

^{313/} Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 310.

^{314/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, supra, pp. 233-234.

^{315/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 209.

independence. 316

XIX. ON THRESHOLD OF INDEPENDENCE

'31 Oct. 22 Three Formulas. Quezon returns to the Philippines with three concrete independence formulas for consideration by the Legislature. He is optimistic that one of these formulas may be adopted by the U.S. Congress if properly presented and supported by a Filipino delegation that should be in Washington when the next Congress opens its sessions. He suggests that the Filipino missionaries this time should try to submit their own proposals to the Congress instead of merely recommending those bills already introduced which approximate the desires of the Filipino people.

'31 Nov. 7 Either Or. The formulas presented by Quezon in his report are as follows:

1. Immediate establishment of an independent government with free trade for ten years; limited Filipino immigration; sugar exports pegged at one million tons, and coconut oil at current figure; or

2. Immediate establishment of an autonomous government with all consequent powers, and with certain restrictions to safeguard the interests of American sovereignty. During the transition period of ten years, economic relations between the two countries will remain as in No. 1. At the end of ten years, a plebiscite will be held to determine if Filipinos want complete independence or prefer to continue with the present form of government; or

3. If neither of these two formulas is acceptable to the U.S. Congress, the Filipinos will accept any law granting independence under any circumstances. 317

'31 Reaction. The three Quezon formulas meet with sharp criticism from opposition quarters. Senator Sumulong declares that the formulas can be reduced to only one thing - autonomy. "It is a sign of disillusion," he says. "It proves that the campaign for independence should be taken away from politicians." Even the friendly Anti-Imperialist League in America lambasts the proposals for being a renunciation of the Philippines' traditional demand for immediate, complete and absolute independence. Consequently, the impression created in America, thanks to the pro-imperialist

316/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 298-299.

317/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 212; also in Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., pp. 233-234.

press, is that the Filipinos are asking postponement of independence. 318

'31 Independence in Sight. With prophetic vision, Quezon, convinced that independence is so near and inevitable, then tenders his resignation as president of both the Senate and the Nacionalist Party. Insofar as he is concerned, his task is done. "My reason," says Quezon in justifying his resignation, "is the absolute conviction, arrived at after mature reflection, that I can now retire, with the tranquil conscience of one who has done what he could in the service of his country, to take the modest position of an ordinary Senator... Independence has never been so near... The solution of the Filipino problem is so near at hand, a man of greater physical energies than I should direct it." 319

Quezon Example. Quezon concludes his letter of resignation as follows: "I confess that the circumstances under which I leave my office fill me with satisfaction and pride because our people have not withdrawn their confidence in me. History offers but few examples where a political chief voluntarily retired; and few occasions when one did not desire power for the sake of power itself but because of the service he could render. I want to give such an example to our people, because one of the dangers of democracy is the love for power and the desire to preserve it in all its forms." 320 (Italics supplied.)

Of course, Quezon's resignation is not accepted. However, he is given all the time he needs to rest and get well. 321

'31 Nov. 7 Forewarning. Quezon sends a long cable to the two Filipino resident commissioners in Washington informing them that another independence mission is going to the United States to support the bill providing for a definite date of the granting of independence or a plebiscite in which the Filipino people will decide whether or not they prefer complete independence. Otherwise, Quezon warns them, the mission will be compelled to "support any independence bill however injurious to our economic life if it is the only way of securing a settlement of the Philippine question." 322

'31 Nov. 8 12 lbs. Lost. Three noted physicians - Homer B. Whitney,

318/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 237.

319/ Ibid., pp. 235-236.

320/ Ibid.

321/ Ibid., p. 236.

322/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 366-367, quoting a copy of the cable filed in the Bureau of Insular Affairs Papers, Archives, Washington, D.C.

Andreas B. Trepp, and Antonio G. Sison - after a joint consultation on Quezon's condition, conclude that while the leader's pulmonary lesion is without any distinct evidence of activity, yet his general health is impaired. "When he left Manila (for the United States) several months ago, he weighed 130 pounds. Today he weighs 118, having lost 12 pounds." They also recommend that Quezon be "relieved of his work," so that he can have complete rest. ³²³

XX. OSROX MISSION

- '31 Dec. 5 Osrox Mission Off. As recommended in the Quezon report, the 9th Independence Mission jointly headed by Senate Protempore Sergio Osmena and Speaker Roxas sails for the United States on the S.S. President Coolidge. The resolution sending the mission, the shortest ever, only provides that it should work for the early grant of independence, and that it should act with entire freedom to get the best out of any situation that may arise. ³²⁴
- '31 Dec. 7 Plethora of Bills. The U.S. Congress opens with seven bills and resolutions on the Philippine question filed in the House, and five in the Senate. But because of the multiplicity of bills on the same subject, the Osrox mission decides to support only the Hawes-Cutting bill, capitalizing on the publicity already gained in previous sessions of Congress. A new bill will mean a new delay. ³²⁵
- 1932 Jan. 2 Arrival and Denial. The Osrox mission arrives in the American capital, and immediately checks in at the plush Willard Hotel. Osmena's first act is to deny persistent rumors that the Filipinos have changed their stand from immediate and complete independence to autonomy. ³²⁶ The rumors are subsequently found to be based on a wrong interpretation of the Quezon report to the Legislature cabled from the Philippines by traditional enemies of independence. For even Senator Hawes himself admits that Quezon's formulas are "a reaffirmation of my (Hawes) independence ideals." ³²⁷

^{323/} Medical statement published in the Manila Tribune, November 10, 1931. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 847.

^{324/} Pacis, supra, p. 368.

^{325/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 222; also in Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 240.

^{326/} Pacis, supra, p. 377.

^{327/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 237.

- '32 Jan. 23 First Appearance. Appearing before the House Committee on Insular Affairs, Osmena positively declares that the Filipinos have not abandoned their original demand for immediate and complete independence. Roxas also testifies in the Senate and House Committees. 328
- '32 _____ Two Philippine Bills. The Hawes-Cutting bill as originally introduced and reported out by the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions provides for a) drafting of a constitution, b) its ratification, c) establishment of a more autonomous government, d) transition period of five years, and e) withdrawal of American sovereignty following an affirmative plebiscite. 329 Re-introduced after the arrival of the Osrox mission, the Senate committee adopts several amendments, to wit: a) transition period extended to 15 years; b) restriction on Philippine imports tightened; c) gradual application of the U.S. tariff inserted; and d) number of Filipino immigrants limited to 100 persons a year. 330
- The Hare bill sponsored by Rep. Butler Hare, chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, provides for a) transitory period of eight years; b) reduction of the immigration quota to 50 annually; and c) dropping of the application of U.S. tariff during the eight-year period. 331
- '32 Feb. 24 H-C Reported Out. The Hawes-Cutting bill, as amended, is favorably reported back to the Senate by the House "despite the continued dilatory tactics of its Republican committee chairman," (Hare).
- '32 Apr. 4 Hare Bill Also Okayed. Speaker John N. Garner, after the Democratic victory in the recent election resulting in the Democratic control of the House, rushes approval of the Hare bill by suspending the House rules and limiting the debate to 40 minutes. Result: 306 vote yes, 47 no, and 79 abstain. When the Hare bill reaches the Senate, the committee reports it back by insisting on the provision of the Hawes-Cutting bill. Further consideration of the measure is suspended to enable both parties to prepare for the presidential election of November (1932).
- '32 June Come Home. After the U.S. Congress has adjourned for the presidential election, Quezon wires the Osrox mission to come home

328/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 383.

329/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 204-205.

330/ Ibid., p. 222.

331/ Ibid., p. 223.

so that the bills can be discussed by party leaders. But the mission cables back: "We consider it our duty to remain here: any other course, we are convinced, will be misunderstood in America and will set back our campaign. Our friends in Congress have been giving personal interest to our fight, placing their prestige at stake, and our departure at this time may be construed by them as running away from the fight and leaving them alone with burden." 332

But it seems that the reason why Osmena, in particular, prefers to stick it out in Washington is the belief that "whoever secured an independence bill would become the political darling of the Filipinos."

XXI. OSROX MOTIVATION

'32 July

Counter-Measure. Because of the mission's refusal to return to the Philippines for consultation with party leaders, a joint committee of the Legislature refuses to express confidence in the Osrox mission nor authorize it to remain in Washington. Consequently, funds for the mission's expenses are curtailed, and only the per diems of Osmena and Roxas are allowed. 333

Quezon's Objections. Quezon, in particular, objects to the provisions of the HHC bill regarding military and naval bases, the economic restrictions, and the powers granted the American High Commissioner. He wants the Osrox mission to withdraw its support of the bill or have certain provisions changed. 334

'32 Nov.

F.D.R. Wins. With the grant of independence to the Philippines included in the Democratic Party platform, presidential candidate Franklin D. Roosevelt, the popular and progressive governor of New York, carries 42 states and receives seven million more popular votes than re-electionist Herbert Hoover. Both houses of Congress go Democratic by a large majority. In addition, the Democrats win 29 out of 34 gubernatorial seats at stake in the national election. 335

Aquino to U.S. In view of the Democratic Party victory, Quezon decides to send his lieutenant, Benigno Aquino, Senate majority floor leader, to Washington with instruction to work for the approval of the King bill granting immediate independence and, if that fails, to accept any alternative bill providing for a

332/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 224-225, quoting Lichauco, "Roxas," p. 85.

333/ Ibid., p. 224.

334/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 241.

335/ Gavian and Hamn, op. cit., pp. 676-677.

transition period of not more than ten years, limited power of the U.S. President to intervene in Philippine affairs, and a sugar quota of not less than 1,200,000 long tons. Quezon, however, modifies his instruction after the Long amendment cutting the sugar quota to 585,000 tons and further tightening the immigration restriction. He cables the Osrox mission to work for immediate independence or, if not possible, "let there be no bill" at all. 336

'32 Dec. 8-17 H-C Approved. After nine days of intermittent debate, the Hawes-Cutting bill is approved by the Senate without a record vote. 337

A conference committee immediately takes over the Hawes-Cutting and Hare bills and merges the two into a single measure, the Hare-Hawes-Cutting bill. The new legislation provides for the a) framing of a Philippine Constitution; b) establishment of an interim government for the next 10 years, headed by an elective President; c) an American High Commissioner to represent the U.S. president in Manila; d) quotas for the principal Philippine exports to America; e) retention by the U.S. of "land or other property as heretofore been designated by the President of the United States for military and other reservations." The Hare-Hawes-Cutting bill is promptly approved by Congress and forwarded to the White House. 338

'32 Dec. Aquino Turnabout. Within 24 hours after his arrival in Washington, Aquino, instead of convincing Osmena and Roxas to adopt the Quezon position, is convinced by the latter that the HHC is the "best bill possible." Accordingly, Aquino cables Quezon urging him to accept the bill, but the latter wires back, "acceptable legislation - or nothing." 339

'32 Manila Agog. With these new developments, the stage is set for a full-fledged public discussion of the merits and demerits of the HHC bill. Dean Jorge Bocobo, of the U.P. College of Law, calls a public meeting against the bill, insisting on the traditional nationalist demand for immediate, complete and absolute independence. Dean Maximo M. Kalaw, of the U.P. College of Liberal Arts, boldly comes out for the acceptance of the bill. Pretty soon the two stage a debate on the subject before the student body of the

336/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 226.

337/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 11.

338/ Ibid., pp. 11-12.

339/ Quirino, supra, p. 232.

state university. 340

'32 _____ Osrox to MLQ. Perhaps foreseeing a presidential veto of the HHC bill, the Osrox mission renews its invitation to Quezon to come to Washington, but the latter merely cables back some suggestions. 341

1933 Jan. 13 Hoover Veto. President Hoover finally vetoes the HHC bill, declaring that the proposed law "puts both our people and the Filipino people not on the road to liberty and safety, which we desire, but on the path leading to new and enlarged dangers to liberty and freedom itself." 342

Osmena's Over-eagerness. Shortly after the Hoover veto, a group of senators and congressman sees Osmena and Roxas in the Willard Hotel to reassure them that they can muster enough votes to override the veto. At this juncture, Roxas suggests that the Osrox mission wait for Quezon to come to Washington before having the bill passed. "No!" shouts Osmena, blushing and trembling with rage, "It cannot be done! The independence of the Philippines cannot wait, happen what may!" A biographer says "Osmena was so obsessed for Philippine freedom and independence that he could not conceive of any valid reason for delaying its attainment." 343 Before leaving, the American solons tell Osmena and Roxas that they have 24 hours to make up their minds. 344

'33 Jan. 16 Osrox Go Signal. Osmena and Roxas send a joint letter to Sen. Key Pittman, head of the American group, saying that the HHC bill is satisfactory to them, and that it is their earnest desire that it receive final approval. 345

'33 Jan. 17 Congress Overrides Veto. The HHC bill finally becomes a law, the House voting 274 to 94 to override the presidential veto, the Senate concurring with the House by a vote of 66 to 26. 346 The HHC Act sets January 17, 1934, as deadline for the acceptance by the Philippines of the new law. 347

340/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 243.

341/ Ibid.

342/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 12.

343/ Ibid., p. 13.

344/ Ibid.

345/ Ibid., pp. 13-14.

346/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 236-238.

347/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 78.

'33 ——— Triumphal Return? Perhaps imagining that he, Osmena, as senior chairman of the Osrox mission, will be received in triumph upon his return, just like Quezon when he came back in 1916 with the Jones Act, the mission prepares to go home. Their work in Washington is finished. ³⁴⁸ Osmena is specially ^{anxious} to return because his wife is ill. ³⁴⁹

'33 ——— Dissent in Manila. The Osrox mission, of course, is mistaken. Quezon expresses serious doubt whether the mission's acceptance of the HHC bill has been wise, adding that it has not been empowered to do so. In fact, he says, the mission has not obeyed its instructions from Manila. ³⁵⁰ Because of this new twist, acceptance of the HHC Act by the Legislature is quite uncertain. The opposition Partido Democrata is dissolved because it cannot agree on a common stand on the new independence law. ³⁵¹

XXII. EVE OF BIG FIGHT

'33 ——— Quezon to U.S. Declaring that the independence provided in the HHC Act is fictitious, and that the law will lead to the economic strangulation of the Philippines, leaving no choice but to ask the United States to stay permanently in the country, Quezon announces that he himself will go to Washington to secure a better independence law. ³⁵²

Roces as Peacemaker. At this point Alejandro Roces, owner of the influential TVT newspapers (Tribune, Vanguardia and Taliba), steps into the picture in order to avoid a second rift between Quezon and Osmena, both of whom are his good friends. With the help of Osmena's private secretary, Eduardo de la Rosa, who is left behind in Manila, Roces tries, by cable, to reconcile the conflicting views of Osmena and Quezon. He asks the two leaders to each make a sacrifice in order to reach a common ground of understanding. Upon Roces' prodding, Quezon gives the assurance that if the Osrox mission convinces him that no better legislation can be secured, and that under the HHC Act the liberty and welfare of the Filipino people are amply protected and assured, he will not hesitate to support it. In view of this commitment, Roces in turn asks the

348/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 243.

349/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. ____.

350/ Kalaw, supra, p. 243.

351/ Ibid.

352/ Ibid., p. 244.

Osrox mission to come out with a statement to the effect that if its members can be convinced that a better independence law can be secured, they will prefer it to the present HHC law. ³⁵³

'33 Roces to Osmena. Roces, through de la Rosa, cables Osmena to wait for Quezon until April 15, adding that Quezon plans to "bring his family to Europe so as to have reason to remain there for more than a year after having had a conference with you (Osmena), and so that you would have a free hand in having the bill (HHC Act) accepted and implemented here (in the Philippines) without his intervention. I therefore request you again to wait for his arrival so as not to endanger the understanding previously made with him. Quezon will sail on March 18 via Europe to arrive in Washington about the end of April." ³⁵⁴

'33 Mar. 18 Quezon Off to Europe. Quezon and the members of his mission leave on the Italian liner S.S. Conte Verde for Europe. ³⁵⁵ Carlos P. Romulo, editor-in-chief of the TVT newspapers, is included in the mission. ³⁵⁶

Roces Suggestion. After Quezon's departure, Roces cables Osmena to suggest that "you alone meet him in Cherbourg (France). I fear if Roxas is present at the first conference all might be lost because there exists a rivalry between them. I have faith in your ability to avoid this difficulty. Quezon has fine feelings toward you and on this I base my optimism." On April 2, Osmena cables Roces that he is leaving for Europe the following Friday as per his suggestion. ³⁵⁷

'33 Apr. 17 Quezon, Osmena to US. After their closed-door meeting in Paris, Quezon and Osmena leave for New York. They propose to continue their conversations on the way across the Atlantic hoping to effect a compromise plan which they will present to President Roosevelt for approval. ³⁵⁸ They arrive in New York on April 23. The Quezon and Osrox missions then move to Washington.

^h
Quezon in Wasington. The highlights of Quezon's brief (three or four days) stay in the American capital include 1) a courtesy call on the U. S. Secretary of War, 2) a luncheon in the office of Senator Pittman, who has now become the U.S. Senate president protempore; and 3) a luncheon in the White House. At the Pittman

353/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 19.

354/ Ibid., p. 24.

355/ Ibid.

356/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 244.

357/ Pacis, supra, p. 25.

358/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 27.

luncheon, Quezon, being the guest of honor, presents his objections to the HHC Act. Senator Robinson, the Senate majority floor leader, fires "a series of fast questions in the manner of a prosecuting attorney," and Quezon naturally feels irritated by Robinson's questioning. Continues an Osmena biographer: "At this point, Quezon pushed back his chair. He said that he did not know that he was on trial. He begged to be excused, rose, and with great dignity, thanked his host, bade goodbye, and walked out." 359 After the White House luncheon, Quezon, Osmena, and the new mission leave for New York, thence to Europe and Manila.

'33 June 11

Two Missions' Arrival. The Quezon and Osroxo missions arrive to find the Nacionalista Party split, rather "lopsidedly," with the "Antis" (those opposed to the HHC Act) outnumbering the "Pros" (in favor of the law). As per Quezon's announcement in Hongkong en route to Manila, no compromise between the two missions has been reached. 360

XXIII. HHC "PROS" VS. "ANTIS"

'33 _____

Battle is On. The fuse is lighted when Quezon calls the "Pros" imprudent, adding that no understanding is possible with them because of their rash or indiscreet behavior. The "Antis" then proceed to divide the country into seven regions, each under responsible leaders. The "Pros," in turn, organize their own committees under the direction of Sen. Aquino. 361

'33 _____

Palma, Judges Eased Out. The government revamp in the name of economy under Act No. 4006 or the Government Reorganization Law of 1932 turns out to be a purge of public officials identified with the "Pros." Aside from eliminating many government positions, court judges are required to resign on pain of losing their jobs unless reappointed. Consequently, many pro-Osroxo judges fail to get back their jobs. U.P. President Palma himself is maneuvered into resigning after his salary and the appropriations for the state university have been drastically reduced. 362

1933 July 19

Quezon Resigns. At this point, Osmena makes the fatal mistake of challenging Quezon to resign so that "the people could decide on the issue free from official pressure." Quezon accepts the

359/ Ibid., p. 35.

360/ Ibid., pp. 48-49.

361/ Teodoro M. Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 245.

362/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 48-49.

challenge and tenders his resignation, and then follows this up with a marathon speech in the Senate lasting three consecutive days during which he attacks the Osrox mission, the "Pros," U.P. president Rafael Palma, and the entire state university for indulging in politics.³⁶³ Of course, Quezon's resignation is unanimously rejected.³⁶⁴

'33 July 20

Roxas Falls. Taking the Quezon resignation as a cue, the House swiftly acts and ousts Speaker Roxas by simply declaring the office of the Speaker vacant, 49 to 29. Rep. Quintin Paredes of Abra, an "Anti" follower, is quickly elected to succeed Roxas. Another "Pro" leader, Majority Floor Leader Pedro Sabido is toppled and replaced by Jose Zulueta.³⁶⁵ The Roxas ouster is witnessed by a crowd of about 2,000 jam-packed in the House gallery. Roxas has become extremely popular especially among the youth after returning from a mission in the United States in late 1930 and launching his Bagong Katipunan movement designed to promote Philippine economic protectionism through patronage of locally made goods.³⁶⁶ But before relinquishing the speakership which he first assumed in 1923, Roxas delivers a well-applauded valedictory ending with the famous remarks: "I am happier now because I fell from the Speaker's chair into the arms of the people."³⁶⁷ Roxas' critics believe that the power of the Speakership "was too early thrust upon a young head." Quezon comments on his former protege's sad plight: "Mr. Roxas is a martyr of his own incompetence."³⁶⁸

'33 July 25

Ventura, Too. The reorganization axe also falls on the neck of a lesser but equally important cog in the government machinery when Honorio Ventura, secretary of the interior, thrusts his lance at the Quezon windmill. Ventura, like many other "Pros," is not reappointed after resigning his position under Act No. 4007. When Ventura, questioning Quezon's integrity, expresses surprise at how a former muchacho to the friars during his student days could have become "an extremely rich man unless he had used his high office to line his pockets with gold," the Senate President delivers a three-day speech, containing

^{363/} Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., pp. 245-246.

^{364/} Pacis, supra, p. 49.

^{365/} Ibid., p. 50; Kalaw, supra, p. 246.

^{366/} Kalaw, supra, p. 232.

^{367/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 244; Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 319.

^{368/} Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 319.

a long narrative of his life which is published in the major newspapers. 369

Quezon's Millions? "Where are my millions?" asks Quezon, "If anybody has proofs that I have more than I have enumerated let him show it. If Mr. Ventura wants authority from me, I shall give it to him absolute and complete, so that he may find out from every source possible if I have a fortune which he claims and which he knows I do not have. He can go with that authority to all banks and he will find that all I have in cash is a few thousand pesos, as against about ninety-thousand that I owe." 370

Last Word. Quezon, of course, has the last word in the controversy. "But I do have some property," he admits. "That which I have related above, and which I hope will provide for the education of my children. So Mr. Ventura is right. I was born poor and now I have a little property made by my brains and my industry. Mr. Ventura was born rich and now he has practically nothing, as he confesses.

"There you have two men - one who made himself and the other who wasted his opportunities, the self-made and the self-unnmade man!" 371

'33 Aug. 2

Sweeping Victory. Quezon's victory in the "Pro-Anti" fight over the HRC Act is complete. After a roll call lasting five consecutive days, Quezon's resignation as Senate President is rejected by his colleagues, 16 to 5. But the resignations of Osmena, Aquino, and other "Pros" as chairmen of the various Senate standing committees are promptly accepted. Sen. Jose Clarin, who has no special qualification other than being a good party follower, is elected to succeed Osmena as Senate President pro tempore. In the state university, Dean Jorge Bocobo, a rabid "Anti," is elected by the board of regents to succeed Palma as university president. But Quezon's greatest political victory in this "battle of the giants" is Claro M. Recto's shift of party loyalty to the Nacionalista Party after the dissolution of the Democrata Party as a result of internal dissection over the HRC Act. Recto has been the opposition's most brilliant leader after the party breakup. 372 Sen. Elpidio Quirino is also elected majority floor leader.

'33 Aug. 15

Gain and Loss. In the midst of the bitter accusations and counter-accusations in both houses of the Legislature, Carlos P. Romulo, who was with the Quezon mission that met Osmena in France, resigns his editorship of the The Tribune to become the publisher of a

369/ "An Autobiography," The Tribune, July 26, 1933.

370/ Quezon's "Autobiography," Appendix III, in Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 486-498.

371/ Ibid., p. 498.

372/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 247-248.

newly organized newspaper syndicate, DMHM Newspapers (Debate, Tabuhay, Herald, and Monday Mail). The loss of Alejandro Roces, whose papers are identified with the "Pros," is the gain of the "Antis." 373

- '33 Sept. 15 Recto Backs Quezon. Breaking his long silence, Senator Recto comes out in favor of the rejection of the HHC Act. Now Recto is with his former adversary (Quezon). 374
- '33 Sept. 17 Veterans Against HHC. The Asociacion de los Veteranos de la Revolucion headed by General Aguinaldo approves a resolution rejecting the HHC Act.
- '33 Sept. 20 Plebiscite? The HHC Act provides that before its provisions can take effect, the Philippine Legislature or a Convention called for the purpose must first accept it. The Senate, concurring with the House, approves a resolution providing for the holding of a plebiscite. The "Antis" and "Pros" seem to agree on the plebiscite except on the kind and number of questions to be asked in it. Quezon proposes that the HHC Act be first amended before the Philippines accept or reject it. When Osmena takes the floor, accusing Quezon of his many alleged inconsistencies, the latter dares Osmena to present a motion for the acceptance of the Law so that the Senate can reject it immediately, thus ending all discussions. 375
- '33 Oct. 4 New Mission? Reacting to the suggestion of Sen. Manuel Briones, a staunch "Pro," that Washington be asked to clarify some controversial provisions of the HHC Act, Quezon proposes the sending of a new independence mission, saying it will be idle to appropriate funds for the plebiscite because of irreconcilable differences between the "Antis" and "Pros;" whereupon Osmena agrees to abandon the plebiscite plan. 376
- '33 Oct. 10 To Amend or Replace Law. Quezon formally files a resolution providing for the sending of a new mission to have the HHC Act amended or replaced by a better law. However, U.S. Attorney General Homer S. Cummings rules that the provision of the HHC Act that it be accepted or rejected on or before the Jan. 17, 1934 deadline is mandatory. 377
- '33 Oct. 12 Legislature Rejects HHC Act. The Senate and House approve a con-

373/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 52.

374/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 329.

375/ Pacis, supra, p. 55.

376/ Ibid., p. 57.

377/ Ibid., p. 58.

current resolution stating, among other things, that the Philippine Legislature "declines to accept the said Law in its present form because, in the opinion of the Legislature, the provisions of the Law affecting the trade relations between the United and the Philippine Islands would seriously imperil the economic, social and political institutions of this country and might defeat its avowed purpose to secure independence to the Philippine Islands at the end of the transition period; because the immigration clause is objectionable and offensive to the Filipino people; because the powers of the High Commissioner are too indefinite; and, finally, because the military, naval and other reservations provided for in the said Act are inconsistent with true independence, violate national dignity, and are subject to misunderstanding." 378

The vote for rejection of the Act is 15 to 4 in the Senate, 58 to 22 in the House. 379

New Mission Constituted. After the rejection of the HHC Act, the Senate promptly approves the resolution creating a new mission to seek a new legislation "that will fully satisfy the aspirations of the Filipino people to become at the earliest practicable time a free and independent nation, under conditions and circumstances that will not imperil the political, social and economic stability of their country." The mission is headed by Senate President Quezon. 380

XXIV. QUEZON'S GREATEST TRIUMPH:
TYDINGS-MCDUFFIE LAW

- '33 Nov. 4 Quezon Mission. The 10th and last independence mission sails on the S.S. Hoover with Quezon as the chairman. Osmena has declined to go with the mission. 381
- '33 Nov. 14 Absolutely Free. Stopping in Japan en route to the U.S., Quezon tells the Pan-Pacific Club in Tokyo that "majority of Filipinos neither expect nor desire American military and naval protection after independence. . . Military and naval reservations in the Islands after independence (are) incompatible with the full and complete independence of our country. . . Military and naval reservations of the United States may only cause misunderstanding, not only with the Filipinos but also with other nations having interests in the Orient. People aspiring to be free must take

378/ Ibid., pp. 58-59.

379/ Ibid., pp. 58-60.

380/ Ibid., p. 62.

381/ Ibid., pp. 68-69.

their chances as other peoples have done." 332

Indiscretion? Osmena criticizes Quezon's statement in Tokyo as an indiscretion, but Recto, taking up the cudgels for Quezon, counters that "circumstances have changed. These are days of open diplomacy - of open covenants openly arrived at. The charge that Quezon's frankness is undiplomatic is antiquated; it should have been made before President Wilson proclaimed a new diplomatic norm of frankness and openness." 383

'33 — For American Consumption. Resident Commissioner Camilo Osias, who helped the Osrox mission get the HHC Act, issues a lengthy statement tending to discredit the Quezon mission. "The Filipinos," he says, "demand that Quezon secure an independence law as good or better than the HHC law which he and his henchmen killed." 384

'33 Nov. 25 Roxas Promise? Still smarting from his "fall from the Speaker's chair into the arms of the people," Roxas, now a plain representative from Capiz, makes what may be considered a politician's promise. "If Mr. Quezon comes back with any kind of an independence law," he says, quite seriously, "I shall march at the head of the parade which shall meet him at Pier 7. I shall kiss his hands, and I shall pledge him support." 385

'33 Nov. 29 Quezon in U.S. The Quezon mission arrives in San Francisco, California. One source says unlike the Osrox technique of approach, spending a lot of fire on a variety of fronts, the Quezon mission decides to concentrate on one target: newly elected Democratic President Franklin D. Roosevelt. 386 "Unlike the previous Congress," says Quezon, "in the new administration there will be a President (Roosevelt) and a Congress of the same party (Democratic Party) with full control of the executive and legislative branches of the government. They don't have to compromise to enact legislation but will have the power to pass the measure which will do honor to their nation and justice to the Filipino people." 387

'33 — Osias As Accuser. Resident Commissioner Osias, one of the "Pro" stalwarts, returns to Manila and immediately becomes a crowd drawer in the anti-Quezon campaign. "I like nothing better than to ex-

382/ Ibid., pp. 69-70.

383/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 341-342.

384/ Ibid., p. 352.

385/ Ibid., p. 361, quoting a news item appearing in The Tribune, November 25, 1933.

386/ Ibid., p. 348.

387/ Exclusive interview with the Sunday Tribune Magazine, January 22, 1933. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 970-975.

pose the assassination of the HHC law in Washington," he says quite proudly. ³⁸⁸

'33 Dec. 19

Disappointed Man? A "Pro-Independence Nacionalista Party" has been organized in Manila, according to a dispatch appearing in the New York Herald Tribune. The paper says the new party believes "beyond the shadow of a doubt that Mr. Quezon will be a very disappointed man and that disappointment will crush him." ³⁸⁹

'33 ———

With Tydings, McDuffie. After a few weeks in the American capital, Tydings invites Quezon for a friendly chat. Nothing concrete happens here. In another conference with Congressional leaders, including Rep. John McDuffie, a Democrat from Alabama, Quezon proposes an alternative to the defunct HHC Act, providing for independence to the Philippines in two or three years, followed by free trade for ten years except a quota limitation of 1,000,000 long tons of sugar, 200,000 tons of coconut oil, and 6,000,000 pounds of cordage. ³⁹⁰

'33 Dec. 27

Quezon with FDR. Quezon finally gets a chance to meet the new Democratic President, who recalls that he first met Quezon when he (FDR) was assistant secretary of the navy during the Wilson administration. After Quezon has frankly discussed the purpose of his trip to America, Roosevelt asks him to submit a memorandum. ³⁹¹

Osias Gadfly. Availing himself of his long stay in the U.S. Congress, Osias, the "Pro" gadfly, lines up his friends among the American solons to block Quezon's move in Washington. He accuses Quezon of having "killed" the independence law. ³⁹²

1934 Jan. 15

Quezon Memo. The Quezon mission finally submits a memorandum to President Roosevelt recommending the granting of independence within two or three years, or as soon as the necessary constitutional steps for the establishment of the Philippine Republic shall have been taken. The mission also favors a special reciprocal trade arrangement between the United States and the Philippines at the end of ten years of trade relations. ³⁹³

5-Point Alternative. If the proposal is not acceptable to the administration, the memo offers a five-point alternative

^{388/} Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 350.

^{389/} Ibid., p. 349.

^{390/} Quirino, op. cit., pp. 259-260.

^{391/} Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 251-252.

^{392/} Ibid., p. 352.

^{393/} Ibid., Appendix IV, pp. 499-500.

including

1) recognition of the Philippine Republic on July 4, 1940; 2) immediate establishment of a more autonomous government in the Philippines; 3) continuation of present trade relations, although slightly modified, up to July 4, 1940; 4) calling of an American-Philippine trade conference on reciprocal trade relations; and 5) neutralization of the Philippines by international treaty. 394

'34 Jan. 25

Tydings Corrected. Quezon corrects Tydings' wrong information planted by Osias, that the Philippine Legislature has not rejected the HHC Act. In fact, the legislative rejection was inserted in the Congressional Record on January 4th. Tydings accepts his error. 395

'34 Feb. 1

Tydings Memo. Perhaps to make up for his error, Tydings sends Quezon a memorandum marked "absolutely confidential," pending certain conditions to be enumerated later. Tydings says that he "will be glad to negotiate an amendment to the present Filipino Independence bill" eliminating the army and navy clauses, after the establishment of independence. 396

'34 Feb. 3

Quezon Reply. Quezon says he will support the Independence Law rejected by the Legislature if "military and naval reservations are eliminated or the naval reservation is located where it cannot possibly jeopardize the independence of the Philippines, or be an obstacle to the neutralization of the Islands." He adds that a Congressional committee should go to the Philippines "to investigate the situation in order to ascertain if further action by Congress is required to right some injustice that may be found in the law." 397

'34 February

Quirino Amendments. Sen. Quirino, a member of the Quezon mission, suggests that the transfer of sovereignty become automatic and the acceptance by the people of the law should be simultaneous with the plebiscite on the Constitution. 398
For the Record. Neither Osmena nor Roxas, although consulted by Tydings on the Quezon amendments, goes on record as in favor of the proposed changes in the Independence Law. They merely ask the extension of time for the acceptance of the HHC Act after its rejection by the Legislature. 399

394/ Ibid.

395/ Ibid., p. 356.

396/ Ibid., Appendix V.

397/ Ibid., Appendix VI.

398/ Ibid., p. 357.

399/ Ibid.

- '34 — Invites MacArthur. Certain that the Tydings-McDuffie bill will be enacted into law, Quezon sees his friend, Gen. Douglas MacArthur, in the latter's office in the War Department, and invites him to come to the Philippines, after his stint as U.S. Army chief of staff, to serve as military adviser to the President of the Philippines. 400
- '34 Mar. 2 FDR's Recommendations. Roosevelt sends a message to the U.S. Congress recommending that the provision on military bases "be eliminated from the law and that those bases be relinquished simultaneously with the accomplishment of final Philippine Independence. As to the naval bases, I recommend that the law be so amended as to provide for the ultimate settlement of this matter on terms satisfactory to our own government and that of the Philippine Islands." 401
- '34 Mar. 10 Two in One. Congressman McDuffie introduces an independence bill described as a "word-for-word reproduction of the HHC Act," set-
October 17, 1934 as the "deadline" for its acceptance. It provides that military bases will be relinquished after the grant of independence, and that the President of the United States will negotiate concerning the naval bases. A similar bill has been introduced in the Senate by Sen. Tydings. Since both measures are administration bills, final action on them is faster. The two measures are consolidated under the new name Tydings-McDuffie bill. 402
- '34 Mar. 24 Tydings-McDuffie Law. Approved in the U.S. House of Representatives on March 19, and in the Senate four days later, the Tydings-McDuffie bill is signed into law by President Roosevelt in the White House in the presence of Quezon and the members of his mission. It becomes law No. 127 of the 73rd Congress of the United States. 403 Recto describes Quezon's signal accomplishment as "the political miracle of the decade." 404 But the Tydings-McDuffie Law is sour grapes to Osias, saying that it is the same HHC Act "but for a change of some fifty words." 405
- '34 Apr. 12 Murphy Proclamation. As per Quezon's request in a radiogram from Washington, Governor-General Murphy in Manila issues a proclamation calling the Philippine Legislature to a special session on April

400/ Quezon, op. cit., pp. 152-155.

401/ Teodoro M. Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 251.

402/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 262-263.

403/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 37; Quirino, op. cit., p. 263.

404/ Recto, "The Political Philosophy of M. L. Quezon." Speech delivered at the Philippine Columbian Club, August 19, 1953. In: Quirino, "Appendix," op. cit., pp. 391-403.

405/ Gabriel F. Pabella, "Manuel L. Quezon: An Appraisal," PHA Historical Bulletin, Vol. VI, No. 3, September 1962.

30th to accept the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Law and "to enact such legislation as may be necessary for the calling of a Constitutional Convention in case the Legislature should accept said Law." 406

XXV. SECOND TRIUMPHAL RETURN

'34 Apr. 30 Perfect Timing. For the second time, Quezon returns to the Philippines in triumph, reminiscent of his arrival on September 28, 1916. His arrival now is timed with the opening of a special session of the Legislature called precisely to act on the Tydings-McDuffie Law that will phase it out of existence. Hailed as "the mastermind behind the Jones Law and the maker of a Governor-General," Quezon at the pier is "carried on the shoulders of men from the ship to his automobile and thence to a waiting crowd in the Luneta," where he talks "like a returning conqueror." Then he proceeds to the Legislative building where he addresses the joint session. 407 But, of course, Roxas is nowhere around to kiss Quezon's hands for coming back with a new independence law.

'34 May 1 Labor of Love. The Legislature in joint session unanimously accepts the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the second independence law secured by Quezon from the United States in less than two decades of unrelenting struggle for his country's freedom. "In this solemn moment," he says, "let there be no exultation of victory. Let it be a moment of consecration." 408 This particular May First is doubtless the most significant Labor Day in the history of the Philippines. The Legislature also sets the stage for the election of delegates to the Constitutional Convention on July 10th. 409

'34 June 5 Election Rout. Coming close on the heels of Quezon's return with a new independence law, a decisive victory for the "Antis," the general election results in almost total rout of the "Pros." Of the 11 Senate seats contested, the "Antis" elect 8 as against 3 for the "Pros"; of 89 House seats, the former win 68, and the latter 19, with 2 seats going to the Sakdalista Party. And of 40 provincial governors the "Antis" elect 44, and the "Pros," only 4. 410 Such "Pro" stalwarts as Ruperto Montinola of Iloilo, Camilo Osias of La Union, Pedro Guevara of Laguna, and Rafael Palma

406/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 90.

407/ Ibid., pp. 90-91.

408/ Ibid., p. 91.

409/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 360.

410/ Pacis, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 94.

of Cavite are licked by literally unknown candidates of the "Antis." Only Osmena, Roxas, Sumulong, and Francisco Varona of the "Pros" survive the "Anti" juggernaut. ⁴¹¹

'34 July 10 Con-Con Election. Two hundred and two delegates to the Constitutional Convention are elected. Their main task: to write the Constitution of the Philippines, i.e., for both the Commonwealth and the Philippine Republic that will follow after a ten-year transition period. ⁴¹²

'34 July 30 MLQ at Opening. Quezon opens the Constitutional Convention under the temporary chairmanship of Delegate Jose P. Laurel of Batangas. Shortly afterwards, Delegate Claro M. Recto, senator from Batangas, is unanimously elected president of the convention. His joining the "Antis," after the dissolution of the Democrata Party, has paid off. He is handpicked by Quezon over Laurel, who has also sought the presidency of the Convention. ⁴¹³

'34 Aug. 18 N-D Fusion. Nacionalistas and Democratas who have successfully carried the fight of the "Antis" against the HHC Act, decided to fuse under the banner of Nacionalista-Democrata Party with Quezon as president, and Paredes, Cuenco and Sumulong as first, second, and third vice-presidents, respectively. ⁴¹⁴

'34 Aug. 23 Off to Europe, USA. With his health greatly impaired by his kidney stone, giving him acute pain, Quezon sails on the Dutch steamer Tjibadak bound for Europe via Java. He plans to undergo surgery at the hands of Dr. Hugh Young, an outstanding urologist, at the Johns Hopkins University hospital in Baltimore, Maryland. He is accompanied by Jorge B. Vargas, undersecretary of agriculture and commerce, Dr. Januario Estrada, and an aide, Manuel Nieto. ⁴¹⁵

'34 _____ Advice to Javans. Stopping briefly in Soerabaya, Quezon is invited by native nationalists to their secret meeting being held in a secluded and heavily guarded house. Asked how the Filipinos have succeeded in their struggle for independence, Quezon answers: "In the first place, open all these windows and shutters - take away all your guards, hold your meetings in the open and in front of the Dutch themselves, make yourselves heard - make a hell of a lot of noise - and if you do it long enough, you'll eventually

^{411/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 267.

^{412/} Jose A. Lansang, "Genesis of the Constitution," The Development of the Philippine Constitution. Manila: National Media Production Center, 1974, pp. 84-86.

^{413/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 268.

^{414/} Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 367.

^{415/} Ibid., p. 370.

get what you want!" 416

- '34 Oct. 2 French Decoration. Quezon is officially honored in Paris with a decoration and appointment as officer of the French Legion of Honor. The next day he leaves on the liner Majestic for New York. 417
- '34 Oct. 12 With Tydings. Meeting Sen. Tydings in Washington, Quezon assures him that the Filipinos are satisfied with the Independence Law. He beams with pleasure when appraised of the favorable report by Sen. Carl Hayden of Arizona on economic conditions in the Philippines. Quezon has also a good word for the fine work of Governor Murphy. 418

XXVI. QUEZON 'S "ULTIMO ADIOS"

- '34 Oct. 23 Farewell Letters. Uncertain that he will survive the operation for kidney stone, Quezon sees fit to write two letters, the first addressed to the Filipino nation, and the second to his family, with specific instruction that the letters will not be mailed if the operation is successful. These are reminiscent of Rizal's letters written in Hongkong before his return to the Philippines where the Spanish authorities had laid a trap to imprison him for his "subversive" novels, Noli and Fili. 419
- '34 Oct. 26 Successful Operation. Relieved of acute pain after the successful operation, Quezon is in the best of spirits. "I am going to beat the record here," he says. "I thought I was an old man. But I'm not. In fifteen days I'll be dancing the tango. . . ." 420 Then Quezon cracks a rib-tickling piece:
- Effervescent Humor. "When I left Manila, the doctors told me I could drink nothing intoxicating. When I reached Java I saw a doctor and he said, 'a glass of beer would not hurt.' So I drank beer from Java to Paris..In Paris another doctor said: 'You should not drink beer; wine is the only thing. So I changed gratefully to white wine. Then a French specialist told me: 'You should drink only champagne, it is the only thing for you.' So I drank champagne for a time. Then I reached the United States, and here the physicians tell me: 'Don't drink any wine and beers at all. Whiskey is the only proper drink.' So now, if I want a drink, all I have to do is to decide which physician I will obey!" 421

416/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 269.

417/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 371.

418/ Ibid., p. 373.

419/ Quezon's letters were subsequently published in the Philippines Free Press of July 26, 1947. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2515-2518.

420/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 376.

421/ Ibid.

'34 Dec. 22

Quezon Reborn. Sporting a pince-nez, 15 pounds heavier, and looking 15 years younger than his age (56), Quezon returns from the United States. "I feel very much younger and rarin' to go," he tells newsmen at the waterfront. He is accompanied by former U.S. Sen. Harry B. Hawes, who probably divines the Quezon mind, saying that in order to survive the country needs a "coalition of parties." Looking to the future, Quezon has prepared an eight-point program for the Commonwealth that will be established under the charter that is being drafted by the Constitutional Convention.

'34 _____

In Laps of Gods. Quezon plays host to a visiting mission headed by Sen. Tydings in his Pasay residence. "As to the future," he says the co-author of the Independence Law, "it lies entirely in the laps of the gods. I can see no reason why sensible men cannot sit around a conference table and discuss a plan mutually beneficial to both peoples." He is referring to the future readjustment of economic relations between the United States and the Philippines. 422

XXVII. PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION^T RATIFIED

1935 Feb. 8

Charter Draft Ok'd. On Recto's 45th birthday, the Constitutional Convention approves by a vote of 177 to 1 the draft of the Constitution originally prepared by a Special Committee of Seven and subsequently deliberated upon, line by line, word for word, on the convention floor. The lone dissenting vote is cast by the Lanao delegate. "I believe this is a good Constitution," says Roxas, one of the "seven wise men" of the convention. "I believe that it will promote the welfare and happiness of the Filipino people." 423

'35 Feb. 18

Unity Manifesto. A group of independent citizens issues a manifesto calling on the Filipino people and their leaders to secure national unity in order to enable them to shoulder successfully the grave responsibilities arising from the new situation under the future Commonwealth. 424

'35 Feb. 19

One Step Ahead. Not to be outdone, the League of Provincial Governors approves a resolution already proclaiming the candidacy of Quezon and Osmena for President and Vice-president, respectively, of the future Philippine Commonwealth. 425

Coalition? Anticipating a coalition of the "Antis" and "Pros," an organization is later formed calling itself "Coalition of the

422/ Ibid., p. 391.

423/ Kalaw, Aide-de-Camp, op. cit., p. 265.

424/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 395.

425/ Ibid.

People," which proposes to fight the "Coalition of Leaders," represented by Quezon and Osmena. 426

- '35 Mar. 23 Charter Signed. President Roosevelt signs the Constitution of the Philippines in the presence of the Philippine mission composed of Quezon, Recto, Roxas, Quirino, and Miguel Cuaderno. Governor-General Murphy, who is in America, witnesses the charter signing. 427
- '35 April 27 Sumulong Bombshell. As the coalition idea is being hatched, Sen. Sumulong, the unreconstructed oppositionist, drops a bombshell in the form of an article entitled, "After the Coalition, the Deluge." He says: "It is therefore evident that any union of the followers of Quezon and Osmena - call it fusion, coalition, cooperation or conjunction - would mean the restoration, inexcusable from all angles, of the feared and detested oligarchy. It would not represent a progressive advance but a step backward, especially destructive of the future of a sane and genuine democracy in the country." 428
- '35 May 2 Sakdal Revolt. The deluge predicted by Sumulong comes in the form of a Sakdal revolt in San Ildefonso (Bulacan) and Cabuyao (Laguna), resulting in the "unfortunate massacre of innocent dreamers of good government." Quezon, who is still in Washington, sees the uprising as a harbinger of dark things to come. He declares that the limitations imposed on Philippine exports to the United States "would throw away many of our men and women out of work, lower the standards of living with consequent hardships, and cause general discontent." 429
- '35 May 14 Constitution Ratified. The Constitution is overwhelmingly ratified in the plebiscite with 1,213,046 votes in favor, and only 44,953 against. 430
- '35 June 8 Quezon, Murphy Arrive. Quezon returns together with Governor-General Murphy. Osmena goes out of his way to welcome Quezon on board the ship. Together they present a veritable picture of the "Coalition in Person." 431
- '35 June 15 Coalition Formalized. Meeting separately, the "Anti" and "Pro"

426/ Ibid.

427/ Molina, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 297.

428/ Philippines Herald, April 27, 1935. The original of the Sumulong article is in Spanish.

429/ Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., pp. 399-403.

430/ Molina, supra, p. 299.

431/ Caballero and Concepcion, supra, p. 412.

factions of the Nacionalista and Democrata parties accept the Coalition, and at the same time nominate Quezon and Osmena for president and vice-president of the Commonwealth, respectively. ⁴³²

XXVIII. QUEZON HEADS COMMONWEALTH

'35 Sept. 17

Pre-Commonwealth Election. Running under a Coalition ticket, Quezon and Osmena are elected president and vice-president of the Philippines, respectively. Quezon garners 695,332 votes, far more than the combined votes of his two opponents, General Emilio Aguinaldo, 179,349, and Bishop Gregorio Aglipay, 148,010. Osmena, with the solid backing of the Visayans, gets 812,352 votes. ⁴³³ Commenting on the landslide scored by the Coalition, Editor Francisco Varona says: "Senor Sumulong's prophesy was right. The deluge really came and it was a deluge of votes in favor of President Quezon and Senator Osmena." ⁴³⁴

'35 Nov. 15

Commonwealth Inaugural. President Quezon is inducted into office by Chief Justice Ramon Avancena of the Supreme Court at 8:15 a.m., at a specially constructed grandstand in front of the Legislative building. As the first Filipino Chief Executive rises to take his oath, the audience also rises and remains standing "until the gun salute, the ruffles and flourishes, and the playing of the Philippine National Anthem, in the order indicated, are completed." ⁴³⁵ Avancena then administers the oath of office to Vice-President-elect Osmena and the members-elect of the National Assembly. This is followed by the proclamation by U.S. Secretary of War George H. Dern, on behalf of the President of the United States, that the "present Philippine Government has terminated, and that the new Government now enters upon its rights, privileges, powers, and duties, as provided in the Constitution of the Philippines." Afterwards, at about 8:45 a.m., Quezon delivers his inaugural address as "President of the Philippines," the official title as provided in Sec. 1, Art. VII - Executive Department - of the Constitution.

Legend of Rizal's Mother. The inaugural ceremonies over, Quezon accompanied by his staff headed by Presidential Secretary Jorge B. Vargas, proceeds to Malacanang, the Spanish-built palace by the Pasig. Quezon recalls: "As I stepped out of the presi-

^{432/} Ibid., p. 414; Quirino, op. cit., p. 278.

^{433/} Quirino, op. cit., p. 280.

^{434/} Caballero and Concepcion, op. cit., p. 446.

^{435/} "Blue Book of the Inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines," Manila: November 15, 1935, p. 11.

dential car and walked over the marble floor of the entrance hall (of Malacanang Palace), and up the wide stairway, I remembered the legend of the mother of Rizal, the great Filipino martyr and hero, who went up those stairs on her knees to seek executive clemency from the cruel Spanish Governor-General Polavieja, that would save her son's life. This story had something to do with my reluctance to believe that capital punishment should ever be carried out. As a matter of fact, during my presidency, no man ever went to the electric chair. At the last moment I always stayed the hand of the executioner." 436

'35 Nov. 15

Loyalty and Allegiance. Quezon's first official act as President of the Philippines is the issuance of Executive Order No. 1 requiring all officials of the government and the Armed Forces of the Philippines to take an oath of loyalty to the Constitution and of allegiance to the United States. 437 He follows this up with Executive Order No. 2, assuming command of all the Armed Forces of the Philippines. 438 On the same day he issues Proclamation No. 1 calling the National Assembly to a special session beginning November 22nd. The date is later changed to November 25th.

'35 _____

First Cabinet. The following make up the first Quezon cabinet: Teofilo Sison, secretary of the interior; Elpidio Quirino, secretary of finance; Jose Yulo, secretary of justice; Eulogio Rodriguez, secretary of agriculture and commerce; Antonio de las Alas, secretary of public works and communications; Ramon Torres, secretary of labor; and Joseph R. Hayden, secretary of public instruction. Later on Vice-President Osmena will replace Hayden as secretary of public instruction. After one year, the position of Jorge B. Vargas, secretary to the President, will be changed to Executive Secretary and raised to Cabinet rank. 439

Avancena Appointed. One of Quezon's first official acts, but not very much publicized, is his appointment of Chief Justice Ramon Avancena of the Supreme Court. It should be noted that the 1935 Constitution, instead of allowing the continued tenure of the justices and judges and other members of the Judiciary, gives the President the power and responsibility of appointing new justices and judges within a period of one year from the date of the inauguration of the Commonwealth, thus virtually entrusting him with

436/ Quezon, op. cit., pp. 161-162.

437/ Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, pp. 193-194.

438/ Ibid., p. 195.

439/ "Blue Book of the Inauguration of the Commonwealth," op. cit., p. 93.

the duty of reorganizing the entire judiciary at the inception of the new regime. ⁴⁴⁰

'35 Nov. 16

MacArthur Appointed. The President issues Executive Order No. 3 appointing Gen. Douglas MacArthur military adviser of the Commonwealth and creating the National Defense Council. ⁴⁴¹ On the same day, Quezon convenes the Council and delivers a speech on MacArthur's appointment. ⁴⁴²

'35 Dec. 21

First Law. Self-preservation being the first and supreme law of life, the first law enacted by the Commonwealth, under the leadership of Quezon, is Commonwealth Act No. 1 providing for "the national defense of the Philippines." Art. II, Sec. 2, of the Constitution, provides that "the defense of the State is a prime duty of government, and in the fulfillment of this duty all citizens may be required by law to render personal military or civil service." The defense plan provides for the annual military training of able-bodied Filipino youth, 20 years old, so that by 1946 the Philippines would have a citizen army of 400,000 strong. Commonwealth Act No. 1 is drafted by Lt. Col. Dwight D. Eisenhower, chief of staff of MacArthur. Besides working in MacArthur's office at No. 1 Victoria, Intramuros, Eisenhower is chief of the Army and Police Division in the Executive Office in Malacanan headed by Vargas. ⁴⁴³

'35 Dec. 23

NEC Created. Quezon signs Commonwealth Act No. 2 creating the National Economic Council. In his scale of priorities, the national economy comes next after national defense. The President is a staunch advocate of economic planning. ⁴⁴⁴

'35 Dec. 31

Speedy Justice. The President signs Commonwealth Act No. 3 reducing the number of justices of the Supreme Court and creating the Court of Appeals. Doubtless the objective is to secure speedy adjudication of thousands of cases clogging the court dockets. Quezon is convinced that justice delayed is justice denied. ⁴⁴⁵

Government Revamp. To insure the smooth and efficient functioning of the government machinery, Quezon also signs on the same day (Dec. 31) Commonwealth Act No. 5 authorizing the President to "effect urgent reforms and changes in the government for the purpose of economy and efficiency, and creating the Government Survey

^{440/} Herald Mid-Week Magazine, November 18, 1936.

^{441/} Quezon Messages, *supra*, p. 196.

^{442/} QP, MR#37, TNL.

^{443/} Information supplied by Mr. Vargas in an interview in April 1977.

^{444/} Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 156.

^{445/} Ibid., pp. 157-166.

Board." 446 With the signing of this law, the 46-day old Commonwealth government bids adieu to the year 1935.

1936 Jan. 2

Merit System. The President starts the new year by issuing Executive Order No. 8 enforcing the provisions of the Constitution on the Civil Service. Henceforth all government offices, agencies and instrumentalities are placed under the Civil Service, and appointments made strictly on the basis of merit alone. 447

'36 Jan. 11

Military Training. Quezon issues Proclamation No. 23 calling upon all young men, citizens of the Philippines who shall attain the age of 20 years in 1936 and succeeding years, to register for military training in accordance with the National Defense Law (Commonwealth Act No. 1). 448

'36 Jan. 29

Discipline Above All. To instill discipline, especially in the military arm of the government, Quezon issues Administrative Order No. 1 discharging from military service several erring cadets of the Philippine Military Academy in Baguio. 449

'36 Jan. 30

House-Cleaning. The President follows this up with Administrative Order No. 2 removing from office Judge Geronimo Parodes of the Court of First Instance of Iloilo for "serious misconduct in office." 450

'36 Feb. 17

Self-Sufficiency in Rice. Quezon issues Executive Order No. 18 creating the Rice Commission for the purpose of studying and making recommendations on ways and means of solving ^{the} recurrent rice crisis and insuring a permanent supply of rice at reasonable prices. 451

'36 Feb. 19

Educational Reforms. Also high on the President's scale of priorities is the education of the people. Quezon signs Executive Order No. 19 creating the National Council of Education to advise the government on educational policies and necessary reforms in the existing system of education. The first chairman of the Council is Dr. Rafael Palma, formerly president of the University of the Philippines. 452

Four Significant Changes: The NCE has introduced four important changes in public education, to wit: 1) Filipinization of educational outlook, objectives, and teaching materials; 2) emphasis

446/ Ibid., pp. 169-171.

447/ Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEFF, p. 607.

448/ Ibid., pp. 482-485.

449/ Ibid., pp. 741-742/

450/ Ibid., pp. 743-745.

451/ Ibid., pp. 626-627.

452/ Ibid., pp. 628-629.

on character education; and 4) establishment of free and compulsory primary education. 453

'36 Mar. "Split" on War Plan. The U.S. Army and Navy members of the Joint Planning Committee, Joint Board of the Army and Navy, are reportedly "split" on the report on the Philippines and War Plan Orange-3. 454

'36 Mar. 28 Doctor of Laws. Quezon is conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, by his alma mater, University of Sto. Tomas.

Productive Year. Some of the significant laws signed by Quezon during the year are the following: July 11, CA No. 20, acquisition of landed estates used as homesites and reselling them to bonafide occupants; Sept. 15, CA 32, subdivision and sale of friar land estates; Sept. 30, CA 34, holding of a plebiscite on woman suffrage; Oct. 20, CA 57 and 58, creating cities of Iloilo and Cebu, respectively; Oct. 26, CA 79, giving Filipino citizenship to former Governor-General Harrison; Oct. 26, CA 80, creating the Office of Adult Education; Oct. 26, CA 88, organization of the State Police Force; Oct. 27, CA 94, coordinating information and publicity agencies of the government; Oct. 29, CA 103, creating the Court of Industrial Relations; Oct. 31, CA 111, creating a public corporation known as the Boy Scouts of the Philippines;

Nov. 5, CA 120, creating the National Power Corporation; Nov. 9, CA 152, declaring the second Sunday of January of every year "Unknown Citizens' Day," in honor of "all unknown patriotic Filipino citizens;" Nov. 12, CA 167, creating the Board of Censorship for Moving Pictures; Nov. 13, CA 178, regulating landlord-tenant relations; Nov. 13, CA 181, creating the division of investigation (now NBI) under the department of justice; Nov. 13, CA 182, creating the National Development Company; Nov. 13, CA 184, establishing the National Language Institute; Nov. 14, CA 191, authorizing the President of the Philippines to negotiate with the President of the United States for the holding of an economic-trade conference; and Nov. 20, CA 211, fixing a minimum daily wage for laborers employed in public works. 455.

'36 June MacArthur Report. After one year as military adviser, General MacArthur submits his "Report on National Defense in the Philippines." 456

453/ Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 322-323.

454/ Theodore Friend, Between Two Empires: The Ordeal of the Philippines, 1929-1946. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969, pp. 161-166.

455/ Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, pp. 30-1283.

456/ Friend, op. cit., p. 274.

1937 Jan. 7

Working Trip. On the eve of his departure for the United States, via China and Japan, Quezon says that he is going to confer with President Roosevelt and the State and War Departments on the immediate calling of a trade conference between the United States and the Philippines in order to "remedy the injustice and inequalities" in trade relations between the two countries under the Tydings-McDuffie Act. He adds that he wants to present "in its true light" the nature and objective of the national defense program, which has been the "subject of the most unfair and malicious attack" in the United States. For this reason, he has decided to take along his military adviser, Gen. MacArthur. 457

No Acting President. To put a halt to public speculations on who will be the power-holder in Malacanang after his departure, Quezon announces that there will be "no acting President" during his absence as the "government will continue to be run and its official affairs transacted in the same manner as they are when I am in the Philippines." He explains that under the Constitution, and in spite of his absence from the national territory, "wherever he goes, the President carries with him the authority and powers of his office and he can exercise them as fully as if he were in his office at the capital of the Philippines." 458

'37 Feb. 5

Neutralization Okay to Japs. At a banquet given in his honor in Tokyo, the Japanese foreign minister assures Quezon that "Japan will gladly be a signatory to a treaty that will recognize the Philippines as a neutral territory once it shall have become independent. . . Japan has no aggressive intentions towards the Philippines. All we want is your trade - to buy your products and to sell you our goods." 459

U.S. Press Reports Absurd. Quezon describes as absurd reports by American correspondents to the effect that the purpose of his trip was to "start negotiations with the Japanese government looking towards the neutralization of the Philippines." He says the United States exercises supervision and control of the foreign affairs of the Commonwealth and, therefore, "any negotiation having for its object the neutralization of the Philippines will have to be conducted by the United States." 460

'37 Mar. 18

Early Independence Urged. Quezon proposes to President Roosevelt

457/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 174.

458/ Press statement, December 7, 1936. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1426.

459/ Quezon, supra, pp. 177-178.

460/ Press statement, July 19, 1938. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 1810.

that the date for the recognition of Philippine independence be advanced to either December 30, 1938 or July 4, 1939, in order to remedy the uncertainty of future Philippine trade relations with the United States. Quezon explains further: "If, as long as the Philippines is under the American flag, Congress should feel at liberty to make changes in the trade relations between the two countries as in its judgment may be necessary, then the only remedy to the situation would be to place the trade relations between the Philippines and the United States on the basis of a treaty between the United States and an independent Philippines." 461

'37 Mar. 22

Experts' Agreement. American and Filipino experts, at a conference of the Interdepartmental Committee on Philippine Affairs presided over by Dr. Francis B. Sayre, agree to consider the bearing which the advancement in the date of independence would have on facilitating or retarding the execution of the future program of economic adjustment in the Philippines. The experts also agree that preferential trade relations between the two countries will be terminated at the earliest practicable date to give the Philippines ample opportunity to adjust her national economy. 462

Quezon Logic. Explaining his proposal for an earlier independence grant to the Philippines, Quezon says: "I can see no valid reason why, if the Philippines can be given independence in 1946, she may not have it in 1938 or in 1939. In the short span of seven years (1939-1946) the Filipino people can hardly do anything that would substantially change their present situation. Any obstacles which would vitally affect the chances of a successful and lasting independent nationhood in 1939 cannot be overcome by 1946 . . ." 463

Faith in F.D.R. Then Quezon adds another plausible and convincing argument: "My main reason for asking that the independence of the Philippines be granted not later than the 4th of July, 1939, is that I am sincerely of the opinion that it will be to our best interests to secure independence during and under the administration of President Roosevelt. I know the President, his progressive and liberal ideas, his very deep sense of justice,

461/ Speech at a popular banquet in his honor at the Rizal Memorial Stadium, August 20, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 109.

462/ Press statement on the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs, March 22, 1937. Ibid., pp. 321-323.

463/ Ibid., p. 212.

and friendship for and goodwill towards the Filipino people. I have no doubt that under his leadership we will receive from the government of the United States the fairest treatment that we may ever expect to receive under the leadership of his successors." 464

'37 Apr. 17

Another D.L.L. Quezon is honored with the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, by the Georgetown University, a Catholic institution of higher learning.

'37 _____

Trip to Mexico. From Washington Quezon makes a sidetrip to Mexico to cement friendly relations with this former Spanish colony. He has sent word that he is coming as a tourist, and does not want to be received with honors due him as head of state. But upon arrival at the Mexican border, there is the official car worth \$500,000 sent by President Cardenas, together with a military detachment. A huge throng of Mexicans is also there to give him a rousing welcome. 465 Quezon leaves Mexico impressed by Cardenas land reforms.

XXIX. ORIENTAL ARMAGEDDON

'37 July

Start of Fullscale War. Beginning of a fullscale war between China and Japan. 466

'37 Sept. 22

Cuevo-Barredo Case. Not knowing that the case is sub judice, President Quezon condemns as unjust the decision of a Manila CFI, and upheld by the Court of Appeals, denying the petitioner the right to be indemnified for the death of a laborer who was drowned in the Pasig river in obedience of an order by an official of the Barredo and Co. In answer to his critics that such a presidential condemnation of a court's decision is an encroachment on the independence of the judiciary, the President says that in his oath of office he is sworn to "do justice to every man"; and therefore he interprets these words to mean that the Chief Executive must always be alert and vigilant so that justice may reign supreme over this land, and this he can accomplish only by a careful and conscientious exercise of his power to appoint members of the judiciary, and by his readiness to take action, in the manner prescribed by law, against judges who may be derelict in the performance of their duties, or short of committing malfeasance in office (sic) to arraign them at the bar of public opinion, whenever, in his opinion, the denunciation of any wrongful act, even though performed in good faith,

464/ Ibid., pp. 214-215.

465/ Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 161-162.

466/ Friend, on. cit., pp. 169-183.

would be in the public service." 467

Presidential Challenge. The President also dares his critics to impeach him before the National Assembly. "And if the National Assembly should condemn me," he says, "I would accept that verdict as the expression of the Filipino people's conception regarding the duties of the Chief Executive. In such a case, I would say without hesitation that I do not want to be the President of a people whose conception of the duties of the head of Government is to sit by and keep quiet when other branches of the government, in his opinion, are doing wrong." Quezon adds that the "presidency would be too high a price to pay for a man to be mum in the face of outrageous injustice." 468

'37 Nov. 12 JPCPA Leaves for U.S. Quezon commends the work of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs as the American panel leaves on the President Coolidge to submit its report to Washington. 469

'37 Nov. 15 Cedula Tax Abolished. A centuries-old symbol of injustice is put to an end today when President Quezon signs Commonwealth Act No. 238 providing for the abolition of the cedula tax. The signing coincides with the second anniversary of the Commonwealth. 470

1938 Mar. Reexamination? ^{the} U.S. High Commissioner Paul V. McNutt proposes the reexamination of Philippine independence question in the light of the worsening situation in Asia brought about by the Sino-Japanese conflict. Describing the existing policy as "scuttle and run," McNutt would give the Philippines, instead of independence, "every ounce of domestic autonomy they can absorb - holding in our own hands foreign affairs, tariffs, immigration, currency, and public debt - scarcely more than marks of the necessary reservations of a dominion." 471

When Reexamination is Treason. Some Filipino leaders, it must be admitted, have been carried away by the McNutt proposal. Comments Quezon: "I have no objection to the reexamination, whether realistic or idealistic, when the reexamination is based upon the fear that we may not be economically self-sufficient or upon the fear that we may not be sufficiently strong to defend ourselves against

467/ Joseph R. Hayden, The Philippines: A Study in National Development, New York: Macmillan Company, 1947, pp. 71-74.

468/ Press statement on the Chief Executive's criticism of judicial decisions, Sept. 25, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 333-334.

469/ Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 344.

470/ Ibid., Part II, p. 188-189.

471/ Friend, op. cit., pp. 188-189.

foreign aggression. But when reexamination is based upon the assumption that we will not know how to establish or maintain in the Philippines a democracy, when the reexamination is based upon the belief or theory or assumption that we will be more free under American than we will be under Filipinos, then I will say that it is almost treason." 472

'38 Mar. 17

Council of State. Quezon revives the Council of State, the highest advisory body, composed of the President, the Vice-President, the Senate President, the Speaker of the House, the Senate President Protempore, the Speaker Protempore, the majority floor leaders of both houses of Congress, the former presidents of the Philippines, and some three to five prominent citizens. 473

'38 Nov. 29

JPCPA Report. Released simultaneously in Manila and in Washington, the report of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs recommends that 1) political independence be granted to the Philippines on July 4, 1946, as provided for in the Tydings-McDuffie Law, and 2) Philippine-American trade relations be extended to December 31, 1960. 474

'38 _____

201 Laws Signed. The President during the year (1938) signs 201 bills into law, but only a few are truly outstanding. Among the significant measures enacted are the following: June 3, CA No. 288, providing pension for veterans of the Philippine Revolution or wars; June 9, CA 304, providing for the reforestation and afforestation of watersheds, denuded areas, cogon or open lands; June 9, CA 313, authorizing the establishment of regional national vocational trade schools; June 18, CA 326, creating the City of Bacolod; June 18, CA 332, establishing the National Abaca and Other Fibers Corporation; June 23, CA 343, abolishing the State Police Force, and reorganizing the Philippine Constabulary into a national police force; Aug. 23, CA 368, providing for a revolving fund for laborers' tenement houses; Aug. 23, CA 381, providing for the support of primary and intermediate education; and Sept. 5, CA 382, adopting the original authentic form of the Philippine National Anthem. 475

1939 July

NP On Charter Changes. The ruling Nacionalista Party holds a con-

472/ Draft of speech before the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines, CP, MR 41, TNL.

473/ Malcolm, George A., The First Malayan Republic. Boston: The Christopher Publishing House, 1951. Quoted in Molina, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 319-320. Also in Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 1306.

474/ Zaido, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 332.

475/ Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part II, JBVFF, pp. 3-1121.

vention to resolve certain amendments to the Constitution, one of which will permit the reelection of President Quezon. ⁴⁷⁶

'39 Aug. 7 Tydings-Kocialkowski Bill. In accordance with the JPCPA recommendations, the United States Congress enacts the Tydings-Kocialkowski bill, otherwise called the Philippine Economic Readjustment Act, amending the economic provisions of the Tydings-McDuffie Law. This calls for an amendment of the Ordinance appended to the Philippine Constitution. Accordingly, a plebiscite is held (Oct. 24) ratifying the Constitutional amendment. ⁴⁷⁷

'39 Sept. 1 Start of World War II. Hitler's troops invade Poland without a declaration of war. Great Britain and France promptly deliver an ultimatum to Nazi Germany, demanding a satisfactory explanation within 24 hours. As the Nazis fail to give any reply, Britain and France mobilize their forces. The Second World War is on. Within a short period, German mechanized armies overrun Poland, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Belgium and Luxemburg. France herself is forced to sue for peace. ⁴⁷⁸

'39 Sept. - Nov. Disillusionment? Shocked by the fall of Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Albania to superior and "determined industrial-military powers," Quezon is reported to be losing faith in the MacArthur defense program for the Philippines. He is quoted as saying that the Philippines "could not be defended successfully even if every last Filipino were armed," and that he is convinced of the "futility of spending money to carry on our program of defending the Philippines from foreign aggression, and this objective cannot be attained with the limited resources of the country for many years to come." He therefore creates a new department - the Department of National Defense - reducing the importance of MacArthur's office. He calls on President Roosevelt to carry out the neutralization provision of the Tydings-McDuffie Act. Furthermore, he let it be known that "the defense of the Philippines against external aggression is the full responsibility of America." ⁴⁷⁹

'39 Important Laws. Of the 99 laws enacted during the year (1939), the following are the most important: May 31, CA No. 429, authorizing the President of the Philippines to negotiate with the President of the United States regarding the assignment of mili-

^{476/} Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 333.

^{477/} Ibid., p. 332.

^{478/} C. Grove Hainess and Ross J.S. Hoffman, The Origins and Background of the Second World War. New York: 1947. Quoted in Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 335.

^{479/} Friend, op. cit., pp. 192-193.

pinos to American embassies and/or consulates in foreign countries; May 31, CA 430, creating the Department of National Defense and the Department of Health and Public Welfare; June 3, CA 441, creating the National Land Settlement Administration; June 3, CA 442, directing the transfer of the University of the Philippines to a site outside the City of Manila; June 3, CA 444, the Eight-Hour Labor Law; June 8, CA 449, authorizing the President to negotiate for the acquisition, management and operation by the government of the Manila Electric Company, the Manila Gas Corporation, the Philippine Long Distance Telephone Company, and other public utility firms;

June 9, CA 458, creating the Agricultural and Industrial Bank; Sept. 19, CA 492, submitting to a plebiscite the proposed amendments to the Constitution and to the ordinance appended thereto proposed by the National Assembly in resolutions adopted on September 15, 1939; Sept. 30, CA 496, authorizing the President for a limited period, in view of the existing state of national emergency, to take over any public service or enterprise; Sept. 30, CA 498, authorizing the President for a limited period to promulgate rules and regulations and to take other necessary steps to effectuate the government's policy on the existing emergency; Spt. 30, CA 499, regulating for a limited period the transfer of vessels and of shipping facilities; and Oct. 12, CA 502, creating Quezon City. 480

1940 _____

Quezon City. Originally conceived as the site of the new capital city of the Philippines, President Quezon lays the cornerstone of the national capitol in what is now known as Quezon City. Upon recommendation of the office of General MacArthur, the nation's capital is to be transferred to a higher ground at the foot of the Sierra Madre, in Marikina, Rizal, Manila being below sea level and "militarily indefensible." Since the University of the Philippines is also being moved to the new site, there is a suggestion that the new capital be called University City. It is only months later that there will be a consensus of public opinion to name the city after President Quezon, who is, after all, the first to envision it. 481

'40 Apr. 1

Tagalog Balarila. The President authorizes the printing and publication of the Tagalog grammar (balarila) and dictionary

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480/ Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part II, JBVFF, pp. 3-1036.

481/ Information supplied by former Executive Secretary Jorge B. Vargas.

prepared by the Institute of National Language. He also orders the teaching of the national language based on Tagalog in all schools beginning the next academic year. Accordingly, the National Assembly will approve (on June 7) the bill (CA No. 570) declaring the national language as an official language in the Philippines beginning July 4, 1946. ⁴⁸²

'40 Apr. 11 Proposed Amendments. The National Assembly approves three proposed amendments to the Constitution as prepared by Speaker Jose Yulo; namely, 1) the tenure of office of the President and the Vice-President be changed to four years with reelection for another term; 2) the establishment of a bicameral Congress of the Philippines, with the Senate elected at large and the House of Representatives elected by districts; and 3) creation of an independent Commission on Elections to supervise all elections. ⁴⁸³

'40 June 18 Amendments Ratified. The proposed amendments to the Constitution (supra) are ratified in a plebiscite. ⁴⁸⁴

'40 Dec. 2 FDR Okays Changes. President Roosevelt approves the amendments to the Philippine Constitution. ⁴⁸⁵

'40 _____ 100 Laws Passed. The President during the year (1940) signs 100 bills into laws the most important of which are the following: April 25, CA No. 517, submitting to a plebiscite the proposed amendments to the Constitution and the ordinance appended thereto, proposed by the National Assembly in Resolution No. 38, adopted September 15, 1939, and as amended by Resolution No. 73, adopted April 11, 1940; May 7, CA 518, establishing the National Coconut Corporation; May 7, CA 519, establishing the National Tobacco Corporation; May 26, CA 539, authorizing the President to acquire private lands for resale in small lots;

May 26, CA 542, creating a corporation to be known as the Girl Scouts of the Philippines; June 7, CA 570, declaring the National Language based on Tagalog as one of the official languages beginning July 4, 1946; Aug. 19, CA 600, granting emergency powers to the President; Aug. 22, CA 605, providing for veterans' pensions; and Aug. 22, CA 607, providing for the organization of the Commission on Elections. ⁴⁸⁶

^{482/} Official Gazette, Vol 38, No. 128, p. 2999. Also Vide Molina, op. cit., Vol. II, ^{483/} Maide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 333 p. 320.

^{484/} Hayden, op. cit., p. 870.

^{485/} Maide, supra, p. 333; and Molina, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 321.

^{486/} Official Gazettes, Vol. 38, Nos. 52, 60, 61, 71, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 142, 143, 152, 153, and 154; Vol. 39, Nos. 4 and 5.

XXX. THE WAR YEARS

- 1941 Apr. 1 CEA Created. By virtue of his emergency powers the President creates the Civilian Emergency Administration with branches in all provinces and towns. The CEA holds practice blackouts and air-raid drills, and establishes evacuation centers. 487
- '41 July 26 MacArthur Heads USAFFE. In view of the worsening Sino-Japanese War that threatens to spill over the rest of Asia and the Far East, Lt. Gen. Douglas MacArthur is called back to active service as commander of the newly formed United States Army Forces in the Far East (USAFFE). The 100,000 Filipino soldiers trained under Commonwealth Act No. 1 (National Defense Law) are incorporated into the USAFFE. 488
- '41 Nov. 11 Quezon, Osmena Reelected. Quezon and Osmena are reelected president and vice-president of the Commonwealth, respectively, in the last national election before the outbreak of the war.
- '41 Nov. 15 Pledge of Loyalty. The 6th anniversary celebration of the Commonwealth is highlighted by Quezon's pledge of Philippine loyalty to the United States.
- '41 Nov. 26 U.S. Note Ignored. U.S. Secretary of State Cordell Hull submits a formal note to Japan, through Japanese Ambassador Kichisaburo Nomura and Special Envoy Saburo Kurusu, proposing a non-aggression treaty among the Pacific powers and providing for the withdrawal of Japanese troops from China and Indo-China, the abandonment by both the United States and Japan of extra-territorial rights in China, and the renewal of commercial relations between the two powers. 489
- '41 Dec. 6 FDR to Hirohito. With the U.S.-Japan diplomatic talks getting nowhere, President Roosevelt send a last-minute personal appeal to Emperor Hirohito to avert the impending war between the two nations.
- '41 Dec. 8 Pearl Harbor Attacked. Japan's answer to the Roosevelt appeal is a sneak attack on Pearl Harbor, American naval base in Hawaii, at 2:30 a.m., Monday, Philippine time, crippling the U.S. Pacific Fleet. December 8, 1941 (December 7, American time) is described by Roosevelt as "a date which will live in infamy." 490
- '41 _____ Vargas to Quezon. As anti-aircraft guns around Manila go into

487/ Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 336.

488/ Ibid.

489/ Hainess and Hoffman, op. cit., p. 638; Zaide, History, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 337.

490/ Ibid., p. 640; Zaide, supra, p. 337.

action at about 5 a.m., Monday, (Dec. 8), with searchlights probing the dark sky for enemy planes that have been pounding the U.S. airbase at Clark Field, Pampanga, Vargas contacts the Philippine Army headquarters. Upon learning that war has broken out following the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, he calls up the President in Baguio. The Chief Executive, of course, can't believe that the Japanese would ever dare attack Hawaii. But he soon gets over with his initial surprise, and informs Vargas that he is coming down to Manila the same morning. He tells the executive secretary to convene the Council of State early the next day not in Malacanang but in his country home in Marikina, Rizal. Thereafter Quezon will hold almost daily cabinet meetings until compelled by circumstances to evacuate to Corregidor.

'41 Dec. 10

First Jap Landings. Japanese invasion troops effect their first landings in Appari and Vigan in Northern Luzon. Two days later, the enemy lands troops in Legaspi, Albay. 492

'41 Dec. 12

MacArthur to Quezon. MacArthur, in a brief message, asks the President to consider the advisability of evacuating with his family to Corregidor. Quezon's initial answer is a flat "No!" This is understandable enough. However, he relents later on. Up to this time Quezon is unaware of the fact that the American airforce at Clark Field has been wiped out within hours after the start of the war, and the American navy, based in Cavite, has left for unknown destination doubtless to avoid a repetition of the Pearl Harbor debacle. MacArthur, indeed, is apprehensive about the personal security of the President because the enemy can land invasion troops almost anywhere. 493

'41 Dec. 14

23rd Wedding Day. The President and Dona Aurora receive felicitations on their 23rd wedding anniversary from close friends, including General MacArthur, who is accompanied by his aide, Major Manuel A. Roxas, a reserve officer called to active duty at the outbreak of the war. 494

'41 Mid-Dec.

Vargas' Role. In one of the meetings of the Cabinet in Marikina, Vargas, who enjoys the President's absolute confidence, is selected to stay in Manila, just in case Quezon and his Cabinet are forced to seek refuge in the "Rock," another term for Corregidor. Since

491/ Malay, op. cit., pp. 8-10.

492/ Vide "Daily History of War in the Philippines," The Philippine Free Press, December 20, 1941, p. 2. Quoted in Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, pp. 338-339.

493/ Malay, supra, p. 12.

494/ Ibid.

under international law, officials of the national government are subject to capture and imprisonment by an invading army, while officials of local governments are not, the President has decided to appoint Vargas mayor of Manila. Vargas' jurisdiction as mayor is later expanded to include the outlying cities and municipalities, hence the term Greater Manila. This geopolitical jurisdiction continues throughout the Japanese occupation (1942-1945). Greater Manila is the precursor of the present Metro Manila.

Few are Called. Having made the Vargas selection, Quezon proceeds to pick the members of his cabinet who will go with him to Corregidor. All want to go, but Quezon, almost in tears, says there's not enough room for them. To compose his war cabinet on the "Rock," he chooses Vice-President Osmena, as secretary of public instruction, Chief Justice Jose Abad Santos as secretary of finance and agriculture, and Gen. Basilio J. Valdes as secretary of national defense and public works and communications.⁴⁹⁵

Laurel's "If." Laurel, who also wants to go with the President, is told to stay at his post, like the other top officials, and "help Vargas protect the people." But Laurel answers back, "Mr. President, if I cannot join you, I will go to the mountains and defy the Japanese."

"No, no," Quezon says excitedly, "you can't do that. The people must have their leaders. Cooperate with them (the Japanese), but don't take an oath of allegiance to the Emperor." ⁴⁹⁶

Vargas Reassured. Aside from the President's instruction, Vargas wants to be reassured, particularly in connection with his new job as mayor of Greater Manila, so he proceeds to MacArthur's headquarters at No. 1 Victoria, Intramuros. "George," the general tells him, "there's nothing you can do about it. Just obey their (the Japanese) orders. Do anything they want you to do, but don't take an oath of allegiance." ⁴⁹⁷

441 Dec. 24

Quezon to "Rock." The President and his family, at 3 p.m., leave their Marikina residence for the waterfront to board the s.s. Mayon for Corregidor. Before going, however, he has a few words for his faithful Executive Secretary. "God bless you, George, and lead you in the right path. You have my absolute confidence, and I am sure you will not fail me, Good-by." And Vargas replies: "Mr. President, no matter what happens, you can count on me, whether here

^{495/} Quezon, op. cit., p. 223.

^{496/} Malay, op. cit., p. 15.

^{497/} Ibid., pp. 15-16.

in Malacanan, if the Japanese allow me to remain, or in my house in Kawilihan." 498

'41 Dec. 26 Open City. Manila is officially declared an open city. 499

'41 Dec. 28 FDR's Solemn Pledge. As the USAFFE's northern and southern army groups are retreating to Bataan for a protracted defensive war, President Roosevelt sends a heart-warming message to the Filipino people. "I give the people of the Philippines," he declares, "my solemn pledge that their freedom will be redeemed and their independence established and protected." 500

'41 Dec. 30 Q-O Second Term. Re-elected in the November 11th poll, Quezon and Osmena are sworn in by Chief Justice Abad Santos for their second term - for Quezon, two more years to complete eight years in office as president of the Philippines, as per constitutional mandate and limitation; for Osmena, four more years, the vice-presidency not being limited by the charter to eight years. 501 On the same day, at the residence of Speaker and Senator-elect Jose Yulo in Penafraancia, Paco, the members of the new Congress of the Philippines are also inducted into office by Justice Jose P. Melencio. 502

'41 Meaningful Laws. Among the significant laws signed by President Quezon during the year (1941) are the following: June 4, CA No. 616, penalizing espionage and other offenses against the national security; June 7, CA 621, amending Act No. 3896, authorizing the organization of rural banks throughout the country; June 7, CA 624, appropriating ₱10,000,000 for civilian defense; June 10, CA 626, creating a Code Committee; June 10, CA 634, penalizing disrespect to the Philippine National Anthem; June 14, CA 647, granting maternity leave to married women in the service of the government or June 16, CA 648, creating the National Housing Committee; any of its instrumentalities; June 21, CA 652, requiring the finger-printing of aliens; June 21, CA 657, reorganizing the Commission on Elections; and Dec. 16, CA 671, declaring a state of total emergency as a result of the war involving the Philippines, and authorizing the President to promulgate rules and regulations to meet such emergency. 503

498/ Quezon, supra, p. 210-211.

499/ Ibid., p. 222.

500/ Ibid., pp. 232-233.

501/ Ibid., p. 229.

502/ Laide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 341.

503/ Official Gazette, Vols. 39-40.

XXXI. WASHINGTON CALLING

1942 Jan. 1

Invitation to U.S. MacArthur informs Quezon of a Washington invitation to President Quezon to establish the Commonwealth government-in-exile abroad where he will remain as the "symbol of the redemption of the Philippines." Quezon's war cabinet favors acceptance of the invitation because they know that the Filipino people want their President to be saved from falling into enemy hands or from being killed. Instead of weakening the Filipinos' will to fight, the cabinet believes Quezon's departure for Washington will facilitate the timely arrival of help from the United States especially to the troops in the field. 504

'42 Jan. 1

Japs Enter Manila. As per their timetable, advanced units of the Japanese Imperial Army enter Manila on New Year's Day, the "official" birthday of the Japanese Emperor. According to Vargas, the Japanese Emperor's birthday is "officially" celebrated on January 1st, irrespective of the actual date he was born. The Japs immediately contact Mayor Vargas in his office at the City Hall. The announcement of Vargas' appointment as mayor of Greater Manila has been deliberately withheld until a few hours before the Japanese arrival so that he could function as caretaker of the national government after Quezon's departure on Christmas eve for Corregidor. 505

'42 Jan. 3

To Filipino People. Quezon issues his first proclamation from the "Rock," enjoining the Filipino people to continue standing by "our plighted word, by the loyalty that we have pledged to America, and by our devotion to freedom, democracy, and our liberty. We are fighting that the Filipino people may be the masters of their own destiny, and that every Filipino not only of this generation but also of the generations to come may be able to live in peace and tranquility in the full enjoyment of liberty and freedom." 506

'42 Jan. 8

Japs to Vargas. The Japanese High Command orders Vargas "to organize the Administrative Constitution as soon as possible." 507 Filipino leaders, in interviews with Japanese officials, have been told that the Japanese, under the circumstances, could do any of three things: 1) impose a mailed-first policy; 2) form a puppet government; or 3) allow the old Commonwealth government to continue. However, the last alternative has been ruled out immediately because of Quezon's hostile acts against the Japanese. 508

'42 Jan. 10

Valdes to Front. To get a full and accurate picture of the situation on the Bataan front, and to build up the troops' morale, the President dispatches General Valdes, Philippine Army chief of staff and acting secretary of national defense, accompanied by Col. Manuel Nieto, the presidential aide. Encouraged by the Valdes report, Quezon wires President Roosevelt expressing his "belief and desire that the whole force of America should be directed against Japan in

504/ Quezon, *op. cit.*, p. 239.

505/ Interview with Vargas in April 1977.

506/ Quezon, *supra*, p. 243.

507/ *Official Gazette*, January, 1942. Vol. I, No. 1, p. 15 Quoted in Zaide, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 343; also in Malay, *op. cit.*, pp. 51-62.

508/ Malay, *op. cit.*, p. 56.

the Far East," this being also the prevailing sentiment among American officers in Corregidor. 509

'42 Jan. 23

Response and Order. With Vargas heading a group of thirty "men of importance," a "letter of response" is handed to the Japanese High Command, stating that "we have constituted ourselves into a provisional Council of State and we are immediately proceeding to draft our Articles of Organization." 510 Right after Vargas and Company have delivered the "response," a Japanese spokesman reads "Order No. 1" from the "Commander-in-chief of the Imperial Japanese Forces," appointing Vargas chairman of an "Executive Commission," which "shall proceed with the immediate coordination of the existing central administrative organs in the Philippines, and with the execution of administration under the commands and orders of the Commander-in-chief of the Imperial Japanese Forces." 511

Attack After Inspection. Suffering from high fever after a brief inspection of coast artillery batteries on Corregidor, Quezon has a second severe attack of asthma with spasmodic coughing, leaving him breathless and almost suffocated. He is taken out by ambulance to a cottage near that of MacArthur's. A tent is set up at the end of the "hospital" outside the Malinta tunnel, where the President stays beginning January 26th until he leaves the "Rock" three weeks later. 512

'42 Jan. 28

Formation and Absolution. On hearing a Tokyo radio broadcast announcing the establishment of a "new government in the Philippines... pledged to adhere to Japan's Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere," and the names of Filipino leaders constituting the government, Quezon immediately expresses his confidence in their "loyalty to the United States as well as (in) their personal loyalty to me." He adds that "they could be depended upon under any and all circumstance to commit no act of disloyalty, either to America, to the Philippines, or to me, the head of government." 513

'42 _____

No Quislings. Quezon, in a letter to MacArthur, says that every one of the men who have accepted positions in the Philippine Executive Commission "wanted to come to Corregidor, but you (MacArthur) told me that there was no room for them here. They are not 'quislings.' The 'quislings' are the men who betray their country to the enemy. These men did what they have been asked to do, while

509/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 248.

510/ Malay, op. cit., p. 67.

511/ Ibid., p. 72.

512/ Quezon, supra, p. 254.

513/ Ibid., pp. 255-256.

they were free, under the protection of their government. Today they are virtually prisoners of the enemy. I am sure they are the victims of the adverse fortunes of war and that they have no choice. Besides it is most probable that they accepted their positions in order to safeguard the welfare of the civilian population in the occupied areas. I think, under the circumstances, America should look upon their situation sympathetically and understand. " 514

Loyalty Sans Protection? "My loyalty and the loyalty of the Filipino people have been proven beyond question," Quezon adds in his letter. "Now we are fighting by her (U.S.) side under your command, despite overwhelming odds. But, it seems to me questionable whether any government has the right to demand loyalty from its citizens beyond its willingness or ability to render actual protection. This war is not of our making. . . . Despite all this, we never hesitated for a moment in our stand." 515

FDR to Quezon. The Quezon letter expressing anxiety about the long-awaited American reinforcement to the Bataan defenders, is referred by MacArthur to President Roosevelt. I reply, FDR assures Quezon that "every vessel available is bearing to the Southwest Pacific the strength that will eventually crush the enemy and liberate your native land." 516

'42 February

Quezon to FDR. Expressing fear of the effect on the Filipino people, especially on the less educated classes, of Premier Tojo's promise of independence to the Philippines and Burma, made before the 79th session of the Japanese Diet (Jan. 21st), Quezon asks Roosevelt to authorize him to issue a public manifesto "asking that the government of the United States grant immediate, complete and absolute independence to the Philippines; that the neutralization of the Philippines be agreed at once by the United States and the Imperial Japanese government; that within a reasonable period of time, both armies, American and Japanese, be withdrawn; that neither nation should occupy bases in the Philippines; that the Philippine Army be demobilized, the only organized force remaining in the Islands to be the Philippine Constabulary for the maintenance of law and order; that Japanese and American noncombatants who so desire be evacuated with their own army under reciprocal and fitting stipulation." Quezon adds that he is anxious to "achieve independence

514/ Quezon to MacArthur, commenting on the establishment by the Japanese of the Philippine Executive Commission, January 23, 1942. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2367.

515/ Ibid.

516/ Ibid., pp. 261-262.

for my people under the Americans. I wanted it done before the Japanese who played no part in this development could claim credit for it." 517

FDR's Reply. Roosevelt points out the "hollow duplicity" of the Japanese promise of independence, adding that "the present sufferings of the Filipino people, cruel as they may be, are infinitely less than the sufferings and permanent enslavement which will inevitably follow acceptance of Japanese promises. . ." By contrast, FDR says, "we have undertaken to protect you to the uttermost of our power until the time of your ultimate independence has arrived. Our soldiers in the Philippines are now engaged in fulfilling that purpose. We propose that it be carried out regardless of its cost. So long as the flag of the United States flies on Filipino soil as a pledge of our duty to your people, it will be defended by our own men to the death. . ." 518

Quezon Sees Light. FDR's reply softens Quezon's stand. "When I realized that he (FDR) was big enough to assume and place the burden of the defense of my country upon the sacrifice and heroism of his own people alone, I swore to myself and to the God of my ancestors that as long as I live I would stand by America regardless of the consequences to my people and myself. We could not in decency be less generous or less determined than President Roosevelt." 519

'42 Feb. 16 To Free Territory. MacArthur informs Washington that Quezon plans to transfer the seat of the Philippine government to some free territory in the Visayas. He asks for authority to use submarine to get the Quezon party out of Corregidor.

'42 Feb. 20 Quezons Leave "Rock" The Quezons and some members of his official family leave Corregidor aboard the submarine Swordfish at 11 p.m. They are seen off by MacArthur and members of the High Command. Left behind is Manuel A. Roxas, newly designated secretary to the President who, under Executive Order No. 390 issued by President Quezon on December 22, 1941, is the first to succeed to the "Presidency of the Philippines in case of failure to qualify, removal, termination of the right thereto, death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the office by both the President or President-elect and the Vice President or Vice-President-elect, as the case may be." 520 After the secretary to the

517/ Ibid., p. 269.

518/ Ibid., pp. 272-274.

519/ Ibid., p. 275.

520/ Quezon to Roxas dated Corregidor, February 18, 1942. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2372.

President, the following is the order of precedence of the Presidential succession: secretary of finance, secretary of national defense, secretary of justice, secretary of agriculture and commerce, secretary of public works and communications, secretary of public instruction, secretary of labor, and secretary of health and public welfare. 521

The other members of the presidential party who have left earlier on the s.s. Don Esteban include Lt. Col. Velasquez, aide-de-camp, Lt. Col. Andres Soriano, Serapio Canceran, and the President's physician.

The President's itinerary includes the following: San Jose de Buenavista, Feb. 22; proceed to Iloilo and Ajui in a couple of days; thence to Bacolod and then to Dumaguete, Feb. 27; by P1-boats to Oroquieta in Misamis Oriental; by motor to Dansalan, and finally to Del Monte, Bukidnon.

Author's Note: The Executive Order (No. 390) mentioned above was prepared by the office of Executive Secretary Vargas before the President's departure for Corregidor. For obvious reasons it was not published in the newspapers, although it appeared in the Official Gazette, Vol. 40, Nos. 23-26, December 6 to 27, 1941. It's possible that only the office of the President had obtained a copy of this issue because the situation in Manila by this time was rather confused since everybody was expecting the arrival momentarily of the advanced units of the Japanese Imperial Forces.

In Negros Island, the President issued a similar Executive Order, but unnumbered, on the presidential succession. The three-paragraph order reads:

"Whereas, the danger of the President of the Philippines being either killed or captured by the enemy is always present; and

"Whereas, public interest demands that the succession to Presidency be provided for so that at no time may the country find itself without a lawful head of the Government of the Commonwealth;

"That in case I or Vice President Osmeña should be unable to perform these duties, the secretary to the President should become the President." 522

'42 Mar. 17 MacArthur Invitation. In Cebu, Quezon receives a letter from MacArthur in Mindanao, brought by Col. Soriano, inviting the President to join him in Australia where MacArthur has been designated by Roosevelt to set up his headquarters as commander of the

521/ Ibid., p. 278. Also Official Gazette, Vol. 40, Nos. 23-26, December 6-27, 1941.

522/ Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2376.

forthcoming offensive campaign to the Philippines. MacArthur left Corregidor on March 11, by two PT boats, proceeding to Mindanao, whence he flew to Melbourne, Australia, arriving there on March 17. Upon his arrival in Melbourne MacArthur makes a startling announcement that will keep alive the hopes of millions of Filipinos for eventual redemption: "I came through and I shall return." 523

'42 Mar. 26

Donation and Departure. A few hours before flying to Melbourne on one of three Flying Fortresses sent by MacArthur to fetch the President and members of his party, the Chief Executive signs a deed of donation turning over to the Philippine government all his papers, an accumulation of nearly 40 years of public service. These archival materials are known as the "Quezon Papers." The President's plane takes off from the Del Monte airfield at 10:30 p.m., arriving in Australia nine hours later. 524

'42 Apr. 9

Fall of Bataan. After an all-out enemy offensive lasting six days, Bataan falls to the Japanese. "Bataan has fallen," the USAFPE radio station Voice of Freedom announces sadly but proudly, "but the spirit that made it stand - a beacon to all the liberty-loving people of the world - cannot fall!" 525 About 36,000 Filipino and American soldiers and 11 generals (six Filipinos, and five Americans) lay down their arms. All of them are to make the "Death March" from Bataan to San Fernando, Pampanga, and finally by train to the enemy concentration camps at Capas, Tarlac. Hundreds of war prisoners die before reaching their destination. 526

'42 May 6

Fall of Corregidor. Hardly one month after Bataan, the once impregnable fortress of Corregidor also falls to the enemy. Some 12,000 Filipino and American soldiers are taken prisoner. General Jonathan Wainwright, who succeeded MacArthur, goes on the radio the following night to broadcast an order to all sector commanders throughout the Philippines to cease further resistance. The Americans surrender, but a great many Filipino officers refuse to give up their arms, and join thousands of Filipino civilians who have decided to take over where the military have left off, launching a fullscale and relentless guerrilla war that will last during the next three years. 527

'42 May 8

Quezon in U.S. From Australia, the Quezon party crosses the Pacific on the President Coolidge, converted into a transport ship, arriving in San Francisco 18 days later. They are met on their

523/ Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 345.

524/ Quirino, op. cit., p. 348.

525/ Zaide, supra, p. 346.

526/ Ibid., pp. 346-347.

527/ Ibid., p. 347.

arrival by high-ranking American officials from Washington. Roosevelt has earlier sent a special train to San Francisco to fetch the Quezon party. The American President himself and a special reception committee made up of Cabinet members and all the living former governors general and high commissioners give them a warm welcome at the Union Station. The Quezons are overnight guests at the White House. 528

Stand Firm, Hold On! In a special broadcast to the Philippines upon his arrival in the United States, Quezon says that "though the Japanese invader may for a brief moment conquer the Philippines, the Filipinos' "minds and souls remain free. And behind this spirit, there lives in all of us a confidence that the day of liberation is surely coming. The great and free people of the United States will not permit you to remain in bondage. Led by their noble statesmen and generals, they will rescue the Philippines (and) break the Japanese yoke which now oppresses you. Stand firm, hold on to your faith! The forces of freedom are on the march. The day approaches when you shall joyously welcome them to our shores." 529

XXXII COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT-IN-EXILE

'42 May 13

Government-in-Exile. Quezon sets up the Commonwealth government-in-exile in Washington, D.C., which function^s for more than two years until October 3, 1944, two months after his death, and shortly after President Osmeña's departure from Washington to join MacArthur's triumphal return to the Philippines. 530

'42 June 2

Quezon Before House. Addressing the U.S. House of Representatives, Quezon recalls his seven-year stint in the chamber (1909-1916) during which "I pleaded the cause of my people, their freedom, and independence." Then he adds: "It took me seven years of constant pleading before I secured the enactment of the Jones Law." Many years later, says Quezon, he secured another Act of Congress "which fixed the year 1946 for the granting of complete independence to the Philippines." Consequently, he was elected first President of the Commonwealth. But then the war broke out, and the Filipino people found themselves fighting side by side with the American people in defense of a common cause.

"I shall not tell you, Mr. Speaker," says Quezon, in the concluding portion of his speech, "I shall not tell the House of

528/ Quezon, op. cit., p. 325.

529/ Special broadcast to the Philippines, May 8, 1942. QP, HR#45, TNL.

530/ Zaido, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 343.

Representatives, I shall not tell the Senate of the United States, I shall not tell the government and the people of America what they should do for us in the days to come. All I want to say is that death, ruin, and destruction have never daunted our spirit or lessened our faith in the United States." Afterwards, Quezon is presented to the members of the House individually by the gentleman from New York (Mr. Bloom). ⁵³¹

'42 June 4 "Remember the Philippines!" Addressing the U.S. Senate, Quezon says he is not in the United States "to persuade you to send forces at once to the Philippines to drive the invader out of my beloved fatherland. Nor will I try to convince you that the Pacific is more important than the European or the Atlantic theatres of war. . . (But) you will always have in mind, I am sure, that only in the Philippines has your flag, the Stars and Stripes, been hauled down and replaced by the flag of the Rising Sun. In view of this tragic event, I do hope that the American people, in this hour of their great responsibility to the world, will always keep before them the memory of the devotion and sacrifices of the people of the Philippines. Let me ask them, in turn, that your people adopt still another slogan - "Remember the Philippines!" ⁵³²

'42 June 14 Virtually Independent. The Philippines becomes a de facto independent nation when it is admitted to the United Nations and is given a seat in the Pacific War Council. It is also invited to participate in several international conference. ⁵³³

'42 Early Summer President Without his Country. Quezon, at a luncheon given in honor of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower, says the last time they were together, "not so long ago," "Ike" was just a lieutenant colonel, who was later ordered back to Washington. "Today, I am an exile in this city (Washington, D.C.), a President without his country, and he is a major general who has almost reached the climax of his glory as a soldier. Furthermore, you will hear much of General Eisenhower in the weeks and months to come." Indeed, the Quezon prophesy has now become part of history. ⁵³⁴

^{531/} Address before the House of Representatives, 77th Congress of the United States. Second Session, June 2, 1942. In: Congressional Record, House, Vol. 88, Part 4, pp. 4789-4791. Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, pp. 81-93.

^{532/} Speech in the U.S. Senate, June 4, 1942. In: Congressional Record, Senate, Vol. 88, Part 4, p. 4856. Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, pp. 94-98.

^{533/} Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 343.

^{534/} Speech, "A President Without His Country," at the luncheon in honor of Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Mayflower Hotel in Washington, D.C. Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, p. 99.

- '42 Aug. 9 Atlantic Charter. The real test of the Atlantic Charter, Quezon says in a radio broadcast, "would come after the victory of the United Nations. Then we shall be faced with that task of making the postwar sacrifices that will take the principles of freedom out of a charter and put them into everyday lives. We shall embark on the gigantic task of creating a world without fear and without want, a world where all of us can live in freedom to speak and worship, a world where evil men can no longer break the peace." 535
- '42 Aug. 19 Full Nationhood. "America," says Quezon in a radio address on the occasion of his 64th birthday, "through the plighted word of its great leader, President Roosevelt, has assured me that our freedom will be redeemed, and our independence established and protected. Indeed, I have already achieved, since I came to this country, what, in effect, amounts to the recognition of full Philippine nationhood when, in the month of June last, I signed the Atlantic Charter and took my seat in the Pacific War Council. We are now a member of the United Nations, the nations that are united in the common purpose and the firm determination to destroy the Axis Powers and bring about the birth of a new world . . ." 536
- '42 Nov. 15 Filipino Record. "The battle record of the Filipino people," Quezon states in the 7th Commonwealth anniversary ceremonies in Washington, D.C., "bears a glorious testimony to the differences between freedom and oppression, between the principle of human equality and the exploded idea of race superiority. That is why our Commonwealth Day this year is more than a Philippine anniversary. It is an anniversary pregnant with a message for the whole human race." 537
- '42 Dec. 30 Rizal's Message. From childhood, according to Quezon, Rizal's thoughts and deeds had but one purpose - the freedom of the Filipino people. Rizal, on the eve of his death, did not think of his past life. He saw only the dawn that would come, and the bright day ahead. The Filipinos, the President adds, have been fighting side by side with the Americans "in defense of your (American) flag and of our own land. . . And there, in the East, where the sun rises, we see already the glimmerings of dawn. Already the gloom of night is softening and soon the new day will break, flooding us all with the bright sun of liberty."

535/ Radio talk over the Columbia Broadcasting Station, August 9, 1942. Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, pp. 100-101.

536/ Quezon's birthday speech published in full as Extension of Remarks of Sen. Millard E. Tydings of Maryland in the U.S. Senate, August 20, 1942. In: Congressional Record, Senate, Vol. 88, Part 10, p. A3116. Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, pp. 102-105.

537/ Seventh Commonwealth Day speech, Washington, D.C., November 15, 1942. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 106-111.

Then the dream of Rizal will come true." 538

XXXIII. DREAM AND FULFILLMENT

- '43 Jan. 6 Wants Roxas Rescued. Quezon sends an urgent note to General MacArthur asking him to "try to get Roxas out of Mindanao. I reiterate that request. To me it is of the utmost importance to save Roxas and bring him to the United States." But MacArthur, after exerting all his efforts, replies on June 14th that "there is small chance of getting Roxas out. It would appear that he is in Manila restricted to his own house." 539
- '43 Jan 21 Time to Strike Japan. If Japan turns the raw materials she has appropriated in her conquered territories into finished war materials, Quezon says in an interview with an American correspondent at his sickbed in the Shoreham hotel, "then the job of whipping her will be ten times harder. Besides, it should be borne in mind that only in the Philippines your (American) flag has been lowered, and it seems to me this offense to your national dignity should be repaired as soon as possible. It is time to strike at Japan and I hope you do it with all the power you have." 540
- '43 Feb. 20 Empty Promise. Japan has promised to grant independence to the Philippines. "What would that mean?" Quezon asks. "It would mean that the Philippines would be another Manchukuo - a government without rights, without powers, without authority . . . It would be worse than folly to rely on any promise made by the Japanese government. . . Don't let the Japanese fool you." 541
- '43 Apr. 28 Secret Mission. Having received disturbing rumors that some Filipino leaders he left behind were "gravitating toward the Japanese co-prosperity sphere," Quezon bares to his attending physician, Lt. Col. Emigdio Cruz, that he is at a loss as to whom to send to the Philippines on a secret mission. The President says all the men he has previously sent to the Philippines have failed to reach Manila, hence he has no clear idea of the real situation obtaining in the country. Whereupon Cruz volunteers to go, but Quezon has serious doubts about his ability to infiltrate enemy lines, not being a

538/ Rizal Day speech broadcast from Washington, D.C. December 30, 1942. The United Nations Review, Vol. III, No. 1, January 15, 1943, pp. 34-35. Also Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, pp. 117-121.

539/ Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 122-124.

540/ Ibid., p. 133

541/ Radio address to the Filipino people from Washington, D.C., February 20, 1943. Ibid., Vol. VI, pp. 134-141.

trained secret agent. Finally, after consulting with Dofia Aurora, the President gives Cruz permission to go. ⁵⁴² Consequently, Cruz leaves Washington on May 8th, arriving in Australia on June 9th. ⁵⁴³

'43 Aug. 19 Best Gift. President Roosevelt in his speech on Occupation Day, August 13th, promised that the liberation of the Philippines "will come as surely as there is a God in heaven." This speech, says Quezon, "is the best gift that you and I can receive on this anniversary of my birthday." ⁵⁴⁴

'43 Sept. 30 Liberty or Death. "My political philosophy," Quezon writes the New York Herald Tribune, "is old-fashioned. It is still that of Patrick Henry: 'Liberty or death.' This philosophy has inspired me to lead my people to fight to the bitter end by the side of the United States against Japan. . . The all-important thing is that we fought and are still fighting for right and liberty regardless of consequences. Right and liberty are more precious than life." ⁵⁴⁵

'43. Quezon to Stimson. "Governor, do you know why I am ill just now?" Quezon asks former Governor General Henry L. Stimson, the President's visitor at Saranac Lake. "I am ill because of worrying over the Japanese offer of independence to the Philippines. I am afraid that my people will be so misled by the enemy that when we go back there they might fight on the Japanese side. I would rather die before I see that day." When Stimson asks Quezon what is on his mind, the latter replies, "I wish you would see President Roosevelt and ask him to get Congress pass a joint resolution granting independence to the Philippines immediately." This Stimson agrees to do. ⁵⁴⁶

'43 Oct. 6 FDR to Congress. Doubtless as a result of Stimson's intervention, President Roosevelt sends a message to the U.S. Congress recommending passage of "legislation giving the President the authority, after consultation with the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippine Islands, to advance the date provided in existing law and to proclaim the legal independence of the Philippines, as a separate and self-governing nation, as soon as feasible." Roosevelt also recommends 1) that the U.S. Congress authorize the President of the United States and the President of the

^{542/} Teodoro A. Agoncillo, The Fateful Years: Japan's Adventure in the Philippines, 1941-45. 2 Vols. Vol. II, pp. 791-792.

^{543/} "The Morning of August 1st (Philippine Time) or August 2nd (U.S. Time, 1944.)" Excerpts from "Quezon's Secret Agent," by Lt. Col. Emigdio Cruz, MC, as told to Dr. Conrado Mata and published in the Philippines Free Press, Jan. 31 and Feb. 7 and 14, 1948. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2521-2526.

^{544/} Radio address beamed to the Philippines on Quezon's 65th anniversary, August 19, 1943. The Philippines, Vol. III, No. 6, August 31, 1943. Also in Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, pp. 163-165.

^{545/} Letter to the New York Herald Tribune, September 30, 1943. Ibid., pp. 171-172.

^{546/} The United Nations Review, Vol. III, No. 11, (November 15, 1943. Ibid., p. 175.

Commonwealth to enter into immediate negotiations and take the necessary steps to provide for full security for the Philippines, for the mutual protection of the Islands and of the United States, and for the maintenance of peace in the Pacific; 2) that Congress provide for determining the adjustments necessary in the economic relations between the two countries; and 3) that Congress provide for the physical and economic rehabilitation of the Philippines from the ravages of war. 547

43 Oct. 15 Let's Keep Our Faith. Informed of the establishment of the Japanese-sponsored Philippine Republic, Quezon immediately goes on the air to remind the Filipino people of Philippine ties of loyalty and gratitude to the United States, and of President Roosevelt's pledge that "the freedom of the Philippines will be redeemed and their independence established and protected."

Quezon, for his part, makes the solemn pledge that "I will return with General MacArthur. And I hope and expect that the Filipino people, when that day comes, will fight on the aide of the liberating forces and not allow themselves to be used by Japan who is responsible for the thousands of lives lost, the hardships and sufferings of our people, and the devatation of our country. Filipinos, my beloved countrymen, keep your faith in America. Let us be with her in victory as we have been with her in defeat." 548

43 Oct. 25 Cruz Meets Roxas. Meanwhile, Lt. Col. Cruz the physician turned secret agent, having arrived in the Philippines by submarine from Australia, succeeds in meeting Roxas in the evening at 893 Lepanto, Sampaloc, Manila. Apprised of the Quezon instructions, Roxas tells Cruz: "Tell President Quezon and General MacArthur that there is no doubt about the loyalty of the Filipinos, including those who are holding positions in the government. It can be safely stated that 95 per cent of the entire Filipino people are true and loyal to America and the leadership of President Quezon." 549

On Succession Question. One of Cruz's instructions is to sound out Filipino leaders on the question of presidential succession since November 14, 1943 is the last day of President Quezon's second term as President of the Philippines, and under Section 5, Article VII of the amended Constitution of the Philippines "no person shall serve as President for more than eight consecutive years." The times are abnormal, and there is absolutely no possibility of holding an

547/ The Congressional Record, Vol. 89, Part 6, pp. 7812-7813.

548/ The United Nations Review, Vol. III, No. 11 Nov. 15, 1943, pp. 47-48. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2461.

549/ Agoncillo, Fateful Years, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 793.

election. Because of the war the Constitution itself has "become a shambles and is no longer in operative in the Philippines." In the succeeding days, Cruz has met several more Filipino leaders, including Chief Justice Yulo and Rafael Alunan. Yulo, like Roxas, favors Quezon's continuance as President of the Commonwealth even after November 14th, while Alunan, although a Quezon man, believes that Quezon should give way to Osmeña in accordance with the constitutional provision. 550

Two Schools of Thought. Quezon and Osmeña hold varying but not irreconcilable views on the question of Presidential succession, to wit:

Quezon: "The Japanese invasion has destroyed all semblance of constitutional government and its institution^s in the Philippines, and it seems to me that legally I should remain in office until I am return^{ed} by the sovereign power of the United States to the constitutional and lawful seat of my government, and become, in fact as well as in law, once more the President of the Philippines exercising jurisdiction over the whole territory of the Philippines, and until the Philippine courts are reestablished and functioning normally under the Constitution adopted by the Filipino people.

"Under international law, the right and responsibility for reestablishing constitutional government and constitutional processes in the Philippines rest with the United States. Furthermore, the Philippine Independence Act approved by Congress, and the Constitution of the Philippines specifically authorize the President of the United States to intervene when, as now, constitutional government in the Philippines is overthrown. Finally, the power and authority to determine and recognize who is the head of a government in exile in Washington rest exclusively with the President of the United States." 551

Osmeña: (He does not subscribe to the Quezon thesis that the Constitution is no longer operative in the Philippines.) "We were, in fact, spending the people's money because of the authority of the Constitution, and I could not agree that ours was merely an interim government. I thought it was the legitimate government of the Philippines." 552

550/ Ibid., pp. 794-808.

551/ Quezon to Roosevelt. Earlier in the letter, Quezon points out 12 facts underlying his acceptance of the Roosevelt invitation to come to Washington "as the head of the government of the Commonwealth-in-exile and as the symbol of the redemption of the Philippines."

552/ Agoncillo, supra, p. 795.

143 Ickes and Hull. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, in a letter to President Roosevelt, says that "failure to uphold the Constitution would be a serious blow to the cause of future representative government in the Philippines, and that it would offer the enemy an opportunity for adverse propaganda among the Filipinos under their control." 553 Secretary of State Cordell Hull, on the other hand, warns the President that "if the will of the Filipinos as expressed in their Constitution is ignored by the Commonwealth authorities at Washington so as to alter the right of succession to the Presidency, it is believed that the reaction in the Philippines cannot but be unfavorable and that such a deviation would be looked upon as a contravention of democratic principles of government." 554

143 Quezon Dejected. Receiving no reply from the White House to his letter sent two weeks earlier, Quezon calls up Osmeña and bares his disappointment. "Well," he tells the Vice President, "they're going to throw me out into the street. . . I sent a letter to the White House two weeks ago, and they haven't even acknowledged it. They want to get rid of me." Osmeña, however, reassures Quezon that no one is trying to get rid of him. He says that should he succeed to the Presidency he would appoint Quezon head of the Council of State with headquarters at the Shoreham. 555

143 Quezon to Osmeña. Quezon, in a handwritten letter, tells Osmeña that while his personal preference is to leave the Presidency, he certainly "would do it now, if I could do so without becoming guilty of abandoning the position at a critical epoch in the life of our people." He adds that "if I were convinced that the Constitution continues to be in force, I would refuse absolutely to remain in the position, even if the President (Roosevelt) would desire it." Finally, he declares that "I have to continue in the position until the President says I am through or until the government of the Commonwealth may function anew constitutionally, at which moment I will automatically be relieved by you, until another President has been elected and has assumed office." 556

143 Stimson's Opinion. Secretary of War Stimson, when consulted by Osmeña on the matter, places emphasis on the unity of Filipino^s at the crucial stage of the war. In other words, he is for Quezon's

553/ Ickes to Roosevelt, September 1, 1943.

554/ Hull to Roosevelt, September 8, 1943.

555/ Agoncillo, *supra*, p. 802.

556/ *Ibid.*, pp. 802-809.

continuance in office as President of the Philippines "for the duration of the war." 557

143 Irked by Cabinet. Wishing to sound out the opinion of his own Cabinet on the question of presidential succession, Quezon singles out Auditor General Jaime Hernandez, who is not his appointee but is assured of his tenure under the Constitution. "What do you think?" he asks. Hernandez, straightening himself, answers slowly: "Mr. President, in view of the importance of the issue, I would like to be given more time to study it before giving my opinion." At this point, Quezon flares up, and turning to General Valdes, shouts: "General, tell Aurora to pack up. I will no longer be President." Turning to the other members of the Cabinet, he says: "All right, gentlemen, this is resolved. I am going to California. Congratulations, Mr. Vice President." 558

143 Osmeña Alternatives: Osmeña confers with Senator Tydings, co-author of the Tydings-McDuffie Act and chairman of the Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, and presents two alternatives, to wit: 1) suspension by the American Congress of the term of office of all Filipino officials, their terms to begin one month after the liberation of the country from the enemy; and 2) keeping Quezon and Osmeña in their positions. Tydings prefers the latter.

143 Nov. 5 Key to Problem. With the help of Tydings, a letter addressed to Tydings and to his counterpart in the House, Rep. Jasper Bell, is drafted, to be signed by the entire Quezon Cabinet. The letter submits the question of presidential succession to Congress, requesting that "they review the whole situation and take such actions as in their wisdom will best serve the interest of the Filipino people, their constitutional government, and the government of the United States during this emergency. Congress may feel free to consider whether it would be to the best interest of both peoples to allow changes in the direction of the Commonwealth government during the emergency to continue the status quo until such time as the constitutional and democratic processes are fully reestablished in the Philippines, or to follow such other course of action as, in their opinion, is required by the circumstances." 559

143 Nov. Joint Resolution No. 95. After a little discussion in the Senate, but much heated debate in the House, the U.S. Congress finally approves Joint Resolution No. 95 stating that "notwithstanding the provisions of Section 5 of Article VII of the amended Constitution

557/ Ibid., p. 808.

558/ Ibid., p. 810.

559/ Letter of the Quezon cabinet to Senator Tydings and Rep. Bell, November 5, 1943.

of the Philippines, the present President and Vice President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines shall continue in their respective offices until the President of the United States proclaims that their successors have been duly elected and qualified in accordance with the Constitution and laws of the Philippines." Quezon wins his last major fight for political supremacy in the Philippines. 560

XXXIV. WITHOUT SEEING THE DAMN

Feb. 22 Man of Faith. On this 212th birthday anniversary of George Washington, the father of his country, Lt. Col. Cruz returns from his secret mission to the Philippines to report to MacArthur in the latter's headquarters in Australia. "Welcome back, Cruz!" the General says, standing up and embracing the brave medical officer. When Cruz narrates how the people at a large general assembly in the Philippines wept upon being told by a pro-Japanese speaker that MacArthur could never return to the Philippines, the general is visibly moved. In a tremulous voice, MacArthur, who was once described by Quezon as a man of faith, says with much feeling: "I shall go back and liberate the Philippines if it is my last act on earth!" After resting for two days in Brisbane, Cruz is presented with the Distinguished Service Cross by MacArthur for his signal achievement. 561

Feb. Mission Accomplished. Cruz reports on his mission to President Quezon who is "very ill in bed" in Miami, Florida. For the second time he is honored for his successful mission. From his sickbed the President confers on Cruz the Congressional Medal of Valor, the highest military decoration of the Philippines. Cruz is the first and only Filipino to receive the award. He is appointed permanent major in the Philippine Army and promoted to the temporary rank of lieutenant colonel. 562

Tears and a Wish. The President is obviously satisfied with the Cruz report, reassured of the loyalty of the men he ^{has} left behind in the Philippines. But he breaks into tears when Cruz describes the suffering^s of the people. Examining ^{Quezon's} chest and back, Cruz finds the President in a critical condition. "I only wish," the President says softly, "I could go back to the Philippines even if I died the day after my arrival." Of course, the fulfillment of this wish rests with MacArthur who, back in Corregidor, had assured the President that he would bring him back in triumphal entry into Manila, "borne

560/ Ibid., pp. 815-822.

561/ "The Morning of August 1st," loc. cit. In: Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2523.

562/ Ibid. Rivera Collection, supra, p. 2524.

on the bayonets of the USAFFE." 563

'44 July 4

Last July 4th Message. Another great achievement of President Quezon in Washington which is not widely known is the adoption by the U.S. government of a policy to advance the grant of Philippine independence. In his last July Fourth message in Washington, Quezon reveals that President Roosevelt has signed Joint Resolution No. 93 of the U.S. Congress "advancing Philippine independence prior to July 4, 1946." Quezon concludes his brief message as follows: "The forces of freedom and democracy are marching onward irresistibly. As we commemorate today's American Independence Day, let us take renewed strength in the confident expectation that soon our own Fourth of July from Japanese oppression will dawn for us. It will not take long now." 564

Joint Resolution No. 93. Pertinent portions of the resolution follow:

"Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in congress assembled. That it is hereby declared to be the policy of the Congress that the United States shall drive the treacherous, invading Japanese from the Philippine Islands, restore as quickly as possible the orderly and free democratic processes of government to the Filipino people, and thereupon establish the complete independence of the Philippine Islands as a separate and self-governing nation.

* * *

"SEC. 3. In order speedily to effectuate the policy declared in Section 1, the President of the United States is hereby authorized, after proclaiming that constitutional processes and normal functions of government have been restored in the Philippine Islands and after consultation with the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, to advance the date of the independence of the Philippine Islands by proclaiming their independence as a separate and self-governing nation prior to July 4, 1946."

(Note: President Roosevelt signed the resolution on June 29, 1944.)

'44 Aug. 1

"Blessed are they . . ." Lt. Col. Cruz, the physician turned secret agent No. 1, is on duty, attending to President Quezon, this bright sunny morning, on the comfortable sleeping porch of the former hunting ledge at Camp McMarrin, in Saranac Lake, New York. The President asks Cruz to read the bible. The physician starts reading the Sermon on the Mount, as directed by the patient. "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven; blessed

563/ Agoncillo, Fateful Years, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 823.

564/ The Philippines, August 1944, p. 27. Rivera Collection, Vol. VI, p. 240

are the meek, for they shall possess the earth; blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be comforted . . ."

Only 600 Miles! The past few days the President has become so weak and tired that he is compelled to use the sign language, for even slight talk can "induce a fit of coughing with sputum flecked with blood." ⁵⁶⁵ It's time for the news broadcast over the radio. The President snaps his fingers, and Cruz sees him pointing at the back of his left wrist (referring to his watch). Universal interest is now focused on the development of the war in the Pacific. The Allied offensive is scoring one victory after another. "Gen. MacArthur made a successful landing on Moonfur just 600 miles from the Philippines," comes the announcement. There is almost simultaneous clapping of hands. "It won't be long now," the President says, at the same time motioning Cruz to step out of the room to look for the attendant, a Porto Rican male nurse.

The Night Before. The night before this, while saying the rosary, the President struggled painfully with both elbows to rise in bed, but having failed he just whispered to Dr. Benvenuto R. Dino, the attending physician on the night shift. "Dino, pray for me - pray for me so that God will allow me to return to the Philippines! I feel so weak that I am afraid I may not make it." ⁵⁶⁶

Last Moments. Once outside the room, Cruz hears a noise. He rushes back into the room and finds the President coughing spasmodically, with blood coming out of his mouth and nose. "Trepp," he faintly whispers. Cruz quickly runs downstairs and calls Dr. Trepp. He also dashes to the chapel to inform Mrs. Quezon about the President's condition. He asks her to pray hard for him. Cruz finds the patient in "a very cyanotic condition," his skin and face turning bluish because of insufficient aeration of the blood. Mrs. Quezon and the children come in, but the sick man motions them to stay outside, to spare them the anguish of seeing him in his last difficult moments. The bedsheets, streaked with blood, are in complete disarray because of his struggle and contortions. Gasping for breath, he is turned upside down, and a big clot is removed out of his air passage. He seems to have recovered, but he has lost consciousness, his head listing to the right edge of the bed, and blood oozing freely from his mouth.

Dr. Trepp shakes his head and whispers, "He is going to die."

Whereupon the family group fall to their knees as the chaplain, Fr.

⁵⁶⁵/ Quirino, *op. cit.*, p. 383.

⁵⁶⁶/ *Ibid.*, p. 381.

Pacifico Ortiz, S.J., leads in reciting the Lord's prayer. A few brief moments later, after receiving the extreme unction, the President breathes his last. It is 10:15 a.m., August 1st (Philippine time), 1944, nineteen months and three days before the Philippines gains her independence. ⁵⁶⁷

The President dies without seeing the dawn of freedom that is his chief handiwork and greatest contribution to his native-land. ⁵⁶⁸

XXXV. ANG PAGBABALIK

'44 Aug. 2 Death Announced. By order of the U.S. Secretary of War, General George C. Marshall, chief of staff, issues General Orders No. 62 announcing "with deep regret" the death of President Quezon. Says Marshall: "President Quezon was a most effective leader of the Filipino people in their long struggle for self-government and independence. The establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth has been in a large measure due to his courage and intelligence. He was a strong and appreciative friend of the United States. As a result of his efforts, throughout the agonies of the Japanese invasion, and in spite of all the efforts of our enemies, the Filipino people have remained loyal to our government. The people of the Philippine Commonwealth and liberty-loving people everywhere have lost an outstanding leader in the death of President Quezon." ⁵⁶⁹

'44 Aug. 3 Honors at Washington. At 8 p.m., Quezon's mortal remains are brought to Washington, D.C., by special train from Saranac Lake, New York. On hand to meet the train at the Union Station are newly inducted President Osmeña and members of his Cabinet, representatives of the U.S. Department of state and department of the interior, as well as friends and admirers. Eight armored cars of the U.S. army and a formation of motorcycle cops escort the casket to St. Matthew's Cathedral where it will lie in state until the next morning.

Members of the different services of the U.S. army take turns in keeping vigil. Foreign embassies in Washington fly their flags^s at half-mast for the departed leader. The St. Matthew's

^{567/} Quirino, *op. cit.*, pp. 383-385. Also "The Morning of August 1st," *loc. cit.* Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2525-2526.

^{568/} The President's death is reminiscent of the mysterious stranger (Elias), in Rizal's *Noli*, his face turned to the East and whispering a prayer. Pretty soon his body will turn to ashes as the fire consumes the great pile of firewood turned into a funeral pyre. He tells the dumbfounded Basilio: "Nothing will remain of me . . . I die without seeing the sun rise on my country. You who are to see the dawn, welcome it, and do not forget those who fall during the night!" Vide Guerrero's translation of the *Noli*, *op. cit.*, p. 402.

^{569/} Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2528.

Cathedral is almost filled with "so many flowers" sent by Chiefs of State and friends not only in the United States but also in other countries, particularly the South American Republics. After high mass on August 4th, the funeral cortege leaves the Cathedral for Arlington National Cemetery where the body is interred temporarily until it can be shipped to the Philippines. 570

Oct. 20 MacArthur Returns. An American armada of 650 ships lands four army divisions at strategic points of Leyte province. After the initial wave of assault troops has made a beachhead, General MacArthur, accompanied by President Osmeña, Brig. Gen. Romulo, and members of the High Command, wades ashore. MacArthur then tells the Filipino people by radio: "I have returned." 571

Oct. 23 Commonwealth Restored. MacArthur issues a proclamation declaring the restoration of the Commonwealth government on Philippine soil. Leyte is made the temporary capital of the Philippines, pending the liberation of Manila. 572

Feb. 27 Commonwealth Reestablished. Amidst simple ceremonies at Malacañang, the Commonwealth government is formally reestablished throughout the Philippines. But it will take nearly six months before the entire country is liberated from the enemy. 573

Mar. 7 Executive Departments. President Osmeña issues an Executive Order providing for the restoration of the executive department^s of the government as they existed before the war. The next day (March 8) Osmeña inducts into office the new members of the Cabinet. 574

June 9 Congress Convened. The Congress of the Philippines, whose members were elected on November 11, 1941 but could not function because of the war, is convened in special session by Osmeña. In this session Senator Manuel A. Roxas is elected President of the Senate, and Senator Elpidio Quirino, Senate President protempore. 575

July 5 Country Liberated. MacArthur announces that the "entire Philippine Islands are now liberated and the Philippine campaign can be regarded as virtually closed." 576

570/ "Honors at Washington" by Serapio D. Cancoran, private secretary to the late President Quezon. In: Quezon Memorial Book. Manila: Quezon Memorial Committee, 1952, p. 62.

571/ Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 356.

572/ Ibid.

573/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit., p. 483.

574/ Ibid., p. 491.

575/ Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 363.

576/ Free Philippines, Manila, July 5, 1946. Quoted in Zaide, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 360.

1945 Aug. 15 Japan Surrenders. Reeling under the impact of two devastating atomic bombs, the first dropped on Hiroshima on August 6, and the second on Nagasaki on August 9, the Imperial Japanese government decides to surrender unconditionally. The formal surrender ceremonies are held aboard the battleship USS Missouri on September 2nd, marking the termination of the Pacific War. 577

1946 Apr. 23 Last Commonwealth Poll. For the second time in his political life Osmeña meets defeat at the hands of a secessionist when Senator Roxas, who has left the Nacionalista Party to form a splinter group known as the "Liberal Wing" (eventually the Liberal Party), licks him in the presidential election by a narrow margin, despite the fact that Osmeña, refusing to campaign, has delivered only one speech. Roxas' running mate, Senator Elpidio Quirino, is also elected Vice President. Roxas is reported to have been supported by MacArthur and McNutt. 578

1946 May 8 Off to U.S. Accompanied by McNutt, President-elect Roxas flies to the United States purportedly "to discuss with the American authorities vital matters affecting the Philippines." 579

1946 May 28 Roxas Inaugural. Roxas is inducted as the second regularly elected President of the Commonwealth which is to cease formally in less than two months after his inauguration, and replaced by the Republic of the Philippines in accordance with the Tydings-McDuffie Independence Law which Quezon secured, almost single handedly, and in spite of the taunting by Roxas himself.

It will be recalled that after the rejection of the Hawes-Cutting Act by the Philippine Legislature, Roxas publicly declared that "if he (Quezon) comes back with a new law, I shall march at the head of the parade which shall meet him . . . I shall kiss his hand and . . . pledge him my support." However, Roxas was not around at the pier when Quezon returned on May 1, 1934, bringing the Tydings-McDuffie Act. 580

Quezon's Legacy. Quezon was certain the Philippines would gain her independence on July 4, 1946 - or even much earlier under Joint Resolution No. 93 - had he lived long enough to come back with MacArthur's liberation forces. In a letter addressed to the Filipino nation, dated October 23, 1934, two days before his operation for kidney stone at the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, Maryland,

577/ Ibid., p. 361.

578/ Agoncillo and Guerrero, op. cit.; p. 497.

579/ Zaido, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 364.

580/ Quirino, op. cit., pp. 266-267.

Quezon says with prophetic insight:

"I have served you, land that I love, to the full extent of my capacity. You in turn have shown me a true and sincere faith. I will never forget till the last beat of my heart what you have shown me. I regret that I cannot be with you in the fortunate hour when you will be wholly free. But you are almost there and have to go but a short way." 581

'46 July 4

Birth of Republic. Amidst impressive ceremonies at the Luneta, Roxas is inducted president of the new Republic of the Philippines as provided for in the Tydings-McDuffie Act. The Truman proclamation announcing to the world the withdrawal of American sovereignty and the recognition of Philippine independence is read by U.S. High Commissioner McNutt. 582

'46 July 27

Back Home at Last! The body of President Quezon arrives on board the aircraft carrier USS Princeton, accompanied by U.S. Supreme Court Justice Frank Murphy, personal representative of President Truman and former governor general and high commissioner to the Philippines. Quezon returns to his native land not "borne on the bayonets" of MacArthur's troops, who have already liberated the Philippines, but on one of America's mightiest carriers afloat. 583

Freedom having been won, thanks to Quezon's patriotism and unceasing struggle for nearly half a century, it may well be said that he has returned in triumph for the third and last time in his colorful career. And doubtless this is the ultimate triumph as well as the greatest achievement - independence - without which life, for self-respecting peoples and nations, will not be worth living. 584

'46 Aug. 1

Consummatus Est. Manuel Luis Quezon, father of Philippine independence, is laid to rest at high noon at the Manila North Cemetery.

581/ "Last Message," Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2515-2518.

582/ Zaide, op. cit., pp. 366-367.

583/ The sole mission of the USS Princeton was to bring the Quezon remains back to the Philippines. For this special task, the U.S. government spent about P1,344,880 - quite a tidy sum in 1946 when the official exchange rate was P2.00 to \$1.00. Vide "The Story of the USS Princeton," Evening News, August 2, 1946, Also Quezon Memorial Book, op. cit., pp. 72-74.

584/ "Independence is Above Any Price," Says Quezon. In: Interview with S.J. Woolf of the New York Times, May 16, 1935. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, pp. 1156-1157.

March 9, 1978
Kawit, Cavite

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PART II

QUEZON READER

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2. Messages of the President. Ten volumes of President Quezon's messages, speeches, proclamations, administrative orders, executive orders, general orders, and Commonwealth Acts passed by the First and Second National Assembly from December 21, 1935 to December 16, 1941. Available at the Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, Kawilihan, Mandaluyong, Metro Manila.
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PART II

1. ACADEMIC FREEDOM

ACADEMIC FREEDOM CAN'T BE USED TO SUBVERT LOVE OF COUNTRY

Under our Constitution, academic freedom in the Philippines imposes certain restraints, such as that which requires that no man shall preach in the country theories and philosophies destructive of Filipino patriotism.¹

QUEZON WANTS ACADEMIC FREEDOM TO PROMOTE COURAGEOUS THINKING

I encourage academic freedom because I want to see some courageous thinking among our people. I do not want the Filipino people to be just repeating what they have read somewhere or what has been taught them by someone. I want our race to continue the knowledge of mankind by postulating itself on the theories of government.²

MLQ BELIEVES IN ACADEMIC FREEDOM, BUT WITH DUE RESPONSIBILITY

I believe in academic freedom. As far as I am concerned, not only the professors of a university but everybody can speak his head off.

I believe, however, that there is something that should be borne in mind when you speak of academic freedom. My friends, every right as you know - for this is commonplace - carries with it a corresponding responsibility.

Academic freedom imposes definite responsibilities upon the professors of a university. One is the duty of every member of the faculty to know his subject thoroughly, for when a professor of an institution of learning speaks, people give weight to what he says, because they assume that he knows what he is talking about.

Academic freedom, therefore, imposes upon every member of the faculty the obligation to keep his mouth shut until he is certain about what he wants to say. When he is certain, in his own mind, through long and constant study of his subject, that he has come to a definite conclusion and that such conclusion is his real conviction, then he can speak and, as far as I am concerned, he can speak against the President, against the government, against the whole world.³

1/ Speech at the Senior Teachers' Assembly, Baguio City, May 22, 1936. In: Messages of the President, Vol. 2, Part I, p. 93. Manila: Bureau of Printing, 1937. Available at the Jorge B. Vargas Filipiniana Foundation, Mandaluyong, Metro Manila. Hereinafter to be referred to as Quezon Messages, JBVFF.

2/ Speech at the open forum of the U.P. Alumni Association, August 7, 1940. In: "Quezon In Action," a six-volume Quezoniana Collection of Prof. Juan F. Rivera, U.P. Law Center, Diliman, Quezon City. Hereinafter to be referred to as Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2245.

3/ Ibid.

PRESIDENT VALUES OPINIONS OF POLITICAL SCIENTISTS

According to a noted Harvard professor, "There is in reality no distinction between the so-called theoretical and practical men." A sound theory ought to work in practice.

A political scientist deals with facts and deduces his conclusions from these facts. Political science, you see, is not an exact science because of the human factors involved. The conclusion that a political scientist reaches, however, is more dependable than that of anyone who has not had any training at all in political science, because of the political scientist's scientific method of approach. For, of all men, he is best prepared to deal with political problems. His mind is alert and his power of analysis greater than that of an ordinary layman - for instance, we, the ordinary laymen.⁴

2. AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS

MR. FLAYS AMERICAN IMPERIALISTS IN U.S. CONGRESS

Strange as it may seem, you will find here (U.S. Congress) illustrious citizens and distinguished statesmen who will tell you: "There is nothing in the Declaration of Independence that prohibits this country (U.S.) from governing an alien people against their express will."

Of course, I do not refer to those imperialists who avow that in the consideration of colonial problems, they do not care a whit about principles, their only concern being their pockets. They are not worthy of mention on this occasion. This day is too sacred to talk about men whose code of morals is nothing but Big Business (Applause.) To them the Declaration of Independence is a scrap of paper, worthy only of dreamers whom a utopic world knows by the idle name of patriots.¹

QUEZON'S ARGUMENT AGAINST U.S. IMPERIALIST IRREFUTABLE

Let us address ourselves to those who, in advocating colonial policy for the United States, honestly think that they are so doing without disregard of either the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution; and who say that their mission in the Philippines is a divine mission for the purpose of uplifting the Filipino people ... In my opinion, in the opinion of the Filipino people, and, I believe in the opinion of the large majority of the American people, they are wrong. How could any one sustain the proposition that any country on the face of the earth, no matter how strong, no matter how advanced, no matter how altruistic and noble its motives may be, has the right to govern a foreignⁿ people without their consent, in defiance of the principles proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence?

The consent of the governed is the base of all just government, the

⁴ Ibid., p. 2244.

¹ Speech at Tammany Hall, New York City, July 4, 1911. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 88.

Declaration says. It is, therefore, in utter contradiction not only of the spirit but also of the very letter of the Declaration to impose a government upon any people by force. ²

RESIDENT COMMISSIONER REBUTS FALSE STATEMENTS IN "NEW YORK HERALD"

Supposing that 250 businessmen of Manila, of whom 225 are Americans and other foreigners and twenty-five are Filipinos, were against Philippine independence is that a good reason for withholding from us our inherent right? Should 225 outsiders and twenty-five natives have more right than 7,000,000 Filipinos in the affairs of the latter's land? Supposing that there may be business unrest because of a change of government, is this enough reason for not establishing an independent Philippine government? To establish the Republic of the United States cost almost the total destruction of business in this country for several years, and yet this was not considered a serious objection to American independence. ³

QUEZON EXPLAINS WHY IMPERIALISTS FLY AT EACH OTHER'S THROAT

Why is it that the small nation today is the underdog? The first excuse for the present policy of imperialism which has caught up the nations of Europe is that the small nation needs the protection of the large and powerful nation. Nations becoming drunk with power cannot help flying at one another's throat! ⁴

EXPERIENCE SHOWS IMPERIALISM LESS PROFITABLE

The experience of the United States in the Philippines shows that American capital did less business in the Philippines during the days of the Empire - as the period when the Filipinos had so little share in the management of their own affairs is generally known - than it does and will do under the present government... the Filipinos themselves... I therefore believe that the consequence of the enactment of the Jones Bill will reach far beyond the limits of the Philippine Islands, and will affect the present status of other dependent peoples the world over, in that their respective metropolises will sooner or later come to the realization that it is both just and profitable to free the whole human race. ⁵

MLQ DESCRIBES WORST ENEMIES OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE

In connection with the problem of our independence there are two kinds of

- 2/ Article, "The Declaration of Independence: An Analysis," "The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 5, January 1913. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 114.
- 3/ Article, "False Statements Answered," "The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 8, April 1913. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 145-147.
- 4/ Speech before the Cosmopolitan Club of New York, December 9, 1914. In: The Filipino People, Vol. III, No. 4, December 1914. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 327.
- 5/ Article, "The Jones Law: Its Effect on the United States, the Philippines, and Other Subject Peoples," The Philippine Review, Vol. II, No. 12, November 1917. Ibid., Vol. I, p. 447.

Americans that are working against it - the so-called imperialists and the American businessmen in the Philippines.

I do not need to describe to you who the first is, because you know him as well as I do. The American business interests are our worst enemy for the realization of our independence. He is against our most cherished ideal because he believes it will work against his business... He is afraid that Japan would invade us and destroy his business. He is afraid that a revolution would start the moment we are set free and endanger^{ed} his business. He has representatives working among the congressmen of America against our independence.

Of course, these representatives never say that the American businessmen in the Islands are against giving us our freedom because their business interests would be endangered, because to do so the motive would seem selfish. Their argument is that independence is not good for us yet, that it is to our best interest that we should wait a while, and that they favor independence, but that for our own sake it should not be granted yet.

Let me tell you that it is this kind of Americans that killed the Clarke amendment and the Jones Bill No. 1. It is they that made me work hard to get the Jones Bill No. 2 through Congress. They are the worst enemies of our independence.

COLONIES BREED WAR AMONG IMPERIALIST STATES - QUEZON

Q. - You think colonial possessions are mischievous?

A. - I think they tend to breed war. It is a historical fact that they have bred war. They bred the World War (I). Germany came upon the international scene late. Earth's treasure grounds had been parceled out to her rivals. She wanted colonies. She felt that her greatness, actual and latent, demanded colonies. She was willing to fight for them. She fought and was crushed, but the world was terribly crippled in the process. Colonies are still with us and still a source of bitterness, unrest and possible war. Nations must give up the idea of seizure, of domination, of obtaining new raw materials and trade anyhow, of force - if they want peace. ⁷

P.I. INDEPENDENCE GRANT COULD END ERA OF IMPERIALISM

To take over a weak people and hold them permanently against their will is not new in the history of the relationship between the weak and strong. But to own a colony and deliberately set it free was never before done by a powerful nation. America can do this, and she has promised to do this. When she does it, the era

6/ Address at a Labor assembly, at the Manila Grand Opera House, June 22, 1920, The Philippine Review, Vol. V, No. 9, September 1920. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 531.

7/ Exclusive interview with Edward Price Bell for the Chicago Daily News, 1925. In: The Philippine Republic, published monthly in Washington, D.C., and edited by Clyde H. Tavenner. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 768.

of imperialism will have come to an end, for all nations of the world ^{would} be compelled to follow her humanitarian example. ⁸

3. AMERICA'S TRIBUTE

QUEZON DID FOR HIS COUNTRY MORE THAN ANY TWO MEN COULD HAVE DONE!

Philippine Resident Commissioner Quezon is one of the most brilliant^t speakers, and one of the fairest debaters, in the U. S. House of Representatives. He is also one of the most popular, if not the most popular, member of the House.

Whenever it becomes known that he is to address the House, it is wholly unnecessary to call for a quorum. A quorum is always on hand. He did more for his country's cause than any two men his people could have sent here. ¹

IOWA REPRESENTATIVE PAYS GLOWING TRIBUTE TO QUEZON

Mr. TOWNER: I do not desire to take the gentleman's time. I think it may perhaps be fitting for a member of the minority to say that while he has not always been able to agree with the Resident Commissioner from the Philippine Islands, he is ready to say that he has never known any man more devoted to the interests of his people, as he understood those interests, than has been the gentleman from the Philippine Islands. (Applause.) In season and out of season, with an ability and persistence rare and creditable to any representative in any parliament in the world, this gentleman has worked for his people.

And I desire to say that, so far as my belief is concerned, there never has been in any legislative body a representative of a people such as the Filipinos, who has represented them more ably and faithfully than the gentleman who now addresses the House of Representatives (Mr. Quezon). (Applause.) ²

QUEZON TOASTED BY HIS OWN PEERS IN FAREWELL BANQUET

[Note: On the night of 29 August 1916, the day the Jones Act was signed by President Woodrow Wilson, a despedida was given in Washington, D. C., in honor of retiring Philippine Resident Commissioner Manuel L. Quezon. The farewell banquet was described by Patrick Gallagher, editor of the Far Eastern Bureau, as "without parallel in the parliamentary history of the world." Prominent American legislators including Speaker Champ Clark of the U.S. House of Representatives, took turns praising Quezon's brilliant record during his seven-year stint in the Congress of the United States (1909-1916). Hereunder are some of the tributes paid the 38-year-old Filipino leader who was destined to be the first President of the

8/ Address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, November 25, 1927. In: The Philippine Republic, Vol. V, No. 2, March 15, 1928. Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 803-804.

1/ Press statement issued by Speaker Champ Clark, U.S. House of Representatives. In: The Philippine Republic, March-April 1961. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 785.

2/ Interpellation by U.S. Representative Towner of Iowa during Quezon speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, August 18, 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 365.

Philippines. - ABS.]

COLON FINDS QUEZON WITHOUT EQUAL AS INDEPENDENCE ADVOCATE

Rep. HENRY ALLEN COOPER of Wisconsin: I do not believe any country wherever situated in the whole history of the world has had a representative to advocate its cause as the cause of the Philippine Islands has been advocated by Manuel L. Quezon (Applause.) We all know that - we in the House, who know what that man (Quezon) has been through while he has been advocating the cause of the Philippines. (Applause.) The baseless slanders that he has been called upon to encounter and endure have taught us to admire his unfailing tact and courtesy.

Mr. Toastmaster (Quezon), I want to say a word to you directly. Your conduct in the advocacy of that most difficult cause, in the Congress and throughout the country, illustrates a very important and oft-forgotten truth - that a man may be always fearless and determined and yet ever just and fair; and that, in public life, it is possible for a man to be ambitious and yet never cease to be a gentleman. (Loud cheers.) I cordially concur in the sentiments expressed by the gentleman from Missouri (Sen. Stone). I am glad to be here but sorry it is in the nature of a farewell.

Mr. Quezon has deserved and surely he will receive the thanks and the honor - the highest honor within the gift of the Filipino people! (Cheers.) ³

FRIENDS AND FOES OF P.I. INDEPENDENCE LAUD QUEZON'S WORK

Rep. TAVENNER of Illinois: I understand the members of Congress may be divided into three groups on the question of Philippine independence: those who favor immediate independence, those who are for ultimate independence, and a few who are against independence at any time, now or in the future. All these groups have one good thing in common: none yielded to the other in their admiration of the worth and respect for the work of Mr. Quezon. (Cheers.)

Now, Gentlemen, I wish to present him with a slight token of our admiration and appreciation of his excellent services. The thing (gold watch) that I am going to present to him ticks. And, Mr. Quezon, it is our hope that it will tick for you throughout a long, prosperous and happy lifetime." (Cheers.)

(The gold watch bore the following inscription: "Presented to Hon. Manuel L. Quezon by his admirers in the U.S. House of Representatives, in appreciation of his splendid services in the cause of Philippine independence. August, 1916.")

In response, Mr. Quezon said: "I shall treasure this watch as my most precious possession, and if in the fickleness of fate the day should ever come when a great misfortune should overtake me, I shall find, in this token of your affection for me, the balm that shall yet make me grateful that I have been born. I

3/ Article, "Quezon's Farewell to Congress that Becomes Congress Farewell to Quezon," by Patrick Gallagher, editor, Far Eastern Bureau. In: The Philippine Review, Vol. I, No. 10, pp. 11-20. (October 1916). Also in Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 388-402.

thank you. "(Prolonged cheers.)" ⁴

MISSOURI SENATOR PRAISES QUEZON CHARACTER, PATRIOTISM

Sen. "GUMSHOE BILL" STONE of Missouri: Nine years ago it was my privilege to visit the Philippine Islands. During my journeys through the Islands I had the honor of being entertained by our distinguished host, then Governor of his province. Never in my life was I the recipient of a sweeter, more delicate or more affecting courtesy than he extended to me. (Applause.)

I am sure, Gentlemen, that those of us who have been associated with him here (U.S. Congress) have esteemed him for his own sterling worth, for his character, for his patriotism; our friendship and goodwill in every way will follow him no matter how far or how high he goes. (Cheers.) I ask you, Gentlemen, to rise with me and drink this toast to our host. (Cheers.) ⁵

U.S. HOUSE SPEAKER HEAPS MORE TRIBUTE TO QUEZON

SPEAKER CHAMP CLARK: I have frequently told people with whom I have conversed the remarkable story of Quezon - not having been able to speak a word of English ten years ago, and now being one of the best speakers on the floor of the House of Representatives. (Cheers.) His case is very similar to that of Carl Schurz, who became in his time the best speaker and writer of English in the United States, although when he came first from Germany he could not utter a word of English. He spoke book English. He learned how to speak and write from the best sources; and in addition to that, he happened to be in Congress, the world's greatest educational forum. (Laughter and cheers.) As with Carl Schurz, so, too, has it been with our brilliant friend from the Philippines..

The chief reason why we are here is that we all like the Commissioner from the Philippines. I do not see how we couldn't help liking him. (Cheers.) The second reason is that the American people have a very great sympathy with the Filipino people in the efforts they have been making, and are now making, to better their condition...

They say that wise men change their opinions and fools never do. Our distinguished friend from the Philippines is a wise man. We all know that. (Cheers.) Now, Mr. Quezon, has said that he is going away, never to come back. I hope he will change his opinion and come back. (Cheers.)

With all respect to the other good men they may have, I think he could do more good for them than any other two men they could send here. (Prolonged cheers.)

IOWA LEGISLATOR SAYS QUEZON MOST SINCERE, DEVOTED TO P.I. CAUSE

Rep. TOWNER of Iowa: I should like to add a word to what has been said,

⁴ Ibid., p. 393.

⁵ Ibid., pp. 391-392.

⁶ Ibid., pp. 394-395.

particularly by the Speaker (Champ Clark), regarding the Resident Commissioner from the Philippines. I entirely agree with the Speaker that there are no two men in the Philippines who could be sent here who could do more for the Philippines than can the present Commissioner. (Cheers.) The present Commissioner has won the hearts of Congress because of his perfect candor and sincerity; because he has been an eloquent, earnest and consistent advocate of liberty and freedom - and he meets with the earnest and immediate response of every American citizen. (Cheers.)

It is because of those considerations that we are always ready to hear him and to give him, as the representative of his people, a more ready acceptance than we possibly could others who might be sent here - that we believe him to be entirely sincere and devoted to the cause which he advocates. (Cheers.) ⁷

SAYS AMERICANS, IF POSSIBLE, WOULD VOTE FOR QUEZON AS PRESIDENT

U.S. House Floor Leader CLAUDE KITCHIN of North Carolina: I do not think I could express more feelingly the high honor and deep affection in which we hold the gentleman from the Philippines than by saying frankly that we excused ourselves from the U.S. President's table, or rather made the President excuse himself from feasting us, in order to come down here and say godspeed to Quezon. (Cheers.) We are delighted to be here to pay our respects to our distinguished host who is as able, as wise, as tactful, as loyal a representative as any one people has ever sought. (Cheers.)

I am glad I have remained in Congress long enough to see the enactment of such large a measure of self-government for the Filipino people as that signed today (the Jones Act) by the President; and I hope that I shall live long enough (and not be a much older man at that) to see another act passed giving to the Filipino people a full measure of independent government. (Cheers.)

Our friend from the Philippines has told us that if the Filipinos had a voice in the election of the next President (of the United States), their votes would all be cast for the gentleman from Missouri, now sitting by my side. I can't say how the Filipinos may feel about this matter, but I know without a doubt that if the people of the United States had their way they would unanimously vote for our distinguished host as the President of the Philippine Republic, when it comes; in fact, I nominate him now for that great honor. (Prolonged cheers.) ⁸

NO MAN IN CONGRESS BETTER ABLE TO TAKE CARE OF HIMSELF THAN QUEZON

Rep. PHILIP CAMPBELL of Kansas: I cannot permit this occasion to pass without joining in this tribute of affectionate farewell to our host and friend. We do not have to agree with him always in order to admire and love him. (Cheers.) I have said on several occasions, and I take pleasure in repeating it here, that

7/ Ibid., p. 395.

8/ Ibid., p. 396.

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there is no man in the American Congress better able to take care of himself on the floor of the House than the representative of the Philippine Islands. (Cheers.) I wish him godspeed, and his people peace, progress and prosperity under this new act (Jones Act) which he has won for them, and hope that he will reconsider his resolution and come back again here to give us the happiness and decided advantage of his presence and participation in the work of Congress. (Cheers.) ⁹

CALIFORNIA SOLON EXPRESSES SYMPATHY FOR FILIPINO CAUSE

Sen. PHELAN of California: I feel that, coming from California, I am the nearest neighbor of the Filipino people, and, therefore, we take an especially deep interest in their welfare. There is, however, another reason why personally I feel strongly moved by their efforts to attain their aspirations as a people; for I, too, am sprung from a subject race. Perhaps that has given me sympathy and intelligence in approaching their problems.

You can win these people from whom I have sprung by their affections, but you can never reconcile them to their chains. (Cheers.) Hence, I am glad, tonight, to see that our great government has risen to the position where it, too, can comprehend the needs and interests of a people who by reason of their weakness have been subjected to centuries of tyranny, and that we have, at last, determined to act towards them under a high and deep sense of justice and generosity. (Cheers.)

I wish we could have gone further and given them all they asked of us. It should not concern us what kind of government they give themselves. It is not our government, but their government. Tonight we see the triumph^h of generous sentiment over commercial cupidity. (Cheers.)

Gratitude is worth something. I read the other day of two Cuban officers in the service of Mexico, who, when it looked like the certainty of trouble between Mexico and the United States, laid down their arms because, they said, they could not fight against the United States, because the United States had made Cuba free. (Cheers.) The gratitude of Cuba is ours today, and if need were to arrive the people of Cuba would stand shoulder to shoulder with us, because we have made Cuba free.

The same truth applies to the Philippines. God forbid that this country of ours should ever be plunged into war; but if trouble should come, if only we carry out the policy of which we have now given a positive pledge, the people of the Philippines will be our friends, because we shall have treated them with justice and with generosity. (Cheers.) ¹⁰

QUEZON'S INTENSE LOYALTY TO FILIPINO CAUSE ELICITS PRAISE

Rep. BORLAND of Missouri: There are two very impressive facts which stand out in this gathering. One is the splendid tribute that has been paid to the Commissioner from the Philippine Islands, not only for his integrity and ability

9/ Ibid., p. 397.

10/ Ibid. .

as a man, but also for his intense loyalty to the cause for which he spoke. (Cheers. It is our love of loyalty which bespeaks the broad spirit of American life.

The second fact is contained in the words of the Commissioner himself, when he said that he is returning to his people with no intention of coming back to us. His work has received the cordial applause of friends and foes. I know of no better message, no more splendid lesson that he can take back to his people than this. Because he has worked at all times unselfishly for his people, the heart of Congress has gone out to him. That should be an inspiration of his own people as it is an exemplification of the broad spirit of fairness and toleration in which Congress endeavors to work for the American people. (Cheers.) 11

NO MAN COULD BE MORE DESERVING OF HIS PEOPLE'S ACCLAIM THAN MLQ

Rep. MOORE of Pennsylvania: I have a very high opinion of the gentleman from the Philippines. He has interested me more than most men ever since I have known him. He has been a marvel for energy, for wisdom, and for ability, and the tributes that have been paid him in this room have not miscarried or been exaggerated. (Cheers.)

No man could be more deserving of the acclaim of his people than Mr. Quezon is when he returns to the Philippine Islands. He is a remarkable man with a very remarkable history.

When a mere boy he had a military career - one which would have done credit to any man in the United States. He had an educational career, more thorough in its scope, more lasting in its influence, than that of many men in the United States who have given themselves wholly to the cultivation of the mind. We have learned much from him during his career in this country as the chosen representative of his people.

The mind of a man who could not speak English nine years ago and tonight speaks English as grammatically, as eloquently, as can any man educated in the United States, must undoubtedly have some views of interest and importance to the people of the United States, not to speak of his own people. (Cheers.)

I trust that when he goes back to the Philippine Islands he will be charitable in the expression of such views as he has formed about us. He has had a wonderful career, while still a young man. The best part of his life is still before him. Since I have known him I may say frankly that I have envied him the opportunity which he has of becoming a real leader of mankind - one of the leading statesmen of the earth. (Cheers.)

There are few men at this table who can hope to hold the place which will be given to Mr. Quezon among the champions of the rights of the people in the history of the whole world. (Cheers.) His name will stand out in lurid letters for all time - a name which will be dear to all lovers of human liberty - Manuel L. Quezon. (Cheers.) All honor to Mr. Jones, whose name is attached to this legislation - all honor to him, because he has deserved it. (Cheers.) But, if we have our

Washington in this country, if the English people have their Wellington, and the German people their Bismark, history will record that they have their Quezon in the Philippines. (Prolonged Cheers.) ¹²

COLORADO SOLON WANTS QUEZON TO REMAIN IN WASHINGTON

Sen. SHAFROTH of Colorado, who was responsible for securing final action by the Senate on the Jones Bill, said:

I have been gratified very much by the expressions so deservedly used regarding our friend and host. I want to say to you that today I wrote a letter to Governor-General Harrison, and in that letter I said that the Philippines could not get along without Mr. Quezon here, and that he should be returned to Congress whether he desired it or not. (Cheers.) I would regard it as almost a fatal mistake not to have him here, and I hope that when he gets to the Islands and observes the sentiments there - which I am sure are even stronger than they are here, strong as these sentiments are - that he will reconsider his decision and return here. (Cheers) We have done something for the Philippines, at last. (Cheers.), but something more has got to be done in order to accomplish the great work to which he has devoted his talents... Mr. Quezon takes back with him to the Philippines a substantial proof of actual accomplishments. If he remains adamant in his present determination, he will still be with us, if not in person, then in spirit. I hope and believe that his recognition in the Philippines will be all that which he friends here would wish him, and more. (Cheers.) ¹³

QUEZON HANDS JONES LAW AUTHOR CUP OF RECOGNITION

Resident Commissioner QUEZON: Gentlemen, as I sat here tonight listening to the generous remarks made by the several speakers, I wondered if it could be true that they were referring to me. I wish to thank you all for your kind expressions. To me, they show, more than anything else, the broadness of mind and the greatness of heart of the American citizen. That men who hold opposite views to mine on the Philippine question and who have, therefore, fought me tooth and nail, should be so generous in their commendation of my work is something that, I dare say, can happen only in this land. Love for fair play is truly an American trait.

It is the lot of some men to be instruments whereby their country accomplishes great deeds. Both the present administration and Congress are entitled to the credit for the enactment of the Jones Bill, but the name of its author will go down in history prominently associated with this great piece of legislation; and Mr. Jones deserves it. I have seen him from the first day I entered the halls of Congress deeply interested in the welfare of my country. Ill as he has been for some time, he has worked faithfully and laboriously to secure for us this new Magna Charta of our rights. I shall present you tonight, Mr. Jones, with a memento which I beg you to take as an evidence of the everlasting devotion and gratitude to you,

^{12/} Ibid., p. 398.

^{13/} Ibid., p. 399.

both of all the people of the Philippines and of myself.

The host (Quezon) then handed a magnificent silver cup to Mr. Jones, on which these words are engraved:

"To Hon. William Atkinson Jones of Virginia, chairman of the House Committee on Insular Affairs, author of the Jones Bill, a token of love and gratitude, Manuel L. Quezon." 14

JONES TELLS HOW QUEZON WORKED TIRELESSLY FOR FILIPINO CAUSE

Rep. WILLIAM ATKINSON JONES of Virginia: My heart is stirred to its very depths. I should be insensible to the very sentiments of life, to love itself, to a sense of gratitude, to the pulse-beat of my own heart, if I did not feel profoundly stirred by the action of the gentleman from the Philippines, my dear Mr. Quezon, in presenting me with this beautiful tribute... I could add nothing if I were to attempt to add to the beautiful, sincere and the just tributes already said to our dear friend here tonight. There is not one of us who does not know that every word said was more than deserved by him. (Cheers.)

However feeble my efforts may have been, I have striven as best I could to secure through Congress a declaration on the part of the people of the United States as to what should be the future status of the Philippines. I tried my best to create a sentiment in Congress favorable to action on this great question, and it is naturally a source of very great satisfaction to me that at last I have lived to see the Congress of the United States give to the people of the Philippines this substance of self-government with the hope that in the near future they will be given its title. (Cheers.)

I wish I had the eloquence of our dear friend from the Philippines, so that I could express myself more clearly and more fully. He is about to return to his people. I know that he will receive such an ovation, such a heartfelt welcome, as never yet accorded to any mortal man within the Philippine Islands. (Cheers.) And in my judgment he well deserves this great reception which surely will be his. (Cheers.)

During the seven years in which he has represented his people - and I think I had a better opportunity of observing his work than any other man in Congress - he has not only worked without a single hour's cessation to create a sentiment in favor of the independence of his country; his own noble words and acts and, I know I can honestly add, his thoughts, have been the very best advertisement of his people's fitness for independence. (Cheers.)

I share the sentiments expressed this evening that it will be a great loss to us, as well as a loss to the Filipino interests here, if the gentleman who is now going from us insists upon refusing re-election as the representative of his people in the capital of the United States; and yet, I came not prepared to say

that his decision in this matter is not a wise decision.

Under the act just passed the Filipino people will establish a new government. They will be called upon to exercise new legislative powers; and it seems to me that this is a patriotic thing for the gentleman who sits by my side, to decline a renomination to Congress when, largely because of his own great and good work, the place would mean, to a certain extent, an easy sinecure, and, instead of coming here, where he has made so many permanent friends, to stay where the hard work will be now, to remain among his own people and to give them the benefit of his own great experience in legislative matters and knowledge of the things that will help them to utilize to the best purpose this new liberal government which we have given them. (Cheers.)

I do believe that they will need his counsel and his experience there in Manila more than they will need him here in Washington. Yet I do believe that the day is not far distant when conditions will be reversed; then the stable government predicated in our promise will have been established, when by their own acts they will have proved that they deserve independence. (Cheers.)

And when they have demonstrated that fact, not only to the people of the United States but to the whole world, they will surely send once more to the Congress of the United States the Hon. Manuel L. Quezon (prolonged cheers) to tell us that they now expect us to carry out the covenant we have this day made with them, that when they shall have established a stable government they shall be given their freedom, their independence. (Cheers.)

We shall all welcome him when he comes back. (Cheers.) I may not be here to join with you in welcoming him but I know that you will give him a greeting worthy of his place in the life of his people, worthy of his part in the history of the world, worthy of this Congress which we are all proud to serve. (Cheers.) I believe, too, that Congress will stand ready to make good the solemn promise contained in the bill to which the President of the United States affixed his signature this morning. (Cheers.)

Mr. Quezon, I believe when you land at Manila, the people of your country will say to you, "Well done, good and faithful servant" and that every honor they can confer will be conferred upon you. (Cheers.) ¹⁵

VETERAN AMERICAN SOLON LAUDS QUEZON AFTER T-M ACT APPROVAL

Rep. JOHN A. MARTIN of Colorado: Mr. Speaker, I deem it a privilege to have been present in the House of Representatives today and to have participated in the applause when the name of the Honorable Manuel L. Quezon, the President of the Philippine Senate, and former Resident Commissioner to Congress from the Philippine Islands, was mentioned by Mr. (John R.) McDuffie, the Chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, during his presentation of H. R. 8573, to provide for the complete independence of the Philippine Islands.

15/ Ibid., pp. 400-402.

The applause was a deserved tribute to the man who, was a pioneer in Congress in the cause of the independence of his country, and perhaps there is no member of Congress who has any better title than I, on this historic occasion, to pay an added tribute to him. As the members applauded his name I looked across at him seated in the Hall and my memory bridged the gap of 25 long years since I first saw him in the House of Representatives in 1909 and listened to his maiden speech in Congress, a brilliant and masterly effort which won him instant recognition as a statesman, although at that time he was perhaps under 30 years of age.

Four years later I dropped out of Congress, but I have kept track of his career during all this long interval, a career devoted to the service of his country and the cause of its independence. It is my sincere wish that not only may he live to see his life work crowned with success, but that his distinguished abilities and unswerving record of loyalty and service to his country may be finally crowned and awarded by his election as the first President of the Philippine Republic. ¹⁶

4. A N T I - F I L I P I N O

QUEZON PLAYS AMERICAN NEWSMAN'S MISREPRESENTATION

The immediate cause for the passage of this resolution is the series of dispatches sent by an American correspondent to his papers in the United States misrepresenting the stand of the Filipino people and their leaders as being for some kind of autonomous government under the United States.

I particularly want to give the lie to two of his statements; one, where he says that I have given up hope for immediate independence, and the other, where he quotes me as having said to him that I told the Governor-General "that I would shoot him if he did not approve a certain bill."

Mr. Hock must have been under the influence of a nightmare when he wrote this. ¹

"HERALD" IS FILIPINO ANSWER TO VILIFICATION DRIVE

Ten years ago, on the eve of the call on the Philippines of the first (U.S.) congressional committee ever to visit these Islands on an official investigation of conditions here, a certain section of the press started a systematic campaign of misrepresentation and vilification of the Filipino people, which aroused general indignation and culminated, among other things, in a general walkout of all Filipino reporters and printers working for that particular section of the press, as an external expression of the people's protest against the defamatory campaign then being waged.

^{16/} Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, March 19, 1934. In: Congressional Record, March 22, 1934, Vol. 78, No. 46, Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 1091-1092.

^{1/} Press statement, 1926, n.d.m. (no day and month). Quezon Papers, Microfilm Reel No. 29, The National Library. Hereinafter to be referred to as QP, MR# 29, TNL.

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And it was thus that the founding and publication of the Philippines Herald was rendered possible. Had it not been for the civicism of these my honorable associates in the first attempt to publish a newspaper in English - an undertaking which they all knew would cost hundreds of thousands of pesos - the Filipino people's voice would not have been uttered for the past ten years, directly, without ^{the} medium of a translator and in print, in the language of the sovereign. I want to name them all here that the Filipino people may know those who sacrificed money, worldly possession, without hope of gain or profit, but solely through their adherence to the principles of nationalism - a free and independent Philippines. ²

5. A N T I - I N D E P E N D E N C E

QUEZON REFUTES ANTI-INDEPENDENCE STAND OF CARDINAL GIBBONS

I had been informed sometime ago that the Catholic clergy of this country (U.S.) and, in general, all the organizations of the Church were earnestly opposing Philippine independence... I had also seen certain resolutions sent to various congressmen by Catholic organizations in their respective districts urging their representatives to vote against Philippine independence, and stating that every Catholic organization in this country was opposed to the freedom of these Islands.

Yet ⁱⁿ spite of all this, I should never have believed that the Catholic Church of the United States as a whole was really opposed to Philippine independence, if I had not seen the interview [which James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore gave on Philippine independence and published by the American press on 20th February 1913 - ABS] which I am forced to believe must have been authorized by your Eminence...

I do not understand why the Catholic Church of the United States should oppose Philippine independence. Seven and a half million out of eight million Filipinos are good Catholics, and their ancestors have been so for centuries. The influence of our religion has been exercised for hundreds of years upon this people, and has had its effect in developing good citizenship and in fitting the population for self-government... We Filipinos are proud to say that ... the Church has given to eight million souls in the Far East the best that Occidental civilization had, instilling into their minds and hearts the sentiments of freedom and popular government.

Can it be that the history of some Latin Republics... has influenced the attitude of the Catholic hierarchy in this country? Does it fear that the Filipinos, if given their independence, would seize the property of the Catholic Church in the Islands or fail to respect their rights?

I solemnly assure your Eminence that there is not the slightest foundation for fear in this respect. The Filipinos, if given their independence, will respect

^{2/} Press statement on ^{the} launching of the Philippines Herald, July 18, 1930.
OP, MR#31, TNL.

and protect every right of the Church and maintain absolutely intact its property in the Philippine Islands.

The best proof that such is the disposition of the Filipinos is found in the fact that the great majority of the native priests as well as native bishops of the Catholic Church in the Philippines are earnestly in favor of Philippine independence. 1(a)

QUEZON-GIBBONS CORRESPONDENCE ON INDEPENDENCE AND LIBERTY

GIBBONS: I am convinced that, for the present, at least, the welfare of the Philippine Islands will be better safeguarded under the care and direction of the United States. There is a great difference between independence and liberty. There are countries which have independence but no liberty or freedom, whereas the Philippine Islands, although for the present not enjoying independence, have freedom and liberty. (Gibbons to Quezon, February 28, 1913.)

QUEZON: Your Eminence's view^s on the question of Philippine independence seem to be so firmly fixed, that any further correspondence on my part would be unnecessary.

Your Eminence, however, makes an assertion which I feel bound to rectify. You said that, although the Philippine Islands are not for the present enjoying independence, they have freedom and liberty.

I beg to remind your Eminence of the fact that the customs duties in the Philippines are levied by the Congress of the United States, and that the internal revenue, land and other taxes have been levied by the Philippine Commission (appointed by the President of the United States - ABS). In other words, the people of the Philippines have had no share in the imposition of their taxes. It is an American maxim that "taxation without representation is tyranny." (Quezon to Gibbons, March 3, 1913.) ²

6. B O Y S C O U T S

BSP VITAL FORCE IN NATION-BUILDING, SAYS QUEZON

The Boy Scouts of the Philippines is a vital force in the building of strong character and high ideals in the youth of our land. 1(b)

BOY SCOUTS DAY ESTABLISHED TO STRESS CHARACTER BUILDING

"Whereas, reposing special confidence in the devotion and efforts of a great number of patriotic volunteer leaders of the Boy Scout movement who are developing the youth of the Philippines to become men of character trained for citizenship;

1/a Letter to James Cardinal Gibbons of Baltimore, Maryland, February 27, 1913, In: The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 7, March 1913, Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 132-133.

2/ From article, "A Reply to Cardinal Gibbons, The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 7, March 1913. Ibid., pp. 133-134.

1(b) Press statement on the Boy Scout movement, February 20, 1935. OP, MR#38, TNL.

"Whereas, this great movement, with its affiliated programs of cubbing, scouting, sea scouting, and roving, is being promoted effectively among thousands of boys all over the Philippines for the purpose of developing Filipino patriotism and national unity in the citizens of the future, and

"Whereas, the Boy Scout movement has developed a ten-year program coordinating its aims and objectives with those of the Commonwealth of the Philippines."²

INDEPENDENT BOY SCOUTS OF PHILIPPINES SET UP BY LAW

As created in the attached bill, the Boy Scouts of the Philippines would be an organization independent from, although maintaining a certain degree of relationship with, the Boy Scouts of America. At present, our Boy Scouts organization is merely a subdivision of the Boy Scouts of America, and while we have a Philippine Council, such Council is governed by, and is subservient to, the Boy Scouts of America Headquarters in New York.

I believe that the passage of this bill is urgent...

The time is here when as a nation we should begin assuming the responsibilities that are ours; and while we are grateful to America for the help extended us, such as that offered by the Boy Scouts of America, it seems to me that this is a duty which is ours to perform and we should be willing to shoulder it for the sake of our boys.³

QUEZON LINKS BOY SCOUTS TRAINING WITH CHARACTER BUILDING

Through its splendid accomplishments in character development and in promoting the moral and bodily welfare of Filipino youth, the Boy Scout organization has earned for itself a high place in the respect and esteem of our people. In recognition of its effective and disinterested services the National Assembly, on October 31, 1936, enacted a law creating a public corporation to be known as the Boy Scouts of the Philippines. The altruistic purposes of the organization are enumerated in section 3 of that Law, which reads as follows:

The purpose of this corporation shall be to promote, through organization and cooperation with other agencies, the ability of boys to do things for themselves and others, to train them in scoutcraft, and to teach them patriotism, courage, self-reliance, and kindred virtues, using methods which are now in common use by boy scouts.

"To carry on this work effectively proper facilities for administration and control are essential. The central offices of the Boy Scouts are temporarily but inadequately housed in the Rizal Memorial Stadium. A permanent and suitable home must be provided. Since the formal inauguration of the Boy Scouts of the Philippines, successors to the Philippine Branch of the Boy Scouts of America, will take place in January, 1938, it is particularly desirable that its headquarters be permanently located before that date. To provide funds for this purpose

2/ Proclamation No. 39, "Setting Aside Saturday, February 22, as Boy Scouts Day" February 11, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 502.

3/ Message to the First National Assembly on the creation of a public corporation, "Boy Scouts of the Philippines," October 27, 1936. Ibid., pp. 361-362.

the Boy Scout executives have decided to appeal to the public, which is the direct beneficiary of all their work.

"Being convinced of the worthiness of the Boy Scouts organization, of the value of its efforts to Filipino welfare, and of the urgency of its needs for adequate facilities;

"Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon, hereby designate and set aside the period from November 6 to 30, 1937, as a special one for the conduct of an intensive campaign to raise the necessary funds for this purpose."⁴

PRESIDENT'S ADVICE TO BOY SCOUTS OF THE PHILIPPINES

You enjoy a priceless opportunity for valuable moral and physical improvement. I hope you will avail yourselves in full measure of that opportunity. Your lofty ideals are embodied in the Scout Oath and Law. I urge you to strengthen your faith in those ideals and to prepare yourselves as well as you can to take part in their accomplishment. The greatest need of our country today is a citizenry composed of strong, clean, earnest and socially efficient men. You are being trained to be such men. You will be the men who will provide our country with the kind of leadership that it needs and without which it cannot endure. There should be more of you.⁵

MLQ LAUDS BOY SCOUTS FOR SERVICE TO HUMANITY

You have been taught almost from childhood one great principle of life, and that is, that life is only worth living if we use it to render service. It is love of humanity that must be installed in your hearts. It is love not only of your countrymen but also of your fellowmen. That is the quality that must differentiate the scout boys from those who are not scout boys. But the scout boys must serve humanity. When you see one who is in danger of losing his life, you go and give him your help without asking his name, without asking his nationality, and without looking at the color of his face. You see that there is a human being who needs your help, you go and give yourself to help that human being. That, to me, is what constitutes the essential quality of a good scout.⁶

BOY SCOUTS' IDEAL: TO LIVE AND HELP OTHERS LIVE

In no organization is it so important that every member be taught his duties, and how to comply with them, as in the boy scout organization. You are here to do something for somebody else. You are here to show that you are not living for your-

- 4/ Proclamation No. 294, "Designating the Period from November 6 to 30, 1937, as the period for the National Fund Campaign of the BSP," September 21, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part II, JBVFF, pp. 1047-1048.
- 5/ Speech on boy scout training over the radio at Malacañan, October 31, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 243.
- 6/ Speech on the 3rd anniversary of the approval of the law creating the Boy Scout of the Philippines, October 31, 1939. QP, MR#43, TNL.

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selves, that you are not satisfied merely to live and let live, but that your ideal is to live and help others live. So every boy scout must make it his duty not only to live up to the ideals of the institution but to see to it that every member of the institution does likewise. ⁷

7. BUSINESS

GOVERNMENT TO GO INTO BUSINESS IF ...

In the case where we have made a thorough study of the possibility and practicability of establishing new industries here and no private capital is at hand to undertake the establishment of that industry, we will do it. ^{1(a)}

ENLIGHTENED SELF-INTEREST BEST BUSINESSMAN'S POLICY

Enlightened self-interest is the best policy for businessmen, and it will convince them of the wisdom of giving to labor the fairest treatment that they can give. ²

QUEZON DELIVERS STERN WARNING AGAINST PROFITEERS

While honest business must be encouraged and promoted, the public must be protected against those who are dominated by an inordinate desire to make huge profits. No man or group of men has any right to manipulate the prices of the necessities of life. Profiteering must be stopped. ³

8. CAPITAL

PHILIPPINE LAWS WELCOME INVESTMENT CAPITAL

The laws of these islands, and the people themselves, welcome capital which will find its place in the community where it chooses to operate and undertake its progress along with the Islands which require its assistance.

* * *

There is rational diversity of industry in the Philippines, which enjoys no booms and undergoes no crisis. Steady expansion is the investor's reliance. ^{1(b)}

IT WOULD BE NATIONAL SUICIDE TO PERSECUTE CAPITAL - QUEZON

It would be a national suicide to persecute capital. In our age, capital, and in large amounts, is necessary for the economic development and the social welfare of the people. Capital is entitled to a reasonable profit, and this reasonable

- 1/ Speech on the essential qualities of Boy Scouts, on the third anniversary of the approval of the law creating the Boy Scouts of the Philippines, Malacañan, October 31, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 203.
- 1/(a) Interview with A.P. and U.P. Correspondents, September 20, 1935. QP, MR#38, TNL.
- 2/ Speech at the inauguration of the Philippine Chamber of Commerce building, Manila, July 29, 1938. QP, MR#40, TNL.
- 3/ Message to the Second National Assembly, on the prevention of monopolization and injurious speculations affecting articles of prime necessity, September 16, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 350.
- 1/(b) Article, "Opportunities for Investment of Capital in the Philippines," 1929.

profit must not be denied it under any pretext. So long as capital is mindful of the social purpose and duties of property, so long will our Government give it wholehearted support and protection, but not otherwise. ²

FORE RELIANCE ON FILIPINO RESOURCES THAN FOREIGN CAPITAL

The attraction of foreign capital has been one of my main concerns. However, foreign capital, at best, is an uncertain factor for the economy of any country to be built upon. The cornerstone, the sustaining walls, every part which gives firmness to our economic edifice, must be constructed mainly with the work and resources of Filipinos. ³

WOULD ENCOURAGE PRIVATE CAPITAL TO HELP PROMOTE NATIONAL ECONOMY

Private business constitutes one of the pillars of the social structure. To a large degree, the people draw their sustenance from it and the government lives on it. No statesman can fail to recognize this fact. It is, therefore, to the interest of the government and the people to help business, to nourish it in its growth and development, and to insure its continued existence. ⁴

9. CAPITAL PUNISHMENT

QUEZON SAYS CAPITAL PUNISHMENT RELIC FROM SAVAGERY

I don't believe in capital punishment because it is a relic of savagery. To kill a man solely because he has committed a crime is barbaric and should not be tolerated by progressive governments. ^{1(a)}

10. CENSUS

NEW CENSUS TO TAKE STOCK OF NATION'S HUMAN, MATERIAL RESOURCES

The first years of our new Government would be the most appropriate time to take a stock of the human and material resources of the country. A new census would give an inventory of all these resources, upon the exact determination of which will depend the formulation of important national policies. It is essential that we should have accurate, comprehensive and up-to-date data on commerce, agriculture, industry and education, if we are to find current solutions to the many complicated problems in these fields. ^{1(b)}

RELEVANCE OF CENSUS TO INTELLIGENT PLANNING

We cannot intelligently make any plans here in the Philippines for complying

- 2/ Letter to Hon. Elpidio Quirino, Secretary of the Interior, on the dismissal of the chief of police of Janiway, Iloilo, and of a secret service agent of the City of Iloilo, February 14, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVF, p. 564.
- 3/ Speech on government policies concerning business, Philippine Chamber of Commerce building, July 29, 1938. Ibid., p. 122. ,
- 4/ Ibid., p. 124.
- 1/(a) Press statement on capital punishment, 1937, n.d.m. QP, MR#40, TNL.
- 1/(b) Message to the First National Assembly on the taking of ^a New Census in 1937, September 29, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVF, p. 268.

with the provisions of the Constitution that we give facilities or opportunities to every child of school age, or for the diversification of our crops, or the establishment of necessary industries until we have had a census of the Philippines, which tells us our population, what we consume, the articles that we produce, and what industries we now have. We cannot do anything that is intelligently planned until we have taken the census of the Islands. ²

PRESIDENT PROCLAIMS APRIL 16, 1938 AS CENSUS DAY

"Whereas, a general census of the population and the social and economic condition of the Philippines is essential for proper study and planning for the future welfare of our people; and

"Whereas, Commonwealth Act No. 170 prescribes that the President of the Philippines shall by proclamation fix a day to be known as Census Day on which the collection of such statistics shall be begun;

"Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon, do hereby fix Saturday, April 16, 1938, as Census Day, on which the enumeration of population and the collection of data pertaining to agriculture shall begin throughout the Philippines and shall proceed on consecutive days thereafter, including Sundays and holidays, until completed: Provided, that the taking of census data on geography, lands, forestry, fisheries, mines, manufactures, construction, commerce, transportation, communications, services, institutions, finance and government may be begun January 1, 1938: Provided, further, that in order to accomplish this census in an economical manner, the Census Commissioner is hereby authorized to utilize the services of teachers of the Bureau of Education and any other officers and employees of the national, provincial, city, or municipal governments for the the work of enumeration and inquiry whenever practicable." ³

RULE LAID DOWN ON FAMILY SURNAMES IN NEW CENSUS

For the purpose of expediency in the taking of the census of population and agriculture which will begin on Census Day, April 16th, 1938, I, Manuel L. Quezon, by virtue of the powers in me vested by Commonwealth Act No. 170, do hereby order that all persons to be enumerated in the Census of the Philippines, shall be recorded using the proper name by which they are known locally, followed by their paternal and maternal surnames; Provided, that persons who bear only the proper name without surnames, shall be enumerated using such proper name followed by a surname to be selected by the person concerned, or in lieu thereof, the name of the father and that of the mother shall be used as paternal and maternal surnames, respectively. Thereafter, the person concerned may use the adopted surnames for all public and private purposes. ⁴

- 2/ Press conference at Malacañan, July 10, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.
- 3/ Proclamation No. 216, "Fixing Saturday, April 16, 1938, as Census Day," October 25, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part II, JBVEFF, pp. 1066-1067.
- 4/ Executive Order No. 128, "Use of Family Surnames in the Census of the Philippines," November 16, 1937. Ibid., p. 680.

11. CHARACTER ASSASSINATION

SENATE PRESIDENT BARES CHARACTER ASSASSINATION PLOT

There is here a wicked plot to murder me morally. The conspirators hold me up as a corrupt man and they do not stop at the means used. They confess they have no proof of my guilt but they require me to prove my innocence; and knowing beforehand that I can show it because they know I am innocent, they assert in advance that my proofs are worthless. The plot is skillfully laid. The victim has no possible escape. He is deprived of all legitimate means of defense. ¹

QUEZON CITES DIFFERENCE BETWEEN MORAL, PHYSICAL MURDER

Those who have conceived this plot have not thought of the difference between moral and physical murder. Moral murder is more horrible than physical, because honor is more precious than life itself, and because while there is only one victim in the physical murder, and that is the person murdered, in the moral assassination the stigma is also stamped upon the wife, the children, and perhaps upon the whole posterity of the person slandered.

On the other hand, in the physical murder the man who falls under the assassin's knife has to die sooner or later, but in the moral assassination even the best plot may fail, because truth always triumphs in the end, in spite of all wicked devices and slanders. ²

REACTS SHARPLY TO AGUINALDO CHARGES

When a man makes malicious insinuations assailing the character of another in terms so plain that all but imbeciles or illiterates understand the meaning, and when challenged to specify his charges avows that he has none and can make none, but at the same time continues making similar insinuations, he has gone so low that no one with any sense of decency would stoop to his level. ³

QUEZON PLAYS HEAD OF "SAKDAL" ORGANIZATION

The "Sakdal" is an association organized by a man without profession or means of livelihood, who at one time enjoyed government protection as a political appointee, but on account of improper conduct, when he took a leading part in inciting public school students to strike in spite of regulations and superior order to the contrary, was dismissed from the service.

In order that preventive measures may be adopted, it is recommended that the National Assembly consider the advisability of enacting laws imposing heavier penalties against Communism and other subversive propaganda and for violations of the firearms law. ⁴

- 1/ Press statement on a veteran / leader's charges, July 27, 1929. QP, MR#31, TNL.
- 2/ Ibid.
- 3/ Press statement commenting on the same charges, July 30, 1929. QP, MR#31, TNL.
- 4/ Press statement on the peace and order situation, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

UNFAIR INSINUATIONS AGAINST PUBLIC OFFICIALS CONDEMNED

To allow an official of the government to be subjected to unfair insinuations, shocks my sense of fair play, and I want to say that any further statements or insinuations of this sort will not be ignored, and the full measure of responsibility therefore will be exacted by the government. 5

12. C H A R A C T E R B U I L D I N G

QUEZON PROCLAIMS BOY'S WEEK

"Whereas, the proper formation of the character of the youth of the land is one of the important functions of the Government;

"Whereas, the Boys' Week Executive Committee has outlined a program covering every important phase of a boy's life; and

"Whereas, the period from the 30th of November to the 6th of December, inclusive, is deemed most suitable for the observance of Boys' Week;

"Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon, do hereby declared the week from November 30 to December 6, 1936, inclusive, as Boys' Week, and do hereby enjoin its observance, and call upon all our citizens, and all our public and private entities to lend their full cooperation to the purpose of this week, that it might prove memorable in the life of our boys and of practical value to the welfare of the community." 1

IMPORTANCE OF GOOD MANNERS, RIGHT CONDUCT STRESSED BY PRESIDENT

Good manners and right conduct are as essential to a man who lives in civilized society as intellectual training.

It is a misconception of the extent of his duty for any professor to believe that when he has given his lessons he had done enough by his pupils. The young man and the young woman who have gone through a university should be fully prepared to meet and mingle with their peers. Knowledge alone is of very little consequence if one conducts himself like a savage. 2

CHARACTER BUILDING ON INDIVIDUAL, SOCIAL BASIS

When you speak of developing moral character, as a function of the school, you are not referring primarily to the conduct of the individual as a rational being, but more so to his conduct as a social entity. 3

QUEZON STRESSES IMPORTANCE OF GOOD MANNERS AND RIGHT CONDUCT

I desire to stress the need of impressing upon the student body of the

- 5/ Press statement warning against unfair insinuations against public servants, 1937, n.d.m. QP, MR#40, TNL.
- 1/ Proclamation No. 110, "Declaring the Period from November 30 to December 6, 1936, as Boys' Week," November 19, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 594.
- 2/ Letter to Dr. Jorge Bocobo, president, University of the Philippines, on the reinstatement of Assistant Professor Albert and the importance of good manners and right conduct, July 30, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 503.
- 3/ Speech at the first plenary session of a conference on character building, 1938, n.d.m. QP, MR#41, TNL.

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University of the Philippines the importance of gentlemanly deportment as part of their university instruction.

... as essential to the life of a civilized society or intellectual training.

A young man who, in the classroom and during the teaching hours and in the presence of his professors and comrades, raises his foot and rests it on a chair, gives evidence of the lack of every notion of courtesy. He shows a great disrespect not only for his professor and his associates but also for himself. He shows his low concept of the task in which a student is engaged when in class, or his utter lack of a sense of responsibility. ⁴

WE'VE A LOT TO LEARN FROM OUR FOREFATHERS - QUEZON

Our people, I mean the average Filipinos in the towns and villages, have been courteous and hospitable all their lives. Why should the boys and girls who attend schools, colleges, and universities be less mannered than their parents and ancestors

There seems to be a growing idea among some of our youth that personal dignity and individual self-reliance and independence are better shown by him who can best exhibit rough manners.

We must re-educate ourselves and drink from the fountain of true Filipino traits. Not all that our forefathers did were wrong; in fact we can learn a lot from them. ⁵

NATIONAL STRENGTH BUILT ONLY ON CHARACTER OF CITIZENRY

National strength can be built only on character. A nation is nothing more nor less than its citizenry. It is the people that make up the nation and, therefore, it cannot be stronger than its component parts. Their weakness is its failings, their strength its power. ⁶ (Hereafter underscoring is supplied - ABS.)

QUEZON PLACES GREATEST EMPHASIS ON CHARACTER BUILDING

Character is more important than training. I will not say it is more important than knowledge, because the word "knowledge" implies more than the possession of factual or technical information. Knowledge implies the absorption of what we learn by either reading books or hearing somebody. The application of what we have learned to the practical uses of life, the ability to assimilate what we learn, and the power to think truthfully - that is knowledge.

The mere getting and piling up of information without assimilating them is not knowledge. But character is more important than the acquisition of scientific

4/ Letter to U.P. President Bocobo, loc. cit. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, pp. 1823-1824.

5/ Ibid., p. 1824.

6/ Address before the faculties and student bodies of public and private schools, colleges and universities, August 19, 1933. QP, MR#41, TNL.

for your country. We are not bound to be heroes all the time; nor is there an opportunity to be heroes every day. Just do your duty every day and you will be patriots. As a student your duty is to study well and as a man to be good. Your duty is to work well until you become a good citizen. And don't give too much importance to clothing, good eating, and pleasure. Eat enough to keep you healthy, dress well to look decent, enjoy enough to give your spirit emotion and your nerves relaxation, but all the time you must have an objective in your life, have an idea - a noble idea - and pursue it! ¹¹

FOR MAN WITHOUT GOOD CHARACTER, KNOWLEDGE IS DANGEROUS

Knowledge is worth nothing unless it is based on character. Knowledge is worse than anything if a man who has the knowledge is not possessed of a good character, for he, who has received mental training but has not developed the moral qualities of the soul, will only use his knowledge to harm his fellow citizens. ¹²

TEACHERS SHOULD DEVELOP GOOD CHARACTER OF THEIR PUPILS

The teachers should bear in mind that their main duty is to build the character of their pupils. It is a mistake to think that you have done your day's work in school after you had given your lesson to the pupils. It is equally a mistake to think that your day's work is over after you had asked a few questions.

Every teacher should be the guardian of his pupils. The teacher should make every pupil understand that it is more important to be good men than learned men. And, of course, as the teacher is going to build up the character of his pupils, he can do this only if he himself has a strong character. ¹³

LET US ESCHEW VICES, BUT RECOVER LOST VIRTUES OF OUR FOREBEARS

We have vices, let us get away from them; we have virtues, let us recover them. And let us bear in mind that it is more important to be an honest and truthful man than to be a learned but dishonest man. ¹⁴

QUEZON SAYS CHARACTER MORE IMPORTANT THAN BRAINS

Brains are necessary, but brains are not the most important in a man. They are character, integrity, honesty, and loyalty. If a man has brains but he is

^{11/} Ibid., p. 170.

^{12/} Speech on building the character of the children, at the Cagayan High School, Cagayan, Oriental Misamis, August 27, 1938. Ibid., pp. 185-186.

^{13/} Ibid., p. 186.

^{14/} Ibid., p. 193.

dishonest, he is worst than a dishonest men who has no brains. 15

CHARACTER BUILDING EFFECTIVE DURING FORMATIVE YEARS

The moulding of character, the formation of ideals and ambitions, the building up of physical prowess - all these must take place during the years of early youth. It is during that stage when man is in a sort of plastic state, that his growth and development assume definite direction. Many of the decisive influences cannot be imparted either in the school or in the home. Wholesome contact with nature, the freedom of the outdoors, grappling with practical obstacles and problems - these and these alone can give a young man an opportunity to discover his moral, mental, and physical resources, and thus comprehend the necessity of their development in order to meet these problems. better. 16

TO BE RESPECTED, ONE MUST FIRST RESPECT RIGHTS OF OTHERS

A person who desires his rights to be respected has a corresponding duty to recognize the rights of others. One who would not recognize the rights of his fellowmen should not expect others to respect his rights. Those persons who took the crop which did not belong to them actually transgressed the law, discredited our government, and looted the property of another. 17

INDUSTRY AND PERSEVERANCE KEY TO MATERIAL SUCCESS

No person can prosper materially through the help of others alone. One's prosperity will come, first of all, from his own perseverance. He who refuses to be persevering, who does not want to work - in short, the lazy - shall never prosper in life, whatever help the government may render him. All my plans to bring amelioration to the laborer - to increase his earnings and to help him acquire his own land - have no value to a person who wastes his time fondling fighting cocks. 18

UNIVERSITY ALSO HELPS MOULD CHARACTER AND LIFE OF PEOPLE

A university plays an important role in the progress of a nation. Not only does it train men and women for the professions, but it also helps mould the character and life of the people through the influence that it exerts upon the minds and conduct of their future leaders. 19

- 15/ Speech, "Government Policy, Progress of Occidental Negros, and the Sugar Industry," at the inauguration of the City of Bacolod, Negros Occidental, October 19, 1938. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 1927.
- 16/ Speech on boy scout training, over the radio at Malacanang, October 31, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 241-242.
- 17/ Speech on respect for property rights and government plans for Buenavista Estate, at Barrio Cruz na Daan, San Rafael, Bulacan, January 31, 1939. Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 12.
- 18/ Ibid., p. 13.
- 19/ Speech, "The Elimination of Partisanship in a Democracy," at the Far Eastern University, August 17, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2251.

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13. CHRISTIANITY

QUEZON CITES REAL SPIRIT OF CHRISTIANITY

The real cause of the unrest all over the world is economic.

Let him who is first be the last. This is the spirit of Christianity, and this spirit should be the underlying principle of all our institutions.

If we build the future upon this spirit, ours will be the chosen people, and our country the paradise on earth. ¹

PRESIDENT TELLS GEORGETOWN U. OF FILIPINOS' CHRISTIAN HERITAGE

By the grace of God, the Filipinos are followers and disciples of our Lord Jesus Christ. Theirs is a Christian civilization. Most of their scholars, for the last three hundred and fifty years, have drunk from the fountain of wisdom which finds its source from the summa theologica of St. Thomas Aquinas, as taught in our Catholic university, the University of Sto. Tomas, in Manila, the oldest university under the American flag - my own alma mater. ²

CHRISTIAN FOUNDATION OF FILIPINO NATION EMPHASIZED

In the true Christian spirit, the Filipino people have laid down the foundation stone of their independent existence. When they drafted the Constitution of the Commonwealth, which is also the Constitution of the Philippine Republic, they sought first the guidance of Divine Providence and inserted in that fundamental law of the land a clause condemning war as an instrument of national policy and pledging our people never to resort to arms except in defense of our country. ³

FILIPINO HERITAGE OF LATIN CULTURE, CATHOLICISM FROM SPAIN

It is true we revolted against Spain, but that fact does not mean a lack of present-day understanding of the advantages which came to us as a result of Spanish administration. Certainly we were given the rudiments of the Latin culture and received the blessing of the Christian faith. Because we are grateful to the United States for her numerous contributions to the material development of the Philippines, this does not signify any weakening of affection for Spain for what she did for our country. ⁴

RIGHT AND JUSTICE ALONE OFFER SOLUTION TO WORLD CONFLICTS

This Constitutional declaration - renunciation of war as an instrument of

1/ Radio message on his 54th birthday, August 19, 1932. P, MR#32, TNL.

2/ Speech upon acceptance of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, conferred by Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., April 17, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVEF, p. 93.

3/ Ibid., p. 94.

4/ Speech on Occupation Day radio program, August 13, 1938. P, MR#41, TNL.

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national policy - implies that our people recognize that no nation has the right to resort to war in order to carry out its national policies; that every state is a member of the family of nations; that each nation has rights that must be respected by the others; that superiority of force is no justification for adopting and carrying out a national policy that may be prejudicial to the liberties and interests of other peoples; and that right and justice alone - never force - should determine and decide the conflicts that may arise between nations. In other words, it means that we are willing to submit to arbitration or to an international court for adjudication of any and all controversies that may arise between the Philippines and other countries. ⁵

2,000 YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY FAIL TO BANISH MISERY AND WANT - WHY?

It is almost inconceivable that two thousand years after the birth of Christ who came to this world to teach the gospel of love among men, in countries that boast of being Christian, misery and want still exist in the midst of plenty! ⁶

CHRISTIANITY WILL SOLVE WORLD'S ILLS - QUEZON

If we behaved like a true Christian, practising Christianity in our dealings with our fellowmen, there would be no wars, no economic depressions, no revolutions, no agrarian questions, no labor disputes. Instead, there would be peace and contentment, well-being and happiness everywhere. ⁷

MLQ FEARS DESPOLIATION OF CHRISTIANITY IN PHILIPPINES

No disaster could be greater in my country than the loss of the religion which we embrace. An obvious part of Japan's plans for the Philippines is the despoliation of Christianity, even though its present pretense is that it will permit religious freedom. ⁸

14. CHURCH AND STATE

MLQ FIRM ON STRICT SEPARATION OF CHURCH AND STATE

The State has nothing to do with the Church, nor the Church with the State. I am a Catholic as everybody knows, I, who for the time being, am at the head of this government. As an individual, I worship my God in accordance with my own religious belief. But as the head of the State I can have no more to do with the Catholic church than I can with a Protestant denomination, the Aglipayan, the Mohammedan, or any other religious organization or sect in the Philippines. ¹

^{5/} Speech on peace, social and economic security of nations, University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

^{6/} Radio message on his 62nd birthday, August 19, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2263.

^{7/} Ibid., QP, MR#44, TNL.

^{8/} Press statement on the interchange of diplomatic representatives between China and the Vatican, issued in Washington, D.C., October 28, 1942. QP, MR#45, TNL.

^{1/} Speech on the 25th anniversary of the consecration of Archbishop O'Doherty of Manila, September 4, 1935. QP, MR#38, TNL.

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QUEZON FIRST MET ARCHBISHOP WHEN HE WAS HIGH-RANKING MASON

My friendship with Archbishop O'Doherty really developed after he had become the Archbishop of Manila and, I must add, a good many years prior to my rejoining the Catholic Church, the faith of my fathers. I was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of the Philippine Islands and elected to the 33rd degree of the Scottish Rite Masonry, the highest rank to which a mason can aspire, when our relations became very friendly. ²

STATE-CHURCH SEPARATION GUARANTEED UNDER CHARTER, JONES ACT

Under the present Constitution of the Philippine Commonwealth, just as under the Jones Act, and in fact ever since the American flag was first hoisted over these Islands, the separation of the Church and the State, and the freedom of worship are guaranteed. The State has nothing to do with the Church, nor the Church with the State... And no authority of any church has any right to interfere with the affairs of the government. ³

PRESIDENT CAN'T PARTICIPATE OFFICIALLY IN EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

I hope I am a good practical Catholic. As such, in my individual capacity, there is nothing that I shall not be glad to do to give added solemnity to the celebration of the Eucharistic Congress. I am also most anxious, as a private individual professing the Catholic faith, to render honors and pay tribute to His Eminence, the Papal Legate; but, as the President of the Philippines, I am not in a position to do what your program calls for. ⁴

NO OFFICIAL HONORS FOR PAPAL LEGATE IN 33RD EUCHARISTIC CONGRESS

With reference to the proposed program for my participation in the XXXIII International Eucharistic Congress which, at first glance, I thought referred to my personal participation therein and therefore expressed my approval thereof, I have noticed upon further consideration that what is intended in the program is that the Papal Legate shall be officially welcomed by the President of the Philippines in behalf of the Government of the Commonwealth, on the one hand, and as the Head of the Nation and in behalf thereof, on the other.

* * *

I am informed by competent authority that the Government of the Philippines may not render His Eminence, the Papal Legate, honors that might in any way be construed as a recognition of him as a representative of a foreign State; that the Papal Legate should be regarded as an ecclesiastic of high rank without any official

2/ Ibid., Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 127.

3/ Ibid., pp. 127-128.

4/ Letter to Archbishop O'Doherty, January 9, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 274.

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... theory, and that as far as our people are concerned, it is forever settled that this separation shall be maintained as one of the cardinal tenets of our Government. The ecclesiastical authorities should realize, therefore, that any attempt on their part to interfere with matters that are within the province of the Government will not be tolerated. If the said ecclesiastical authorities desire to have the Government respect their rights and afford them every kind of protection in the exercise of their religion, they must not only abide by the laws and the lawful orders of the Government, but they must also ^{ac} knowledge and respect the principle of the separation of Church and State. ⁹

CHRIST INITIATED CHURCH-STATE SEPARATION, SAYS QUEZON

The doctrine of the separation of Church and State was not enunciated by a King or a President, or by a Pope, or a Bishop but by our Lord Jesus Christ himself.

While our Lord was still in this world, there were those who wanted to show Him up as a false prophet, so they went to Him and asked whether they should pay the taxes demanded by the Roman Government or not. Thereupon Jesus asked them to hand Him a coin; upon receiving it, He asked them whose face was it that appeared on the coin; and they answered it was Caesar's. Jesus then said: "Render unto Caesar what is Caesar's and unto God what is God's." ¹⁰

RIGHT AS CITIZEN DISTINGUISHED FROM RIGHT AS CHURCH HEAD

I shall not deny any bishop, priest, or minister of any church, of his right as a citizen to express his opinion on any public question; but I do emphatically deny the right of the constituted authorities of any religious organization, Church or Faith, in their capacity as authorities of that religious organization, Church or Faith, to speak as such and to influence the Government or any of its branches in the determination of its policies. ¹¹

15. C I T I Z E N S C I T I Z E N S H I P

PRESIDENT EMPHASIZES DUTY OF EVERY CITIZEN TO VOTE

It is the duty of every man and woman whom the law will grant the right to vote, to partake in this plebiscite and to express his or her views with the single end in view of serving the best interest of the nation.

Let us say that all have ^{been} recreant but let us hope that all will also turn their faces in sorrow and in disgust, away from the path they have trodden and into the road that leads to enlightenment and mutual love. We are all the sons and daughters of a most beautiful and generously endowed country. Let us seek

9/ Press statement on the pastoral letter of the metropolitan archbishop and suffragan bishops of the ecclesiastical province of Cebu on religious instruction in the Philippines, June 24, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVEF, p. 666.

10/ Speech explaining veto of the bill on religious instruction, July 17, 1938. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 1809.

11/ Ibid., p. 1808.

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^{10/} Speech explaining veto of the bill on religious instruction, July 17, 1938. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 1809.

^{11/} Ibid., p. 1808.

NATION'S SECURITY PREMISED ON LOYALTY OF EVERY CITIZEN

We must rely for the security of this new nation, not so much upon the might of brutal force, but upon the undivided loyalty of every citizen to the Government - a loyalty founded upon individual consciousness that this Government is his, and that it exists only for his protection, for his liberty, and for his happiness. ⁶

DEFENSE OF STATE PRIME DUTY OF ALL FILIPINOS

So long as there are nations that believe in, and back their faith with, force, when their national interests, as conceived by them, are paramount to the interests of any other nation and even to the interest of mankind, our only recourse is to build up our own force to defend ourselves against aggression. This is the reason why the Constitution asserts that the defense of the state is a prime duty of government, and that in the fulfillment of this duty all citizens may be required by law to render personal military or civil service. ⁷

FIRST DUTY OF EVERY CITIZEN: SUPPORT THE GOVERNMENT

True love of country must be shown in deeds and not in words, and in time of peace the first evidence of patriotism, of true love of country, consists in the willingness to pay one's taxes. That is the first duty of a citizen. If he pays his taxes willingly and on time, any citizen can be President of the Philippines. ⁸

DUTIES OF CITIZENSHIP VITAL TO GOVERNMENT SUCCESS

No man can make of this government a success if the Filipino people themselves do not realize the duties of citizenship. ⁹

THERE IS NO LIBERTY WITHOUT SOCIAL RESTRAINT - QUEZON

Organized society is predicated on the willingness of men to limit their freedom of action in the interest of the well-being of the entire community in which they live. There is no liberty without social restraint. It is only through necessary restraints upon individual liberty and the cultivation of self-restraints to prevent abuse of that liberty that democratic governments can offer peace and security to the people who live under them. ¹⁰

16. C I V I L S E R V I C E

QUEZON ESCHEWS SELF-INTEREST, WANTS CIVIL SERVICE RULES UPHOLD

I call the special attention (of the First National Assembly - ABS) to

^{6/} Speech at the First National Assembly, October 18, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

^{7/} Speech on peace, social and economic security of nations, University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

^{8/} Speech at the public plaza of Tagbilaran, Bohol, July 1, 1939. Ibid.

^{9/} Ibid.

^{10/} Speech on the essence of democracy, University of the Philippines, July 16, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2233.

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No man can make of this government a success if the Filipino people themselves do not realize the duties of citizenship. ⁹

THERE IS NO LIBERTY WITHOUT SOCIAL RESTRAINT - QUEZON

Organized society is predicated on the willingness of men to limit their freedom of action in the interest of the well-being of the entire community in which they live. There is no liberty without social restraint. It is only through necessary restraints upon individual liberty and the cultivation of self-restraints to prevent abuse of that liberty that democratic governments can offer peace and security to the people who live under them. ¹⁰

16. C I V I L S E R V I C E

QUEZON ESCHEWS SELF-INTEREST, WANTS CIVIL SERVICE RULES UPHOLD

I call the special attention (of the First National Assembly - ABS) to

- 6/ Speech at the First National Assembly, October 18, 1937. OP, MR#40, TNL.
- 7/ Speech on peace, social and economic security of nations, University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. OP, MR#42, TNL.
- 8/ Speech at the public plaza of Tagbilaran, Bohol, July 1, 1939. Ibid.
- 9/ Ibid.
- 10/ Speech on the essence of democracy, University of the Philippines, July 16, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2233.

- ~~SECRET~~ -

section 633 of the present Administrative Code permitting the Chief Executive, for the good of the civil service, and with the consent of the Philippine Senate, to make appointments to positions in the classified civil service without regard to the examination requirements of the law. I am recommending the elimination of this legal provision in our Civil Service Law, because I consider its existence a continuous threat to the inviolability of the Civil Service Rules.¹

PRESIDENT TALKS ON SYSTEM OF PROMOTION IN PUBLIC SERVICE

It is wholly impossible to devise any infallible system of evaluating ability that will permit higher authority to make distinctions on any such particularized basis. But the most serious objection to the selective method of promotion is that it frequently permits political or other extraneous influence to affect an officer's advancement..This is fatal to efficiency. Whenever an army organization becomes convinced that the promotion of an officer has resulted from favoritism or prejudice, irreparable harm is done to the morale of the whole corps, and the military is certain to be neglected in favor of political maneuvering. I am determined that nothing of this kind shall characterize the officer corps of the Philippine Army.²

PHILIPPINE CHARITY SWEEPSTAKES PLACED UNDER CIVIL SERVICE RULES

It appears that when the Office of the Sweepstakes was created under Act No. 4130, section 2 thereof provided in part that "the board of trustees may make the appointments without taking into consideration the civil service law and rules." Under the exemption the appointments to the sweepstakes office were made without regard to examination requirements.

With the inauguration of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, the Constitution went into full force and effect and in order that there could be no possible misinterpretation of its provision with special reference to appointments in the public service, I issued Executive Order No. 8, effective January 1, 1936.

The Philippine Charity Sweepstakes was organized to provide funds for the care, in the main, of public welfare activities of the government such as social work, hospitals, dispensaries, public recreation, etc.

The continuance of the exemption from civil service examination requirements in the appointments of employees of the sweepstakes office is, therefore, repugnant to the Constitution and to Executive Order No. 8.³

WHEN PRESIDENT LOSES CONFIDENCE IN HIS APPOINTEE

When the Chief Executive has lost his confidence in the man he appointed, it makes no difference what the reason is because the responsibility rests with

- 1/ Message to the First National Assembly, December 16, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 54.
- 2/ Press statement on the administration of the Philippine Army Officer Corps, January 11, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 41.
- 3/ Letter to the Secretary of Finance and chairman, board of trustees, Philippine Charity Sweepstakes, placing the office personnel of the PCS under Civil Service Rules, February 19, 1936. Ibid., pp. 435-436.

the man who makes the appointment.

When a charge is presented against a public official, it is not necessary that the evidence presented should be sufficient for conviction if the case is a criminal case. 4

OLD EMPLOYEES SHOULD BE GIVEN PROMOTIONAL EXAMS

I am constrained to disapprove this bill on the ground that its approval would vitiate the principle on which the civil service is operated. Article II, section 1, of the Constitution of the Philippines, provides that appointments in the civil service, except to positions which are policy-determining, primarily confidential, or highly technical in nature, shall be made only according to merit and fitness, to be determined as far as practicable by competitive examination. A cursory reading of this bill would show that it violates this provision of the Constitution of the Philippines.

If it is desired by the authors of this bill to give special consideration to those employees who have rendered a long period of service, this objective can now be attained by the giving of promotional examination by the Bureau of Civil Service in which the subject, "experience and training," is given great weight. 5

QUEZON AGAINST SWEEPSTAKES, LOTTERIES IN PRINCIPLE

In principle, I am opposed to the holding of sweepstakes or lotteries and, as a matter of fact, I sent a message to the National Assembly on July 29, 1936, recommending the discontinuance of the holding of sweepstakes in the Philippines and the adoption of some other system with less objectionable features. As a result, the National Assembly approved at its regular session Bill 2251 allowing the holding of lotteries for charitable purposes. This bill was repassed during the last special session of the National Assembly in order to eliminate certain objectionable features of the same.

* * *

The primary purpose of the bill is to raise funds for charitable purposes. At present, we do not have sufficient charitable institutions to take care of the unfortunates who must have to depend on charity. 6

RULES ON FILLING OF POSITIONS AND PROMOTIONS

1. Whenever a vacancy shall occur in any position mentioned in the General Appropriations Act or in any special act of the National Assembly, the appointment to which position is not by law vested in the President of the Philippines, the corresponding head of department is hereby authorized to fill it by original appointment from among the eligibles in the civil service or by regular promotion

4/ Statement at a press conference, Malacañan, July 24, 1936. OP, MR#38, TNL.

5/ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 128, "Authorizing Automatic Promotion of Qualified Civil Service Employees," October 29, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEF, pp. 369-370.

6/ Press statement on allowing Bill No. 2214 authorizing the holding of lotteries for charitable purposes and creating a public corporation to carry out the purposes of the bill to become a law without the President's signature, November 29, 1936. Ibid., pp. 465-466.

at a salary not to exceed three thousand pesos per annum, subject to the entrance salaries provided in civil service rules and regulations. Appointment to any such position at a salary exceeding three thousand pesos per annum shall be submitted to the President of the Philippines for approval.

2. No increase in salary shall be allowed except in case of promotion to a position of higher rank or to any position involving greater responsibilities or increase of activities, in which case promotion may be approved by the proper department head, subject to the limitations provided in paragraph (1) hereof: Provided, that promotions shall not be made at a rate greater than one civil service grade and after a period of one year from the date of the last promotion. Meritorious cases as may be determined by the department head may be submitted to the Cabinet for approval as an exception to civil service rules.

3. This Administrative Order shall take effect as of January 1, 1937. ⁷

QUEZON GIVES GUIDELINE ON APPLICATION OF SENIORITY RULE

It has been the consistent policy of this administration, and repeatedly announced, that the man in the service in line for promotion should be given a chance either to prove his worthiness or unworthiness by giving him, in case of a vacancy, at least a temporary designation until the fact has been established that the incumbent is not equal to the responsibility involved in his new assignment... A general criticism against our government in the past and which is still heard even under our administration is that relatives and friends, and also comprovincianos, get preferential attention in the choice of officials and employees in the government. This, in local parlance, is called "regionalismo."

We must place ourselves above unjustifiable criticism, however cautious we may be in our acts. I, therefore, feel that you shall find a way whereby your appointee (Captain Villavicencio as Manila pilot - ABS) may resign so that the man senior in point of service may take the appointment. If experience should prove that he is not as competent as Captain Villavicencio, then it will be time to appoint the latter. ⁸

MERIT SYSTEM STRENGTHENED WITH EXTENSION OF CIVIL SERVICE

The classified service has been extended to all branches of the government, including the municipalities, and the scope and powers of the merit system have been increased to such an extent as to make of it as active and strong an agency of good administration as can be found anywhere. ⁹

PRESIDENT WILL ACT IMMEDIATELY ON ERRING OFFICIALS

If I receive a complaint against an act committed by a chief of police or

7/ Administrative Order No. 40, "Filling of Positions and Promotions in the Civil Service," August 24, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part II, JBVF, p. 1165.

8/ Memorandum for the Secretary of Finance on the appointment of Capt. Villavicencio as Manila pilot, September 6, 1937. Ibid., pp. 355-356.

9/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

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even by a policeman, I shall order an investigation. When I am satisfied that the crime committed warrants drastic action, I shall not waste my time by going through the red tape of sending the papers to the secretary of the interior or to the governor of the province. I am not a hypocrite. I will not wait for the recommendation of either the secretary of the interior or the provincial governor before acting on it. ¹⁰

FILE CHARGES AGAINST BAD OFFICIALS: I'LL TAKE CARE OF THEM - QUEZON

You must recognize not only my authority but also the powers of the municipal authorities. Your municipal mayors are the heads of your towns; your governor is the executive of your province. It is necessary that you respect them. If they commit any wrong, file charges against the erring officials, and I will take care of them. But as long as they hold their positions, it is necessary that you recognize their authority. ¹¹

17. COALITION

COALITION GOVERNMENT IN EARLY YEARS OF COMMONWEALTH

A coalition government is incompatible with a partisan legislature. A coalition cannot be formed in the executive department unless there is also a coalition of parties in the legislative branch. Therefore, the popular verdict in favor of the candidates of the Coalition for the executive department is a mandate to every candidate to the National Assembly who supported them to put aside partisan politics in the National Assembly and organize it on a non-partisan basis.

You will readily see how utterly incongruous would be the situation that you wish to create. I have been elected as a Coalition candidate. Hence, it is my duty as well as my privilege to call to my assistance the ablest men that I can find from the ranks of either party and outside of them, so that the country may be provided with the best, cleanest and most efficient government of which our people are capable. This is the prime purpose of the Coalition. ¹

"COALITION" VOWS TO HAVE GOVERNMENT BASED ON MERIT, JUSTICE TO ALL

We promised to give the country a government free from partisan influence and selfish motives; a government where merit is to be the primary consideration; a government where justice is to be administered to all alike - to the poor and to the rich, to the powerful and to the humble - a government in fact where the

^{10/} Speech on government policies and relation between the national government and the provinces, February 14, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVTFF, p. 7.

^{11/} Speech at San Fernando, Pampanga, February 14, 1939. Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVTFF, p. 23.

^{1/} Reply to the Paredes letter of November 3, 1935, explaining why President-elect Quezon offered Majority Floor Leader Quintin Paredes the position of resident commissioner to Washington, which offer the latter had originally declined. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, pp. 1198-1208.

public weal is to be at all times the only objective and consideration.

We have enacted into laws the most urgent measures promised in our platform and none of these laws have become a dead letter, for each and every one of them is a living and effective instrumentality for the promotion of the well-being, cultural advancement, and the material progress of our people.

Our firm resolve is to fulfill during the four remaining years of our term all the pledges contained in the platform. ^{2(a)}

COALITION, AT BEST A TRUCE, THREATENS TO BLOW OFF

It was a blessed day for the Philippines when, two years ago, these two contending parties ("Pros" and "Antis"), before the altar of the Fatherland, laid down their weapons and signed a truce that would permit both to join hands in the service of the people.

But it was at best only a truce, for each party kept its own separate organizations distinct and intact... I could frequently discern, with grave alarm at times, that beneath the calm and smooth waters of the Coalition, there were surging in the depths undercurrents constantly threatening to rise to form mountainous waves that might rock and sink the ship of state. Jealousies, rivalries, suspicions, have never been entirely forgotten by all those who, at one time, were actually political enemies and who were still potentially so because their respective organizations were kept alive. ³

18. CODE OF ETHICS

QUEZON ON ALL-EMBRACING MEANING OF ETHICS

Ethics - ethics in the conduct of citizens; ethics in the conduct of professionals; ethics in the conduct of officials above all. The word ethics means everything. It means honesty in the man who is working. Ethics means justice in the man who is paying the man who is working for him. Ethics means truthfulness in dealing with our fellowmen. Ethics means giving to everyone what is his due. Ethics means the fulfillment of our duties. ¹

LIFE NOT WORTH A DAMN WITHOUT HONOR - QUEZON

I want to speak to you on the ethics of citizenship. It is there where we have to concentrate our utmost endeavor. We should let our people realize that living is not worth a damn if it is a life without honor and without ethics, which means the same. ^{2(b)}

PRESIDENT LAYS DOWN 16-POINT CODE OF ETHICS

I do hereby require all schools to teach the following civic and ethical

^{2(a)}/ Address at the convention of Coalesced Parties, Rizal Memorial Stadium, September 20, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 121-122.

^{3/} Ibid., p. 123.

^{1/} Speech before the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines, 1938, n.d.m. QP, MR#41, TNL.

^{2(b)}/ Ibid.

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principles, drafted by a group of eminent citizens:

- 1 . Have faith in Divine Providence that guides the destinies of men and nations.
- 2 . Love your country for it is the home of your people, the seat of your affections, and the source of your happiness and well-being. Its defense is your primary duty. Be ready at all times to sacrifice and die for it if necessary.
- 3 . Respect the Constitution which is the expression of your sovereign will. The government is your government. It has been established for your safety and welfare. Obey the laws and see that they are observed by all and that public officials comply with their duties.
- 4 . Pay your taxes willingly and promptly, Citizenship implies not only rights but also obligations.
- 5 . Safeguard the purity of suffrage and abide by the decisions of the majority.
- 6 . Love and respect your parents. It is your duty to serve them gratefully and well.
- 7 . Value your honor as you value your life. Poverty with honor is preferable to wealth with dishonor.
- 8 . Be truthful and be honest in thought and in action. Be just and charitable, courteous but dignified in your dealings with your fellowmen.
- 9 . Lead a clean and frugal life. Do not indulge in frivolity or pretense. Be simple in your dress and modest in your behavior.
- 10 . Live up to the noble traditions of our people. Venerate the memory of our heroes. Their lives point the way to duty and honor.
- 11 . Be industrious. Be not afraid or ashamed to do manual labor. Productive toil is conducive to economic security and adds to the wealth of the nation.
- 12 . Rely on your own efforts for your progress and happiness. Be not easily discouraged. Persevere in the pursuit of your legitimate ambitions.
- 13 . Do your work cheerfully, thoroughly, and well. Work badly done is worse than work undone. Do not leave for tomorrow what you can do today.
- 14 . Contribute to the welfare of the community and promote social justice. You do not live for yourselves and your families alone. You are a part of society to which you owe definite responsibilities.
- 15 . Cultivate the habit of using goods made in the Philippines. Patronize the products and trades of your countrymen.
- 16 . Use and develop our natural resources and conserve them for posterity. They are the inalienable heritage of our people. Do not traffic with your citizenship.

2/ Executive Order No. 217, "Prescribing Certain Civic and Ethical Principles to be Taught in all Schools in the Philippines," August 19, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 991-992.

19. C O L L E C T I V I S T A M A J O R I T Y

QUEZON STANDS FIRMLY FOR COLLECTIVE LEADERSHIP

I will always stand by my theory of collective leadership even if I have to leave the Nacionalista Party.

The time has come for the establishment in the Islands of political parties which should fight for principles, not necessarily for the control of the government. I do not care if those who are supporting the theory of collective leadership are never returned to power, but I am sure that if the question is put squarely to the people as an issue in the coming elections, the voters of the old generation and the young men of today will support them. ¹

SENATE PRESIDENT DEFINES ROLE OF COLECTIVISTA MAJORITY

Since the votes in the Senate have placed us in the position of assuming part of the responsibility of being in the majority, we shall assume it without hesitation. We shall allow full and complete discussion of all matters brought before the attention of this body. We shall give those who do not commune with us in our ideas or do not agree with us in our proposals the opportunity to express their opinions before the people; but there should come a time in all classes when the will of the majority should assert itself, and be enforced, after having given the minority complete use of its rights to criticize. ²

INTEGRITY OF MINORITY MUST BE RESPECTED, SAYS QUEZON

The Nacionalista Colectivista party considers one of its most important duties to exert all its efforts to get all the power and all the responsibility for the Filipino people that is permitted by the Jones Law.

As a party we do not have any special interest in assuming control of the government. But we are interested, and we are all ready to fight, that the part given by the Filipino people in the direction of their domestic affairs be assumed by some party that represents the country. We are also interested that while some party or parties are at the helm of the government, another one should remain in the opposition. It is necessary to keep the integrity, honesty, and efficiency of the minority that is ever ready to check and curb the abuses that may be committed by those above. ³

UNIPERSONALISTAS FOR PARTY, COLECTIVISTAS FOR PRINCIPLES

The motto of the Unipersonalistas was: Sacrifice all principles, but save the party at all costs. The motto of the Colectivistas is: Save the principles

- 1/ Statement in the Manila Times, December 23, 1921. Rivera Collection, Vol II, p. 575.
- 2/ Speech, "The Triumph of Collectivism," after the Colectivista-Unipersonalista split of 1922. In: Pedro de la Llana and Francisco B. Icasiano, Quezon In His Speeches. Manila: State Publishing Co., 1937, pp. 12-13.
- 3/ Ibid. Also in Rivera Collection, supra, p. 721.

and sacrifice everything, even the party itself! ⁴

SENATE CHIEF ADVOCATES A GOVERNMENT BY CONSENSUS

The Collectivists believe in a true government of democracy, not only in form but also in fact, not the people's rule without the expression of the popular will, but a government by the people by means of a voluntary expression of the sovereign will of the people. The Collectivists want a government of opinion, not a government that solves vital questions without the country's knowledge or how or when the selection was made. ⁵

UNIPERSONALISTS ARE ANTIQUARIANS, COLLECTIVISTS MODERN - MLQ

The Collectivists believe that union in a party does not mean union of men. It means unity in principles professed and practised. We believe that the organization of a new party does not mean the bankruptcy of our national cause, because we hold the Nacionalista Party is not the people. Even if there is a split, we shall work together for our complete political emancipation. We have faith in our people, blind, sublime faith in them and we know that no Filipino will be recreant to the legacy bequeathed to him by his forefathers and that all of us to a man will stand in favor of Philippine independence, immediate, absolute and complete. We know that the Filipino people, irrespective of party, creed or religion, will force the issue and compel all party men to work for the realization of our sacred ideals.

We are divided in ideas, but united in sentiment; united in love of country, but divided in the procedure of serving her best. The Unipersonalists are antiquarians; the Collectivists are modern. Even if I wanted to remain in the party, I cannot very well do it. For it would be like mixing oil and water in a glass. We shall need a new house now that we leave our old one. Now we have two strong parties that we hope shall fight for ideals and ideals alone, eliminating personalities. ⁶

QUEZON PREFERS TO TAKE RISK TO DEFEND PRINCIPLES

The politician who does not have any patriotic purpose in entering politics but his personal aggrandizement, who is only after his personal convenience and nothing else, is surely after a job, a position. Can I find a position in the Philippine Government and in the gift of the Filipino people higher than that of President of the Senate, the highest position to which a Filipino could be sent by his countrymen? If I wanted to perpetuate myself in power, is there anything

^{4/} Speech, "My Loyalty to My Party Ends...", February 18, 1922. In: De la Llaneta and Icasiano, op. cit., p. 3, Also in Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 577.

^{5/} Ibid.

^{6/} Ibid. Rivera Collection, supra, pp. 580-581.

better for me than to remain in the Nacionalista Party?

But no! I prefer to take the risky side. I prefer to be in a new party that must be organized, that will mean sacrifice, work, fight. And the same is true with those who are with me. There is nothing more comfortable for them than to remain in a powerful position. One should not belong to a party only to occupy a position. He should be a member of a party to defend the ideals of that party, and then occupy a position so that he may be able to better defend the ideals of the party by means of his position. ⁷

GOVERNMENT BY OPINION EXISTS IN PHILIPPINES, ASSERTS QUEZON

One of the greatest arguments used against us by our American critics is that we do not have here a government of opinion. But is there a more conclusive proof of the fact that there is public opinion here than the present triumph of the collective principle of leadership? Is there one who doubts that this question has already been decided by the people?

When this question was discussed for the first time, almost all the papers, with very few exceptions, were in favor of the Unipersonal theory and against the Collective principle. What was the effect on the people? Nothing, absolutely nothing. The people decided for themselves. And this shows beyond the shadow of a doubt that here we have public opinion, courageous, independent, unbiased. Those who have followed this question with interest must have seen that the Filipino people is interested in matters that vitally affect its government, and that it is capable of forming its own opinion, without need of tutors or mentors. ⁸

COLLECTIVISTS' WAR CRY: PEOPLE'S INTERESTS ABOVE PARTY INTERESTS!

The most propitious occasion has come when all political parties in the Philippines can show with deeds and not with words that there is something in which they can all be, and are in fact, united. That something is when it comes to fighting for our independence, and also when it is necessary to defend the integrity of the popular autonomy provided by the Jones Act.

And to conclude, allow me to remind you on this occasion when we are met for the first time in a convention that when we entered the political arena, our war cry was: "Loyalty to party ends where it begins to be, in our belief, incompatible with loyalty to the country," which means that the Collectivista Party places, and will always place, the interests of the people above the interests of the party. ⁹

COLLECTIVISTAS COMMITTED TO DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES

We should also reaffirm our adhesion and loyalty to the democratic

7/ Ibid. Rivera Collection, supra, p. 579.

8/ Ibid.

9/ Speech, "People's Interests Above Party's Interests," October 8, 1922. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 719.

principles that we proclaimed when we organized our party and with which we entered the political arena. We want to assure the people that our conduct in the government shall be inspired by those principles and that all our steps shall tend towards placing our republic, once our independence has been attained, on a basis of sane and true democracy, which is what we understand by Collectivism. 10

COLLECTIVISTS FOR INDEPENDENCE WITHOUT ANY PRECONDITION

We cannot admit that as a condition precedent to the grant of our independence there must be assurance that we shall be free from all foreign aggression, or that universal peace shall have been established, or that our electorate should be controlled by our youth educated in the public schools.

* * * *

Any one of those conditions means a step backward in the cause that we have been fighting for - our emancipation. The Jones Act established one condition only: the establishment of a stable government. And our people have amply fulfilled that condition. To agree to another now is to perpetuate the sovereignty of the United States in the Philippines, because with such a procedure, after the fulfillment of that condition, another one can be required of us and so on indefinitely. 11

QUEZON DEFINES PRIMARY DUTY OF NACIONALISTA-COLECTIVISTA PARTY

The primary duty, the greatest and most sacred duty, of our party is to reaffirm our faith in the inalienable right of the Filipino people to be independent and in its capacity to govern itself - that faith for which the most precious lives of the land have been sacrificed. And in thus making this profession of faith, we should affirm our determination to continue to fight, each time with greater vigor, for the realization of the supreme aspiration of our party, the restoration of the Philippine Republic. 12

20. C O L O N I A L M E N T A L I T Y

MLQ HITS COLONIALISTS WHO REFUSE TO ADMIT REALITY OF SELF-RULE

There are certain elements in the community who have always been not only against Philippine independence, but also against the grant of autonomous authority to the people of these Islands. These elements, I regret to say, seem to refuse to abide by the sovereign will of the American people as expressed by Congress, and they refuse to admit in their mind that a change in government, not only in form but also in substance, has taken place in the Philippines. These elements, despite the clear provisions of the Independence Act to the contrary,

10/ Ibid., p. 717.

11/ Ibid.

12/ Ibid.

still insist that the High Commissioner is in fact the Government of the Commonwealth. They forget, or their reactionary mind cannot grasp the fact, that if what they believe or want to believe, is true, the reflection would not be against the Filipino people, but rather against the American Government and the American people themselves, for the reason that if in truth the real Government of the Philippines was the High Commissioner, as obtains in other colonies elsewhere, America could not claim any credit for what she has done in the Philippines. On the contrary, her whole policy in the Islands would be one of hypocrisy and sham. ¹

QUEZON EXPLAINS COLONIAL BACKGROUND OF ACCRUED LEAVE

I have the honor to recommend to you (gentlemen of the National Assembly - ABS) the immediate abolition of the accrued leave for officers and employees of the Philippine Government, including the additional leave for justices of the Supreme Court and the extended leave for judges of the Court of Appeals and Courts of First Instance and teachers. Such leave privileges only exist in colonial governments where they are adopted mainly for the benefit and convenience of officials and employees who came from the governing country. They were instituted here at the time when the great majority of the positions in the Philippine Government were occupied by Americans and the belief was prevalent that white men could not live in the tropics continuously for a long period of time without causing serious detriment to their health, thus necessitating their occasional visits to the United States or other temperate countries. With the establishment of the Commonwealth Government, the different positions of which are, with very rare exceptions, occupied by Filipino officers and employees, the reason for the continuance of the said leave privilege has disappeared.

* * * *

I recommend that the vacation leave of said officers and employees be increased to fifteen days yearly, and, in addition, a sick leave of not exceeding fifteen days per year be granted. Both vacation and sick leave should be made cumulative while the officer or employee remains in the service, the maximum length of time to accumulate in favor of any officer or employee not to exceed five months.

21. C O M M O N M A N

COMMON MAN ALONE CAN SAVE WORLD FROM DISASTER, SAYS QUEZON

We are living today amidst the storm and stress of one of the most tragic epochs of history. Acute unemployment and economic distress threaten the stability of governments the world over. The very foundations of civilized society are

^{1/} Press statement denying the report in the Manila Daily Bulletin that the U.S. High Commissioner has turned down the proposal to float bonds in the Philippines for public works projects, August 3, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 446.

^{2/} Message to the First National Assembly, October 22, 1936. Ibid., p. 345.

shaken. The common man alone can save humanity from disaster. It is our duty to prove to him that under a republican system of government he can have every opportunity to attain his happiness and that of his family. Protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, just regulation of the relations between labor and capital in industry and agriculture, solicitous regard on the part of the government for the well-being of the masses are the means to bring about the needed economic and social equilibrium between the component elements of society. ¹

PRESIDENT PLEDGES SOCIAL SECURITY FOR COMMON MAN

We shall maintain a progressive system of compensation in case of accident and we shall try to adopt a plan for the protection of the laborer against disease, unemployment and old age by means of social insurance. ²

MLQ SAYS COMMON MAN'S OPINION IS HONEST, HELPFUL

The Filipino common tao's information may be limited, but his opinion is honest. After all, if we want to run this country intelligently, we must respect the opinion of our decent citizens. ³

CHIEF EXECUTIVE PREFERS HEART-TO-HEART TALK, IGNORES RESOLUTIONS

I would rather talk to them (the people) face to face than see them pass resolutions. I pay little attention to these resolutions; I do not believe in them, no matter how well-worded they may be. ⁴

PRESIDENT'S GOAL: HIGH LIVING STANDARD, JUSTICE FOR COMMON MAN

Our immediate task at hand is the raising of the standard of living of the common man and, above all, to secure justice for him - justice from the Executive, justice from the Legislature, justice from the Courts, justice from society, justice from his fellowmen. ⁵

QUEZON VOWS TO GIVE SOCIAL JUSTICE TO COMMON "TAO"

I come from the masses. My ancestors were of the poor class. I am not afraid nor ashamed to confess that my heart beats in unison with the hearts of the needy and for them. Justice shall be done to the poor and the humble in this country so long as I am the President. I am determined to fight for the rights of everyone, rich and poor alike, but more particularly for those who are unable to pay handsomely for expensive lawyers. And let it be known that I shall use all the powers of my office to win this fight. ⁶

1/ Inaugural address, November 15, 1935. QP, MR440, TNL.

2/ Speech on social justice, 1935, n.d.m. Ibid.

3/ Statement at a press conference, August 27, 1937. Ibid.

4/ Ibid.

5/ Speech at the National Assembly, 1937. n.d.m. Ibid.

6/ Speech on the principles of law and justice, at the University of Sto. Tomas, October 2, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 152.

CEDULA TAX ABOLITION AN ACT OF JUSTICE TO COMMON "TAO"

At your first regular session (referring to the First National Assembly - ABS), I did not think it wise to recommend the repeal of the cedula tax law for we were unprepared to cover the loss of revenue that the provinces and municipalities would have suffered thereby. Now, however, we can safely abolish the cedula tax, and do an act of justice to our laboring classes - thus closing also forever a chapter in the history of taxation in our country, that brought no honor to the government, and caused untold hardships to the majority of our people. ⁷

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY COMMENDED FOR CEDULA TAX ABOLITION

I desire to congratulate you (the members of the National Assembly - ABS) on the enactment of this bill, which I am about to sign, abolishing the cedula tax. This is a tax which has been borne by our people for centuries. It has caused untold hardships on those who earn hardly enough to make their living and it constituted one of the serious grievances of our people against the Spanish government. ⁸

CEDULA TAX ABOLITION ONE OF MAJOR AIMS OF REVOLUTION

The younger generation who have been reared in an atmosphere of ease and comfort will not understand the real reason for the abolition of the cedula tax, but we, who suffered during the Spanish regime and are still living, remember that our chief complaint arose from the payment of the cedula tax. One of the promises of our leaders of the Revolution was to abolish the cedula should they win. We triumphed against the Spaniards, but the cedula was not abolished; it was only decreased slightly. It should have been abolished long ago, but the plan was not carried out for want of a remedial substitute. Now we know where to get that substitute, and what the people will get today is the relief they will get from the abolition of the cedula. ⁹

ALL PAYS TRIBUTE TO TILLER OF SOIL IN FIRST RICE PLANTING DAY

There is no man in our country more honorable than the tiller of the soil. No country will be economically sound, and its inhabitants contented and happy, if the men do not love the soil and do not know how to till it. The stability of the nation is dependent upon the soil tillers, and the power of a country rests upon the zeal of its citizens. Hence, we should celebrate Rice Planting Day, and more than this, we should learn the history and ponder upon the importance of palay as well as the dignity of the man planting the rice. ¹⁰

- 7/ Message to the First National Assembly on the abolition of the cedula tax, November 1, 1937. Ibid., p. 243.
- 8/ Speech on the signing of the bill abolishing the cedula tax, November 15, 1937. Ibid., p. 172.
- 9/ Ibid., p. 176.
- 10/ Speech at the first Rice Planting Day celebration, Buenavista Estate, San Ildefonso, Bulacan, July 9, 1939. Quezon Messages. Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 142.

WITHOUT FARMERS COUNTRY WILL DIE OF HUNGER - QUEZON

The farmer is the only one that gives us all our necessities in life. The moment we are bereft of farm workers, then however large our domain, or rich we are or numerous our lawyers, presidents and doctors, we shall die of hunger; we shall not amount to anything.

Evidently, the very source of our livelihood is the farmers and not merely the land which, if neglected by us, will not produce anything except thorny weeds that would hurt our feet. ¹¹

COMMON "TAO" GETS SOCIAL JUSTICE ONLY UNDER COMMONWEALTH

We have been under the American administration. I will not speak now of the Spanish regime because that already belongs to history. We have been, I repeat, under the Americans for 40 years. But when did the common tao receive the protection of the government if not only upon the establishment of the Commonwealth? You heard American governors-general charge the cacique of abusing his power, but they were merely denouncing the political bosses, not the economic bosses whom they never went after.

When did Juan de la Cruz ever have any chance at social justice if not only upon the establishment of the Commonwealth? Under the American rule, a law in this country authorized the imprisonment of the kasama who left his landlord while still pecuniarily obligated to the latter. But it was Manuel L. Quezon, let me tell you, who did away with that law. ¹²

THE PAST CAN'T OFFER SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS OF COMMON MAN

We can get nowhere if we are incapable of understanding the problems of our day. The past can teach us very little in the discharge of the great responsibilities of the future, for the past is the history of the exploitation of man by the powerful or by the rich.

And if we are going to be bound by the dogmas of the past as to what is due the common man, we shall soon be bidding goodbye to the past. ¹³

22. C O M M O N W E A L T H

NEW COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT BEFORE INDEPENDENCE

A new government is about to be established, a government destined to constitute the last rung of the ladder to our final emancipation. ¹

11/ Speech in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, July 16, 1939. Ibid., p. 152.

12/ Speech on civil liberties at the inter-university oratorical contest, held under the auspices of the Civil Liberties Union, Ateneo auditorium, December 9, 1939. Ibid., p. 223.

13/ Speech at the open forum of the U.P. Alumni Association, August 7, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2240.

1/ Opening address to the Senate, July 16, 1934. QP, MR#36, TNL.

MEANING OF RATIFICATION OF COMMONWEALTH CONSTITUTION

The popular ratification of the Commonwealth Constitution is a distinct triumph of democracy and a recognition of our right to shape our own destinies. ²

COMMONWEALTH IS MOST UNIQUE EXPERIMENT IN CIVILIZATION

With the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines the great American nation is about to bring to a close the most unique experiment in the annals of colonization, and the Filipino people are embarking on that great adventure which they ardently hope will lead them to eventual nationhood. This is the most vital episode in the political history of our country. ³

QUEZON CITES MURPHY'S KEY ROLE IN SETTING UP COMMONWEALTH

He (Frank Murphy) has brought to that exalted post proven ability, tact and character. To him we owe much for the laying down of the constitutional foundations of the Commonwealth in an expeditious and orderly fashion. Without his wise counsel and continued support, our new government might not yet have been inaugurated, nor would such inauguration been held under so favorable auspices. We are indebted to him also for the high standards of efficiency and integrity which he upheld in the government, for his interest in awakening the public conscience to the most elemental claims of social justice, and for the examples in simple living and public spiritedness which he has given us since his assumption of the duties of Governor-General. ⁴

COMMONWEALTH HAS BEST DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT - MLQ

We have the best government in the Philippines and, believe it or not, the best democratic government in the world. I have to say democratic because our government is subject to constitutional limitations. ⁵

COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT IN A NUTSHELL

The government we have now in the Philippines has a constitution of its own, framed and adopted by Filipinos, approved by the President of the United States, and then, in a plebiscite, approved by the entire electorate of the Philippines. ⁶

WHY THERE CAN BE NO CONFLICT BETWEEN QUEZON AND MCNUTT

There can be no possible conflict between the High Commissioner and

- 2/ Speech on the ratification of the Commonwealth Constitution, 1934, n.d.m. QP, MR#36, TNL.
- 3/ Press statement on the establishment of the Philippine Commonwealth, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.
- 4/ Speech in honor of U.S. High Commissioner Frank Murphy, January 14, 1936. Ibid 31, TNL.
- 5/ Press conference at Malacañan, May 8, 1936. Ibid 32, TNL.
- 6/ Speech at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, February 20, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

myself. The Independence Act defines the prerogatives and functions of one, and the powers and duties of the others. The High Commissioner is the representative in the Philippines of the President of the United States, and the President of the United States may delegate to him such powers as under the law he (the President) is authorized to delegate. As the representative of the President of the United States, the High Commissioner naturally takes precedence over the President of the Philippines, even though they are of equal rank.

On the other hand, the powers and duties of the President of the Philippines are clearly defined in the Independence Act and in the Constitution of the Commonwealth, framed and adopted in pursuance of the authority conferred by the American Congress upon the Filipino people, and that Constitution has been duly approved by the President of the United States. The President of the Philippines is the head of State. He is the Chief Executive of the Government of the Commonwealth and the executive powers are vested in him. The Government of the Commonwealth is not an independent government. Every official of this Government, from the President of the Commonwealth down to the last policeman and messenger, in fact every Filipino citizen, owes allegiance to the United States... 7

QUEZON POINTS OUT UNTENABLE SET-UP UNDER COMMONWEALTH

There is another vital reason why the date for the granting of independence should be advanced. The present political set-up is untenable in that while America retains her sovereign authority over the Philippines, she, at the same time, has placed in the hands of the Filipino people the responsibility for laying down the foundation and erecting the structure of the Philippine Republic. The continuance of her sovereignty over the Philippines imposes upon America obligations that she cannot shirk, and, correspondingly, it gives her rights that are incompatible with the free exercise of our judgment as to the best means that we should adopt to prepare ourselves for an independent national existence... 8

POWERS GRANTED TO COMMONWEALTH GOVERNMENT LIMITED

Upon the establishment of the Government of the Commonwealth, however, the situation has changed materially. By an act of Congress, we were given power to create our own government, controlled and managed by us, under a Constitution of our own making. It was the plain purpose of the Congressional enactment that the Filipino people, who were to become automatically independent in 1946, would, during the Commonwealth period, take such steps as in their opinion would best insure the stability and success of the Philippine Republic. Yet, the powers

7/ Speech on the purpose of his trip to the United States and relations with the High Commissioner, delivered at the popular banquet in his honor, Rizal Memorial Stadium, August 20, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 112.

8/ Message on the improvement of Philippine conditions, Philippine Independence, and relations with the American High Commissioner, October 18, 1937. Ibid., p. 216.

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granted to the Government of the Commonwealth in the most essential functions of government, such as those affecting tariff, currency, finance, immigration, or those which in any way might involve the international obligations of the United States, etc. were subject to the ultimate approval of, or revocation by, the President of the United States. 9

COMMONWEALTH FACES UNCERTAIN FUTURE - QUEZON

No serious-minded person will fail to see the grave problems confronting our people in the task of preparing the country for an independent national existence. The world is in a state of turmoil; political and social conditions are unsettled; governments are suspicious of one another and a feeling of uncertainty for the future permeates the whole human race. 10

COMMONWEALTH ACTIVITIES EXPANDED TO SERVE PEOPLE

We completed the organization of the Commonwealth Government as contemplated by the Constitution. The new government has functioned satisfactorily, and its varied activities have been extended in order better to serve the needs of the people and to promote their welfare. 11

23. CONCEPT OF DUTY

DUTY IS TO APPLY PRINCIPLES REGARDLESS OF WHO GETS HURT

Our government cannot be successfully carried on unless you have principles and you apply them to everybody regardless of personal considerations. Such is hard... for sometimes by declaring these principles and enforcing them, I deprive even my friends of my help. It hurts me to do so; but those are the penalties of office, the penalties of duty, to do things that may hurt you.

It will take generations before we can accustom our people to see that

9/ Ibid., pp. 216-217.

10/ Remarks on the appointment of Francis B. Sayre as new U. S. High Commissioner to the Philippines, July 27, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

11/ Message to the Second National Assembly, January 31, 1941. QP, MR#44, TNL.

the government has nothing to do with relatives and friends. ¹

NOT "MABUHAY SI QUEZON!" BUT DO YOUR DUTY AS FILIPINO CITIZENS

In his introductory remarks, the governor said that the people of Cebu are 100 per cent pro-Quezon. Well, I want to tell you that there is only one way to show me that you are 100 per cent with me; not by shouting "Mabuhay si Quezon!" (Long live Quezon!); not by applauding Quezon; not by giving Quezon a warm reception as you are giving him now; not even voting for Quezon, but by performing faithfully your duties as Filipino citizens and by doing your obligations as officials of the province. (Applause.) You can show me that you, whose duty is to administer justice, are pro-Quezon by doing justice to everybody. ²

QUEZON DELIVERS STERN WARNING TO PAMPANGA, TARLAC MAYORS

I wish to make it plain that my administration will do all it can to redress the grievances of the workers on the farm, but at the same time I will not tolerate any breach of the peace, especially on the part of subversive agitators who are misleading the ignorant.

I also wish to remind the town mayors of Tarlac and Pampanga that it is their duty and responsibility not only to maintain peace and order at all costs, but also to carry out the policies of my administration.

If I am not able to govern through elective mayors, I shall have to do so through appointive ones. The responsibility of governing is mine and no one else's. We have a Constitution that gives me power to govern and I do not want anybody to misinterpret this.

(Earlier, Quezon said: My first mission as the Chief Executive of this country is to maintain peace and order. And I will maintain peace and order if I have to order the killing of some people to do so.) ³

NOT JOB BUT MANNER YOU HANDLE IT IS IMPORTANT - QUEZON

The hope or ambition to improve, or the hope to achieve improvement, is one of the most powerful human incentives which could make a man do his work well.

Always try to be the best treasurer. Don't be satisfied with being rated as a second-class treasurer, regardless of the class or the category of the province where you are; be a first class treasurer for a first class treasurer can fit in, in any situation.

Only a small man is preoccupied with the question of whether his job is big or small. It is not what you think about the importance of your job, but

^{1/} Speech before provincial treasurers, Malacanan, February 22, 1938.
Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, pp. 1704-1705.

^{2/} Speech at the inauguration of the provincial capitol of Cebu, Cebu City, June 14, 1938. *Ibid.*, p. 1802.

^{3/} Speech before municipal mayors of Tarlac and Pampanga in San Fernando, June 1, 1938. *Ibid.*, p. 1758.

your manner of performing your duty that will impress the people. ⁴

LEARNING TO PRODUCE SOMETHING FOR THEMSELVES AND COUNTRY

We want to establish a secondary instruction that will be useful to the boy and girl who receives it. Our aim is to increase the people who make their living by producing something that will enrich both themselves and their country.

In Japan every man and woman is taught some industry in the school. If a Japanese works in the farm, he makes good because he learns what he is doing. If a carpenter, the Japanese turns out to be an efficient one because he studies the technique in school.

If we could teach the Filipinos how to fish we could make this country very rich just from our fish resources. You find out how much a Japanese makes when he goes out fishing, and you will discover to your amazement that he makes more money than a poor Filipino lawyer.

This is the policy that we will adopt. We will teach our countrymen to be good fishermen, good carpenters, good farmers, and good producers, to enable them to make more money than the ordinary lawyer. ⁵

24. C O N S T I T U T I O N

CONSTITUTION THAT WILL STAND TEST OF TIME

The organization of the Constitutional Convention has been practically non-partisan and its work done free from partisanship and with but one end in view - to provide the Commonwealth and later the Philippine Republic with a Constitution that will stand the test of time and will promote the progress and general welfare of our people and secure to them and their posterity the blessings of independence under a regime of justice, liberty and democracy. ¹

BELIEF IN PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO RULE ENSHRINED IN CONSTITUTION

I look upon the Constitution of the Philippines as the expression of the sovereignty and of the aggregate will of the Filipino people. I shall abide by its provisions. I shall uphold the democratic principle underlying the institutions that it establishes. I am opposed to dictatorship. I maintain that no man who believes in a dictatorship can, with safety, be entrusted with the reins of executive power under our Constitution. Democracy can only survive if those at the helm of the government believe in the people's right to rule and have faith in their inherent capacity to decide rightly important public questions. ²

⁴ Speech before provincial treasurers, Malacanan, February 22, 1938. *Ibid.*, p. 1704.

⁵ Speech, "New Policy of Education, Public Works, and Clean and Honest Government," in Tacloban, Leyte, June 10, 1938. *Ibid.*, p. 1777.

¹ Speech before Constitutional Convention, 1934, n.d.m. *QP*, MR#36, TNL.

² Speech accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 235.

1934-1935 CON-COM MOST INSPIRING SPECTACLE

It was the most inspiring spectacle to see men from every nook and corner of the Philippines acting so unitedly and in such a harmonious and friendly atmosphere. It was evident that every man in the Constitutional Convention was only inspired by the loftiest ideals and noblest purposes. ³

KNOWLEDGE OF CONSTITUTION VITAL TO OUR NATIONAL LIFE

Knowledge of the fundamental law of the land is vitally important in the life of an individual. Only through a thorough understanding of its provisions can a citizen live to the fullest degree of freedom. It is necessary that the people at all times should be behind their Constitution both in its letter and spirit and be ever vigilant so that no human conspiracy may defeat its aim or dodge its purpose.

This is the appropriate time to familiarize our people with the Constitution which, if properly used, will ensure and safeguard their freedom, happiness and prosperity. ⁴

PRESIDENT MUST ENFORCE CONSTITUTION TO FULLEST EXTENT

Upon the President of the Philippines is placed the sole responsibility of determining how long should compliance with the letter and spirit of the basic provisions of the Constitution be suspended. As soon as the President shall have found that such application shall not result to the detriment of the public interest, it becomes his plain duty to enforce the Constitution to the fullest extent. ⁵

PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION DEPOSITORY OF PEOPLE'S RIGHTS

The Constitution of a nation is the depository of the rights of the people. It is the foundation of all constitutional forms of government. So long as the letter of the Constitution is strictly adhered to, so long also may the people rest assured that their constitutional rights are properly protected. A deviation from the letter and spirit of the Constitution is a violation of the faith of the people reposed in their constitutional representatives. ⁶

ROLE OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE UNDER CONSTITUTION EXPLAINED

The Constitution of the Philippines is an improvement upon the Constitution of the United States, but in its essential characteristic is patterned after that

- 3/ Press statement on the completion of the work of the Constitutional Convention, February, n.d., 1935. QP, MR#38, TNL.
- 4/ Message for the Sons and Daughters of the National Civic League, October 23, 1935. Ibid.
- 5/ Letter to Hon. Pedro Magsalin, chairman, Judiciary Committee, National Assembly, December 18, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 44.
- 6/ Ibid.

Constitution. The governmental powers are vested in three coordinate and independent branches of the government: the executive, the legislative and the judiciary. All the executive powers are vested in the Chief Executive; the legislative powers, in the National Assembly; and the judicial powers, in the Judiciary. The executive power is one and indivisible and resides in the person elected by the people to be at the head of the nation. He and he alone is responsible for the faithful execution of the laws and for the administration of the affairs of the government. ⁷

FEBRUARY 8TH PROCLAIMED AS PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION DAY

"Whereas, this Constitution embodies the ideals of liberty and democracy of the Filipino people; expresses their love of peace and order, education, and progress; establishes the necessary safeguards for individual rights; insures the formation of a citizenry conscious of its solemn responsibilities to the State; secures the conservation of the patrimony of the nation; provides for the defense of the national territory, and guarantees a regime of equality and justice under a government republican in form and in fact; and

"Whereas, it is necessary to inculcate in the minds of the citizens of the Philippines - especially upon the youth - the great principles and sound precepts proclaimed and ordained in the Constitution, to the end that the sense of dignity and national consciousness may ever be alive in their hearts, and that they may be accustomed to the rules and practices of democracy and to respect institutions, for upon the fulfillment of these purposes depend the maintenance of national sovereignty and the success of constitutional government established in this country for the progress and well-being of its inhabitants."⁸

QUEZON VOWS TO UPHOLD LETTER AND SPIRIT OF CONSTITUTION

I deem it the duty of the Chief Executive, and in fact of every one of the three branches of this government, as well as of every official thereof, to carry out and execute faithfully not only the letter but also the spirit of the Constitution, and whenever there is a slightest doubt as to the scope of any of its provisions, to resolve that in favor of the plain intent, or the known intent, of the makers of the Constitution... I am positive that the Constitutional Assembly wanted to reserve to the State the ownership of all mines of every kind in the Philippines and that they would have given retroactive effect to that provision, even in the case of mines which have been patented, had they been sure that this could be done without violating well-known and accepted principles and rules regarding property and vested rights in a society, generally known as capitalistic.⁹

- 1/ Report on the Constitution of the Philippines, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.
- 2/ Proclamation No. 36 declaring February 8th of each year as Constitution Day, February 7, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEP, p. 498.
- 3/ Letter to Judge Clyde A. DeWitt on the disposition of certain mining claims, September 26, 1936. Ibid., p. 448A.

VESTED RIGHTS UPHELD IN PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION

It is because every member of the Constitutional Assembly believed in property rights as one of the basic foundations of organized society and enlightened government, that every section in the Constitution which deals with property, whether belonging to the State or to an individual, contains a saving clause that vested rights be respected. ¹⁰

CONTENTS ON RIGHTS GRANTED OR NOT BY CONSTITUTION

Neither the Executive nor the Legislative department of this government desires to deprive anybody of rights granted him by the Constitution. But neither the Executive nor the Legislative department of this government, I hold, ought to recognize or grant rights which the Constitution did not intend to grant. ¹¹

RESPECT VESTED RIGHTS AS LONG AS CHARTER SAYS SO

I want the Supreme Court to have an opportunity to determine who have acquired vested rights under the Constitution and unless the Supreme Court has determined that, I want the government expeditiously to carry out the purpose of the Constitution and to grant rights which have been recognized in the Constitution as vested rights. ¹²

REASON TO USE OWN CONSCIENCE IN INTERPRETING CONSTITUTION

As the Chief Executive of this nation, the man who by virtue of his oath is duty bound to execute the Constitution, I use my own mind and my knowledge of the law, in a case where I form my own opinion as to what the Constitution is. I am going to comply with the Constitution in accordance with my opinion. I am the supreme arbiter of my conscience and, therefore, I am not going to accept the opinion of my legal adviser. ¹³

1935 PHILIPPINE CONSTITUTION ONE OF BEST IN WORLD - MLQ

The Constitution is the fundamental law of the land and it must have a greater degree of stability than an ordinary law. But a constitution is not a sacred document that may not be amended. No constitution has been dictated by an Almighty God. Every constitution is the work of men and all constitution/s more or less have some defects. The Constitution of the Philippines is one of the best constitution/s written in modern times. ¹⁴

CONSTITUTION RENOUNCES WAR AS INSTRUMENT OF NATIONAL POLICY

Our Constitution is inspired by a spirit of sound nationalism, and we

^{10/} Ibid., p. 448B.

^{11/} Ibid.

^{12/} Speech at a conference with the Solicitor General and other public prosecutors, September 10, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

^{13/} Ibid.

^{14/} Untitled speech, 1938, n.d.n. QP, MR#41, TNL.

should endeavor properly to comprehend this spirit and to adhere to it in the formulation of our national policies.

It is significant that at the beginning our Constitution declares that the Philippines renounces war as an instrument of national policy, and adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as a part of the law of our nation. ¹⁵

NOT IMMUTABLE, CONSTITUTION MUST CHANGE WITH THE TIMES

The Constitution is the highest expression of the people's will. It is the supreme law of the land and the organic law of the state. It lays down the framework of the whole government. Unlike ordinary legislation, it must be considered as of a permanent character and should not be subjected to whimsical changes of the public mind.

But while the Constitution should not be amended unless there are strong reasons demanding such action, it would be the height of unwisdom to attach to that instrument the character of immutability which is generally attributed to the laws of the Medes and the Persians.

Social and political conditions are dynamic and a constitution, like a living organism, must be adapted to the changing social and political order. The essence of constitutional government in a democracy is not that the Constitution remains the same for all time, but that all constitutional changes should be effected only in the manner prescribed by the Constitution itself. ¹⁶

25. D E M O C R A C Y

SPIRIT OF DEMOCRACY, YES - IF AMERICANS WILL PRACTICE IT!

There is only one thing we have in common with the United States and its people - the conception of democracy. Both peoples love freedom and liberty. Our children studying in the public schools are imbibing the American sentiment of democracy, liberty and freedom. They are learning the very sentiments the Americans have inherited from their forefathers, the men who shed their blood on the battlefield for these principles. These we have in common with the citizens of that great Republic, but this union is a union of spirit and will never be realized if these principles are not put into practice by those from whom we have learned them. ¹

^{15/} Speech on peace, social and economic security of nations, University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

^{16/} Speech at the special session of the National Assembly, August 13, 1939. Ibid.

^{1/} Speech, "Conception of Democracy," in the Senate, January 18, 1921. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 549.

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^{16/} Speech at the special session of the National Assembly, August 13, 1939. Ibid.

^{1/} Speech, "Conception of Democracy," in the Senate, January 18, 1921. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 549.

QUEZON CITES TWO INTERESTING FORMS OF GOVERNMENT

Laws do not make a government democratic or autocratic... We have England for example; while there is a king and it is a monarchy, yet the workings of its government are democratic. And we have, on the other hand, some Latin American countries where their government can be summarized in three points:

- 1) The government resides in the people; 2) the people delegate their power to a President; and 3) the President does what he pleases. ²

MAJORITY ANSWERABLE TO THEIR CONSCIENCE ALONE

The choice of its leaders is purely a matter of confidence and trust on the part of the majority in the leader that it chooses; therefore, said majority is not answerable to anybody for ~~choosing this or that man~~ choosing this or that man as its leader, except to its own conscience. Is one's own conscience insufficient restraint in the exercise of one's powers? What better judge can a man have but his own conscience? Have things come to such a pass that now we even berate the value of conscience? ³

VITAL ROLE OF PRESS IN VIABLE DEMOCRACIES

In democracies the press constitutes a vital factor for the dissemination of news and discussion of public questions. Whether a newspaper or a weekly supports or attacks an administration, provided it tries to be fair, it always renders a good service to the community. ⁴

SOUND PUBLIC OPINION SAFEGUARD OF DEMOCRACY

I believe in the cultivation of sound public opinion and I am convinced that nothing can substitute this opinion as a factor for good government and as a safeguard for democracy. ⁵

RESPECT FOR LAW STARTING POINT OF DEMOCRACY

Reverence for law as the expression of the popular will is the starting point in a democracy. The maintenance of peace and public order is the joint obligation of the government and the citizen. I have an abiding faith in the good sense of the people and in their respect for law and the constituted authority.

QUEZON IS DETERMINED TO ESTABLISH VIABLE DEMOCRACY IN PHILIPPINES

Our purpose is clear. We want to establish in the Philippines a government in accordance with the Independence Law, and in accordance with ^{the} mandates of our

2/ Loyalty to Party speech. De la Llana and Icasiano, op. cit., p. 9

3/ Speech at the Senate, August 1, 1933. QP, MR/34, TNL.

4/ Message for Talutant magazine, August 7, 1935. QP, MR/38, TNL.

5/ Message in ^{the} Philippine Herald Commonwealth Inauguration Supplement, November 7, 1935. Ibid.

6/ Inaugural address, November 15, 1935, Quezon Messages. Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 13.

own Constitution. And I want to add this: It is my ambition to see that a democracy such as is contemplated in our Constitution and in the Act of Congress can be made just as efficient as any autocracy or dictatorship; and that a democracy can run a government like a business concern. ⁷

LET'S SHOW DEMOCRACY CAN BE AS EFFICIENT AS DICTATORSHIP

In our day and generation democracy, as an effective system of government, is being challenged. Let this new democracy of ours show to the world that democracy can be as efficient as a dictatorship, without trespassing upon individual liberty and the sacred rights of the people. ⁸

DEMOCRACY IS DOOMED WHEN PEOPLE LOSE FAITH IN PUBLIC OFFICIALS

Democracy is doomed to failure whenever people feel no respect for their own representatives in the government. And it should be remembered that it is less a reflection upon the officials themselves as it is upon the electorate, if the character of said representatives is not what it should be, for it is the electorate that choose them. Public officials deserve more respect and deference from the people in a democracy than in any other form of government, for the authority of these officials emanates from the people themselves. ⁹

BAD SOLONS PLACE FUTURE OF DEMOCRACY HERE IN DOUBT

I see with misgivings indications that we are beginning, to follow the practice in other countries of speaking disparagingly of the members of the legislative branch of the government. It does not bid fair of the future of democracy in the Philippines if we were to adopt this practice (of assemblymen receiving the allowance for their clerks - ABS), and it is time that we should call a halt thereto, if it is our conviction that democracy is the best form of government so far devised by human ingenuity, and it is our desire to perpetuate it in our country, Let the people be jealous and vigilant of the conduct of their public servants. Let them bring to the bar of justice or of public opinion every official or employee who falls short of the requirements of his position. But so long as these officials and employees are equal to their trust, they deserve every consideration from the public. ¹⁰

TRUE DEMOCRACY RESTS ON ENLIGHTENED CITIZENRY

True democracy must find assurance of stability in an enlightened citizenry. . . . We have come to realize only too well that a nation convulsed in hate and torn by internecine dissensions and civil strife accomplishes nothing but its own degradation and ultimate destruction. ¹¹

7/ Speech before the Manila Rotary Club, June 4, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, . . . , JBVEP, p. 104.

8/ Message to the National Assembly.. Ibid., p. 181.

9/ Letter to Speaker Gil Montilla of the First National Assembly, July 28, 1936. Ibid., pp. 213-214.

10/ Ibid., p. 214.

11/ Speech on the first anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1936. OP, MN 36, 1

DUTY OF MAJORITY TO HELP OPPOSITION GROW

It is the duty of the majority to pave the way for this new opposition and to place in its hands the instruments by which it can foster its growth through lawful procedures. 12

PHILIPPINES MUST BE A DEMOCRACY AS PER CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE

We are engaged in the building of a new nation. We have created a new government which under the Act of the U.S. Congress that gave us the authority therefore has to be democratic and the Constitution we have framed for this new government conforms to this constitutional injunction.

We must always have in mind that we are building the Filipino nation and are establishing Philippine democracy. 13

VIABLE DEMOCRACY NEEDS FREE SPEECH, CLEAN ELECTIONS

In a democracy the important thing is the free expression of the will of the people, and we should see to it that our elections are clean. . . But the form of democracy is not so important. What is important is that form of democracy best adapted to the idiosyncracies and the needs of the people; that form of democracy that has been tested from time immemorial and found successful. 14

POSSIBLE TO HAVE FAIR, EFFICIENT GOVERNMENT IN A DEMOCRACY

I want to prove to the world that in a democracy it is possible to have a fair and just government without any consideration of politics. And let every official of the government beware of his conduct, for he who does not cooperate with me in my desire to show that democracy can be efficient and fair will suffer for it.

WE FILIPINOS BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY - QUEZON

We in the Philippines believe in democracy. We say that the human mind has not been able to conceive a better form of government than the government of the people, by the people and for the people; and so we are determined that as long as we are permitted to have the government that we want to have, we are going to have democratic institutions in our country. 16

MANY FREE MEN IN A DEMOCRACY ARE UNCONVICTED CRIMINALS

In a democracy a man may be convicted for violating the law, a written law, and yet not necessarily be a criminal. . . One may be free walking in the street without having entered the jail and yet be a real criminal. 17

- 12/ Speech at the convention of the Coalesced Parties, Sept. 19, 1937. QP, MR:39, TN.
- 13/ Speech on Philippine Democracy, October 27, 1937. Ibid.
- 14/ Untitled speech, 1938, n.d.m. QP, MR:41, TNL.
- 15/ Speech in Catbalogan, Samar, June 10, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVEFF, p. 82.
- 16/ Untitled speech, 1938, n.d.m. QP, MR:41, TNL.
- 17/ Speech before the U.P. Alumni Association and the U.P. student body, 1938. n.d.m. Ibid.

POLITICAL PARTIES MERELY SEQUENCE OF A DEMOCRACY - QUEZON

It is a mistake to believe that the existence of political parties in a democracy is necessary. It is a mistake to assume that political parties are essential to a democracy... I do not know of any democracy where there^e are no political parties, but political parties are only the sequence of democracy. ... Democracy is nothing more than the rule of the people. That is all there is in a democracy and political parties are not essential for the rule of the people. They are a mere mechanism. ¹⁸

QUEZON INSISTS DEMOCRACY CAN EXIST WITHOUT POLITICAL PARTIES

A democracy can exist without political parties. Perhaps as democracy grows in territorial population, the existence of political parties becomes a necessary means whereby the collective will of the people may be expressed. That is all that is needed. ¹⁹

UNLESS DEMOCRACY SEPARATES GOV'T FROM POLITICS, FASCISM WILL TRIUMPH

One of the greatest handicaps with which democratic government^s have been burdened in the past is politics in government. Political parties are indispensable to the democratic system; and political parties, to accomplish one of their purposes, which is to elect candidates to office, have had to create party organizations. These party organizations have invariably attempted, and in many cases have succeeded, in interfering with purely governmental functions. Whenever governments have been run by party organizations, the interest of the party has been placed above the public interest.

In such cases the result has been governmental inefficiency, dishonesty, injustice, and all sorts of abuses. When these evils have reached, as in certain countries they did reach, a point where they became intolerable, the democratic system itself has been discredited in the eyes of the people, who came to believe that said evils were essentially and inevitably a vice inherent in the system. Hence the people finally substituted autocracy for democracy.

It is my sincere opinion that in the fight now raging between fascism and democracy, unless democracy finds a way of separating government from politics and makes it its business to give the people an efficient, effective, and just government, fascism will be successful. ²⁰

DEMOCRACY IS ON TRIAL EVERYWHERE - QUEZON

I desire to call your attention to the fact that democracy is on trial,

^{18/} Ibid.

^{19/} Ibid.

^{20/} Press statement on the reorganization of the provincial and municipal forces, August 3, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVEF, pp. 685-686.

that while years during the last decades preceding the World War democracy was making gains even in the most autocratic countries in Europe, and in fact in Asia, democracy is no longer accepted universally as the right and natural government of man. This is a fact. ²¹

SELF-RESTRAINT IN USE OF POWER, NOT CONSTITUTION, CAN SAVE DEMOCRACY

The safeguard of democracy is not the Constitution nor the written laws. The safeguard of democracy is self-restraint in the exercise of political power, and that restraint comes only after using that power for a long time. ²²

FILIPINOS STILL RUN SHORT IN APPLICATION OF DEMOCRATIC PRACTICES

I am not simply a progressive, I am a revolutionary. I believe in political reforms and changes in our social institutions. A revolution, as always, brings more evil than good; so, despite my revolutionary ideas, both in politics and in social life, I prefer to go about as I am. Democracy is an experiment only. We have been experimenting with democracy here for the last forty years and while we all know so much about democracy - and I have no doubt that some of us could talk of democracy better than any constitutional lawyer in the United States could - yet when it comes to the actual practice of democracy, we have to admit that we are still helpless about it. ²³

DEMOCRACY CAN BE MADE AS EFFICIENT AS ANY OTHER FORM OF GOV'T

Mankind is now divided into two great camps - those who believe in democracy and those who feel contempt for it as a completely discredited system of government. By our political education, by our convictions and by our inclinations, we are a democracy. We have established a democratic system of government and the perpetuation of this system will depend upon our ability to convince the people that democracy can be freed from those vices which have destroyed it in some countries, and that it can be made as efficient as any other system of government known to man. It behooves us, therefore, to prove that through a wise use of democratic processes, the welfare and safety of the people can be promoted, thus contributing our share to the preservation of democracy in the world. ²⁴

^{21/} Message to the National Assembly on the Buckner Case, January 6, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

^{22/} Speech on cooperation between the Chief Executive and the National Assembly, at the farewell banquet in honor of Hon. Quintin Paredes, majority floor leader, Second National Assembly, at Malacanang Park, May 22, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 134.

^{23/} Ibid.

^{24/} Message to the Second National Assembly on the state of the nation and important economic problems, January 24, 1939. Ibid., p. 260.

DEMOCRATIC "GOSPEL TRUTH" PRODUCES SUSPICION, ILL-WILL

You have been taught to believe that a majority party and a party of the opposition are essential to the growth of sound democracy. You seem to have accepted that theory as gospel truth. And so the young men in this institution of learning, who should learn to have faith in their government, are made to feel that only in the opposition can we find men of independent character, men who love liberty, men who are interested in the well-being of the people. That explains why the majority of our youth look upon the government with suspicion, if not with ill-will. ²⁵

INFORMATION, DISCUSSION ESSENTIAL TO DEMOCRACY

What is essential in a democracy is not political parties, but information and discussion; but discussion without animosity, conducted in a spirit of cooperation and not destruction. And not until people learn to cooperate rather than fight one another will democracy succeed in achieving the true ends of good government. ²⁶

BEST FORM OF DEMOCRACY SERVES PEOPLE'S NEEDS

The historical origin and development of political parties in the Philippines should deserve more study from our political scientists than the origin and development of the political organizations in other countries, or the ancient theories of government. It is only through such study that they can really understand and explain the political institutions and government of their own country, and give competent advice in the tremendous task we have at hand of devising our own democratic institutions and government, capable of coping with the multiple problems of the day. The essence of democracy is government of the people, by the people and for the people. But the forms of democracy are infinite, depending upon the genius of the particular people who adopt it. And the best form of democracy, let it be remembered always, is that which can best promote and insure the liberty, well-being and happiness of all the people. ²⁷

QUEZON AIMS TO HAVE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT WITHOUT FRAUDS

But I want the Filipinos to have the glory of being the only people upon the face of the earth who have a democratic government and commit no frauds. That would be a magnificent record of which all of us would be proud. That would be the best assurance that democracy in the Philippines will never perish. These are no times for party strife. These are black days, humanity has never been confronted

^{25/} Speech before the U.P. Student Council, July 16, 1940. QP, MR#44, TNL.

^{26/} Ibid.

^{27/} Speech before the faculty and student body of the Far Eastern University, August 17, 1940. Ibid.

With such a danger as it is threatened now. Outside of God himself nobody knows whether the end of civilization is coming very soon. Men everywhere would consider this tragedy and ponder seriously over the situation. At no time in the history of the Philippines has it been so necessary as it is today for every Filipino to feel that he is the brother of every Filipino and for all of you to realize that we have but one country and only one. We have been very fortunate that so far we have been free from this war, but nobody knows how long we are going to be free.

DEMOCRACY ONLY GOVERNMENT FOR SELF-RESPECTING PEOPLE

I believe in democracy. Democracy is the only government for self-respecting men and women. Democracy is the government of the people, by the people and for the people. That means that those who are to occupy public offices must be chosen by the people themselves. If we want to perpetuate democracy in the Philippines, every man and woman should stand to protect and defend the right of suffrage. 29

CLEAN ELECTIONS ESSENTIAL TO REAL DEMOCRACY

People may differ as to what are the essential elements of democracy, but all those who believe in democracy at all must be in agreement that what is primarily the difference between a democratic government and any other form of government is that in a democratic government the people elect their officials. Therefore, for the maintenance of a real democratic government it is essential that the elections should be clean. 30

26. D I C T A T O R S H I P

ADVOCACY OF DICTATORSHIP IS INSULT TO FILIPINOS

He [General Emilio Aguinaldo] not only makes insinuations against me which he can never prove but he indicts the whole Filipino people by asserting that only through the imposition of a dictatorship may we hope to have a government wherein honesty and justice will prevail.

Not that the indictment which he draws up -- that we have a corrupt government, public servants who profit by their offices, fraudulent elections, injustices, and combinations -- constitutes in itself any conclusive proof of our incapacity for self-government. It is because of the groundless charge that the Filipino people do not have the intelligence and the civic courage to correct these abuses, if any; and that they are powerless and incapable of working out their own salvation and, therefore, need a dictator forced upon them by the sovereign power. 1

28/ Speech delivered in Bacolod, Negros Occidental, October 2, 1940. QP, MR#44, TNL.

29/ Ibid.

30/ Ibid.

1/ Article answering Aguinaldo's charges, June 22, 1929. QP, MR#31, TNL.

ACCUSED CONDEMNED IN ADVANCE UNDER DICTATORSHIP

It is only under a tyrannical government, under a dictatorship, under a regime whose ruler is everything and the people are nothing, where the accused is adjudged guilty in advance, and is either tortured in order that he may confess his guilt, or he is obliged to prove his innocence. This is an inquisitorial method which is now condemned everywhere. ²

QUEZON FORESEES DANGER OF DICTATORSHIP IN CON-CON SPEECH

There is, however, one great danger in having a strong executive department, and that is the danger of dictatorship. And here again this Convention has shown its vision and wisdom when it provided that there shall be no re-election for the position of the Chief Executive.

This clause in the Constitution guarantees for the Filipino people the impossibility or at least the improbability of ever having here a Chief Executive that will try to perpetuate himself in power. We are all familiar with the history of some Central and South American republics. We know that to a large extent the revolutions that have continually rocked such republics have been due to the fact that their Chief Executives were permitted to present themselves as candidates for re-election. ³

1935 CONSTITUTION DIDN'T LAST "FOR ALL TIME" AS MLQ PREDICTED

The plebiscite scheduled for May 14 (1935) is not merely being held for the purpose of accepting the Constitution; it is, in a large sense, a test of our people's civic consciousness and responsibility, and a solemn and historic reassertion of their reviving sovereignty.

* * *

Every vote cast will be a vote on our Constitution, a document which, upon its final acceptance, will be the source and inspiration of all political power and authority in our land for all time. Thus a vote cast on May 14 will be a vote on the very destiny of the Philippines and the Filipino people. ⁴

QUEZON SAYS HE CAN'T BE DICTATOR UNDER 1935 CONSTITUTION

The Chief Executive is given great power under the 1935 Constitution - ABS.) Perhaps it is due to this fact that some of the jolly writers of this country have been inclined to call me a legalized dictator, forgetting, evidently, that those are contradictory terms. A man cannot be a dictator under the Constitution if he exercises powers that are given him by the Constitution. ⁵

2/ Press statement on Aguinaldo's charges, July 27, 1929. Ibid.

3/ Speech before the Constitutional Convention, February 5, 1935. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1132.

4/ Quezon message from Washington, D.C., April 19, 1935. Ibid., p. 1153.

5/ Speech, "Status of the Commonwealth and National Defense," at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York City, February 20, 1937. Ibid., p. 1464.

DICTATORS ABOLISH PARTIES, MANIPULATE PUBLIC OPINION

In the old days, dictators relied only on physical power. In our day and generation, dictators realize how precarious their situation is when they have nothing to support them except physical power. They realize that they need the support of public opinion. Hence, they have their political organizations behind them and they allow no other party to exist. That is one of the essential features of dictatorship in our day - that they depend upon public opinion, and they create public opinion to suit themselves, so they allow no one to express opinions contrary to the policies of the government nor do they allow parties to be organized in opposition to the government. ⁶

QUEZON AGAINST EVERY FORM OF DICTATORSHIP

Today democracy is being challenged in all quarters. It is presented as a failure not only by those who have no faith in the common man, and who believe that the masses are destined to be ruled from above, but also by those who advocate the rule of the proletariat and aim at a classless society. I stand before you as the opponent of dictatorship in whatever form it is presented, including the dictatorship of the proletariat. ⁷

QUEZON AFFIRMS BELIEF IN DEMOCRACY

I firmly believe in democracy, in the soundness of its principles, and in its capacity to ultimately save humanity from misery and want, and as the only system of government capable of doing justice to every man, woman, and child... When properly conducted, it is the natural and only system of government that should be acceptable among civilized men. ⁸

27. E C O N O M I C N A T I O N A L I S M

ECONOMIC NATIONALISM DESIGNED FOR SELF-PROTECTION

Economic nationalism is practised in every country as a means of conserving capital at home, at the same time exporting products for the payment of foreign goods, thus encouraging the production locally of such articles that make up the common necessities of life. This is not, strictly speaking, an advocacy of self-sufficiency. It is simply a policy of self-protection. ¹

6/ Speech at the open forum of the U.P. Alumni Association, Villamor Hall, August 7, 1940. QP, MR#44, TNL.

7/ Ibid.

8/ Speech on the essence of democracy at the University of the Philippines, July 16, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2229.

1/ Campaign speech, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

FILIPINOS SHOULD TAKE OVER RETAIL BUSINESS FROM ALIENS

It is now high time that sari-sari stores were placed in the hands of Filipinos.

No people would consent to having their daily life's necessities remain in the hands of foreigners.

I am determined to remedy, by proper and legal procedure, such a flaw in our economic situation. I will exert my best efforts to put the country's retail business in Filipino hands. 2(a)

28. ECONOMIC PLANNING

ECONOMIC SECURITY DEMANDS CROP DIVERSIFICATION

Our present and future economic safety depends upon the diversification of our agricultural products and industries. 1

ECONOMIC PLANNING AS OUR PARAMOUNT NATIONAL POLICY

There is a very noticeable and commendable attempt to appraise all known economic factors to the end of harnessing them into this new economic system.

The happy transition of the Philippines from the ravages of the present worldwide depression can be ascribed to two main causes, namely, the resiliency of our people to adjust to changing conditions, and the artificiality of our national economy nursed and encouraged by the rich, almost illimitable, American market and patronage.

It is in preparation for that dark outlook that I urge our new government to adopt economic planning as the paramount national policy. 2(b)

ECONOMIC PLANNING TO SAFEGUARD PUBLIC WELFARE

The creation of this National Economic Council answers an urgent national need and formally commits this government to a definite economic policy. We don't believe in the economic philosophy of laissez faire. I favor government leadership in production activities. I believe in planning the national economy. The world has learned at a cost of untold economic waste and human suffering, after submitting to a very severe test that very foundations of the social order our civilization has created and erected, that governments cannot allow unlimited free rein to private enterprise without jeopardizing the public welfare in the interest of human greed. 3

CHEAP ELECTRIC POWER FOR PLANNED ECONOMY IN PRODUCTION

Under our platform we are committed to the proposition of placing the cost of public utilities of prime necessity, such as electric service, within easy reach of

2(a)/ Speech on the fourth anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 214-215.

1/ Press statement, May 10, 1929. QP, MR#31, TNL.

2(b)/ Campaign speech, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

3/ Speech at the first meeting of the National Economic Council, March 30, 1936. Ibid.

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the public. The administration has further undertaken to carry out the policy of planned economy in production. . . The exploitation and husbanding of the water power resources of the country is an essential factor to all productive enterprises and the National Economic Council has rightly recommended its study and execution even ahead of the establishment of other industries. ⁴

PRESIDENT APPOINTS MEMBERS OF NATIONAL ECONOMIC COUNCIL

Pursuant to the provisions of Commonwealth Act No. 2, and by virtue of the powers conferred upon me by Art. VII, Sec. 11, paragraph (4), of the Constitution, the National Economic Council is hereby constituted and established with the following membership:

The Secretary of Finance, chairman; the Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce; the chairman, PNB board of directors; the president, NDC; the president, MRR; Mr. Joaquin M. Elizalde, Hon. Francisco Varona, Hon. Ramon J. Fernandez, Mr. Wenceslao Trinidad, Mr. Vicente Madrigal, and Mr. Ramon Soriano, members.

The NEC shall forthwith organize and adopt the necessary rules and regulation for its proper functioning. In the study and consideration of all matters coming before it, the Council shall have authority to obtain any information and expert opinion from all available sources, and for this purpose may appoint and constitute such committees as it may deem necessary and appoint thereto those persons who, in its opinion, may be specifically qualified . . . Until otherwise provided, the members of the NEC shall hold office until December 31, 1937. ⁵

QUEZON EMPHASIZES NEED FOR AGRONOMICAL SURVEY OF COUNTRY

In order to effect an orderly and scientific development of our agriculture and to permit the intelligent planning of agricultural production, it is essential that as soon as possible we undertake an agronomical survey of the Philippines. ⁶

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT SHOULD INSURE WELFARE OF WORKING MEN

While it cannot be rightly said that the poverty of the masses in the Philippines is due to the concentration of wealth in the hands of a privileged class - for there are really no great fortunes here, and such poverty as exists is due mainly to the fact that the resources of the country are as yet not properly developed - it should be our concern to prevent an economic development that will mean fabulous riches for a select few and poverty and misery for the bulk of our population. Moreover, the injustices and abuses which are now committed against the workingman must at once be remedied by insuring to him fair treatment, proper living and working conditions, and a just compensation for his labor. ⁷

- 4/ Message to the First National Assembly on the creation of the National Power Corporation, October 2, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 307.
- 5/ Executive Order No. 17, "Constituting the National Economic Council," February 1 1936. Ibid., p. 625.
- 6/ Message to the Second National Assembly, January 24, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.
- 7/ Speech at the commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 66.

29. ECONOMIC READJUSTMENT

PHILIPPINE SECURITY LIES IN DRASTIC REARRANGEMENT OF ECONOMY

When free trade opened the door of the great American market to our products, our agriculture grew as it were, like a mushroom.

It is now a classic in Philippine economics to refer to the free trade between the United States and the Philippines as having been imposed upon us over our strong but futile protest. Its establishment, no doubt, was ^{ins}pired by the desire to implant in our country an economic system which would enhance its material economy.

Our economic security, therefore, demands a drastic rearrangement of all economic factors.¹

QUEZON TRIP TO U.S. IS TO DISCUSS CALLING OF TRADE CONFERENCE

The purpose of my trip to the United States is to have preliminary conversations with the President of the United States and with the state and war departments (concerning) the calling of the trade conference between representatives of the United States and the Philippines.²

QUEZON WIRE ON EARLIER INDEPENDENCE, ECONOMIC READJUSTMENT

(Complete wire):

For Secretary Jorge B. Vargas, Manila.

(1) Following for Vice President Osmeña: (quote)

At a conference held between the Interdepartmental Committee on Philippine Affairs presided over by Dr. Francis B. Sayre, the Committee acting on behalf of President Roosevelt, at the preliminary discussion, and I, with the attendance of Speaker Gil Montilla, Secretary Yulo, Resident Commissioner Paredes, Assemblyman Buencamino, Joaquin M. Elizalde of the National Economic Council and Benito Razon, technical adviser, it was agreed³ that a joint preparatory committee of American and Filipino experts be appointed immediately to study trade relations between the United States and the Philippines and to make recommendations thereon.

In view of the fact that I have recommended that the period for granting complete independence be shortened to 1938 or 1939 it was also agreed that this joint committee of experts will be expected in making their recommendations to consider the bearing which this advancement in the date of independence would have on facilitating or retarding the execution of a program of economic adjustment in the Philippines.

It was further agreed that preferential trade relations between the United States and the Philippines are to be terminated at the earliest practicable date consistent with affording the Philippines reasonable opportunity to adjust their national economy. Thereafter it is contemplated that trade relations between the two countries will be regulated in accordance with a reciprocal agreement on a

1/ Campaign speech, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

2/ Press statement on the purpose of his trip to the United States, January 7, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 311.

non-preferential basis. (stop)

The holding of the conference provided in the Tydings-McDuffie Act will be postponed until the Joint Preparatory Committee shall have presented its report. ³

QUEZON.

WHAT'S GOOD FOR FILIPINOS BUT NOT BAD FOR U.S. - YES!

I hope that both Americans and Filipinos on this Committee (Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs) are going to consider the problems before them from the same point of view on the assumption, which has been a fact in the past, that what is good for the Philippines is also good for the United States and vice versa. There must be no attempt to put through any proposal that may be beneficial to one people but detrimental to the other. ⁴

QUEZON STRIPS TO U.S. CRITICIZED BUT HIGHLY PRODUCTIVE

My trips abroad are criticized, but others also have been going abroad almost as often and yet they are not criticized. The purposes of my trips are for the good of the country. In the first trip, I brought back the Jones Law; in the second, the Tydings-McDuffie Act; and now I bring money to the people. On the other hand, what did the others bring back? Words and nothing else but words. ⁵

SENATE CHIEF EXPLAINS SIGNIFICANCE OF U.S. TRIP

I made that trip at the invitation of President Franklin D. Roosevelt for the purpose of laying the ground work for the better definition of the relations between the United States and the Commonwealth during the transition period and in order to remedy certain objectionable features pertaining to the same in the Tydings-McDuffie Law.

* * * *

The trip enabled me, while I was abroad, to observe the functions of various governments and the economic and social conditions in the most progressive countries; and, in addition, to accomplish various things that have redounded to the benefit of the Commonwealth. ⁶

QUEZON COMMENDS JOINT COMMITTEE FOR GETTING ALL PERTINENT FACTS

I am informed that the American members of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs are sailing today on the President Coolidge... I have refrained from having intervention of any sort in the work of the Committee, and I am not even informed of what it has done, but from reports that have come to me,

- 3/ Press statement on the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs, March 22, 1937. Ibid., pp. 321-322.
- 4/ Speech at the first meeting of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs, Washington, D. C., April 19, 1937. Ibid., p. 98.
- 5/ Speech on the results of his trip to the United States, August 16, 1937. Ibid., p. 100.
- 6/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

I am under the impression that it has done what has been humanly possible for it to do to get at the facts upon which its recommendations may be based.

I wish to express my appreciation of the work done by the Committee and to convey my thanks to Ambassador MacMurray and every one of the members of the Committee both American and Filipino. ⁷

30. ECONOMIC SELF-SUFFICIENCY

ALIEN CONTROL INCOMPATIBLE WITH MAXIMUM PHILIPPINE PROGRESS

Q. - You do not believe in alien control, however benevolent?

A. - No. Alien control and nation/^{al}progress to the maximum of native capacity are incompatible. For material and for moral reasons I am pleading for independence of my country. It is arguable, and I consider it true, that mutual benefit may accrue for a time to a dominating^c country and the country dominated. There has been this time of mutual benefit as between American and the Philippines. But, in such a conjuncture, a stage is certain to be reached at which the dominating country begins to stand in the way of the interests, material and moral, of the country dominated. ¹

MLQ CONFIDENT PHILIPPINES CAN PRODUCE INDUSTRIAL, ECONOMIC LEADERS

It is not true that once foreign capital engaged in business in the Islands these businesses will never pass into Filipino hands. If we are a strong people this capital will serve only as a temporary instrument to start their businesses that we may later acquire, and I have faith in the virility of our people to acquire them.

I cannot accept the disheartening story that a people that has produced Rizal, Bonifacio, del Pilar, Mabini, Burgos, Zamora, the Lunas and other men illustrious in politics and in the arts and sciences, is not capable of producing genuine and great leaders in industry, commerce, and agriculture. I believe, on the contrary, that we shall know how to utilize the technique of modern business and that we shall survive in the struggle for existence which is more than ever relentless.

I thus face the future with confidence. The years have not made me pessimistic. On the contrary, in my dreams I see our people completely independent and fighting triumphantly for the conquest of human progress. ²

QUEZON SEEKS SELF-SUFFICIENCY IN RICE AND CORN

One of the most serious and immediate problems which confront our new government is that which concerns the supply and price of rice and corn, the two

- 7/ Press statement on the work of the Joint Preparatory Committee on Philippine Affairs, November 12, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 344.
- 1/ Exclusive interview with Edward Price Bell for the Chicago Daily News, 1925. In: The Philippine Republic, published monthly in Washington, D.C., and edited by Clyde H. Tavenner. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 768.
- 2/ Address, "Question of the Hour," before the Philippine Agricultural Congress, Manila, September 21, 1928. Ibid., pp. 826-829.

main staple foods of our people. It is essential that we devise ways and means whereby we may insure at all times an ample supply of these commodities at reasonable prices to the consumer while at the same time enabling the producer to receive an adequate return for his investment and efforts so as to encourage him to continue producing locally these products thereby making our country self-sufficient in this respect. ³

RICE COMMISSION CREATED TO SOLVE RICE PROBLEM

"Whereas, during the last special session of the National Assembly, the President in a special message proposed ... the enactment of legislation looking to the solution of the problems affecting the rice industry, with particular reference to the impending rice shortage for the current year; ... the Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce has certified that the rice shortage this year is such that immediate action is necessary; ... the production and proper distribution of rice is one of the most important problems of this government; ... it is necessary to provide adequate means for the steady and sufficient supply of this commodity at prices reasonable to consumer, producer, and trader and thereby afford relief to hard-pressed small farmers and kasamas, and the large body of consumers...

"Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon., hereby constitute and create a Rice Commission to consist of the following:

Honorable Manuel Roxas, member, National Assembly, chairman; Hon. Felipe Buencamino, member, National Assembly; the Director of Commerce; Hon. Vicente Singson Encarnacion, and Dr. Nicanor Jacinto, members... whose duty shall be to make a careful investigation and study of the rice problem and recommend measures for immediate relief, including the proper distribution of rice throughout the Philippines at reasonable prices. The Commission shall study further ways and means to insure at all times a steady and sufficient supply of this commodity so as to prevent the recurrence of a rice shortage, and shall make a report of its findings and recommendations to the President of the Philippines at the earliest practicable date.

"The Commission is hereby authorized to requisition the services of employees of any department, bureau or office of the Government which it may consider necessary to accomplish the requirements of this Order." ⁴

QUEZON ADMINISTRATION WARNS RICE PROFITEERS

I want to serve notice on everybody that my administration is not going to allow anybody to prey upon the needy. The Constitution and the existing laws give the President ample powers to protect the public, in cases of emergency, such as is confronting the country now because of the shortage of rice, especially the masses, who cannot possibly pay very high price for the rice they need.

3/ Message to the First National Assembly, December 19, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 97.

4/ Executive Order No. 18, "Creating a Rice Commission for the Purpose of Studying and Making Recommendations on Ways and Means to Solve the Present Rice Crises and to Insure a Permanent Supply of Rice at Reasonable Prices," February 17, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 626-627.

* * *

The Rice and Corn Corporation has been created for the double purpose of protecting the public from undue rise of price when there is more demand than supply, and to protect the rice growers from losses when there is more supply than demand. 5

COUNTRY'S SALVATION LIES IN AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE AND INDUSTRY

We have enormous resources in land and raw materials that we may require. All that is necessary is for our people to have the will to work and to take advantage of the opportunities afforded them. It is in agriculture, in commerce and in industry, in the arts and sciences, that our salvation lies. We have nothing to fear except our own lack of foresight or unwillingness to engage in productive toil. We must mobilize our people and our resources for this task, taking advantage of our present difficulties to induce greater production and bring about a national economy best suited to our social life. 6

31. E D U C A T I O N

STATE DUTY BOUND TO GIVE ADEQUATE SYSTEM OF PUBLIC EDUCATION

The State is in duty bound to maintain a complete and adequate system of public education, providing at least free public primary instruction and citizenship training to adult citizens.

I am for greater emphasis on vocational and agricultural training in the intermediate and high schools, but the instruction should always be in keeping with the economic conditions of each region and of the country as a whole. 1

QUEZON ISSUES EXECUTIVE ORDER CREATING EDUCATION COUNCIL

"Whereas, the Constitution of the Philippines prescribes certain definite educational objectives to be accomplished through the medium of the schools;

"Whereas, the present system of public instruction was devised under a political status and social conditions different from those which now exist or which will arise in the near future as a result of political and economic changes;

- 5/ Speech on the establishment of the National Rice and Corn Corporation, May 26, 1936. QP, MR36, TNL.
- 6/ Message to the Second National Assembly on emergency powers and revision of the educational system, July 15, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2223.
- 1/ Speech on accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 238.

"Whereas, with the settlement of the question of Philippine independence, the political future of the Philippines has been determined, making possible a definite orientation of educational aims;

"Whereas, an educational system can only render permanent social benefits when it is in keeping with the economic conditions and opportunities obtaining in each epoch, and

"Whereas, for a proper recasting of our educational system it is necessary to make available to the Government the wisdom and experience of men who have been engaged in the study of education in its varied aspects and have the ability to envision the qualities in character, learning and vocational aptitudes which should be possessed by Filipino citizens in order that they may be reared in civic efficiency and trained to serve the nation.

"Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, by virtue of the powers in me vested by law, and upon the recommendation of the Secretary of Public Instruction, hereby constitute and create a National Council of Education to consist such members as may be appointed by the President of the Philippines, from time to time, whose duties shall be to study and make recommendations concerning reforms in the present system of public and private education in the Philippines, to advise the Government on basic educational policies, and to report on such other matters related to education as may from time to time be submitted to its consideration by the Secretary of Public Instruction. For administrative purposes this Council shall be under the Department of Public Instruction and shall have authority, with the approval of the corresponding Head of Department, to obtain the assistance of officers and employees of any department, bureau, or offices of the Government which may be considered necessary for the proper performance of its duties." ²

ILLITERACY PRESENTS REAL MENACE TO NATION'S STABILITY

We believe that illiteracy is a real menace to the stability of the nation. But notwithstanding the seriousness of this problem, the Government cannot and should not, on account of its limited resources, assume exclusive responsibility for giving adult teaching to all. This movement should be undertaken jointly by the government and by the public through civic organizations and groups of persons who are willing to devote part of their time to the education of the adults.

YOUTH GIVEN EDUCATION FOR SELF-RESPECT AND PROTECTION

I am preparing these (Filipino) youth to fight for their country so that the education and training that we give them will be an education which they may

- 2/ Executive Order No. 19, "Creating a National Council of Education and to Advise the Government on Educational Policies and Necessary Reforms in the Existing System of Education," February 19, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 628-629.
- 3/ Letter of Rafael Palma, chairman, National Council of Education to the Secretary of Public Instruction, reporting on educational measures that should require legislation, Manila, August 24, 1936. Ibid., p. 298.

use for their self-respect and protection. ⁴

RATIONALE OF COMMONWEALTH POLICY ON COMPULSORY EDUCATION

If the Philippines is going to be enslaved, it is better for the Filipinos not to be educated, for a man who is not educated can stand that better than a man who has got education. ⁵

46 PHILIPPINE DELEGATES TO 7TH WORLD EDUCATIONAL MEET

Among the 46 educators authorized by Malacañan to attend the Seventh World Conference of the World Federation of Education Associations to be held in Tokyo, Japan, August 2 to 7, 1937 are the following:

Dean Francisco Benitez, Dr. Isidoro Panlasigue, Dr. Herminio Velarde, Dr. Eneasio B. Mendiola, Prof. Gabriel A. Bernardo, Mr. Solomon V. Arnaldo, Dr. Gilbert Perez, Mr. Serafin Aquino, Dr. Enrique Sobrepeña, Dr. Mauro Baradi, Mrs. Miguela Jhocson, Mr. & Mrs. Faustino Bugante, Mr. Eduardo Quintero, Mr. Prudencio Langeaun, Dr. Mariano C. Icasiano, Mrs. A. del Carmen, Mr. Mariano V. de los Santos, Miss Concepcion Aguila, Miss Minerva Guysayko, and Mr. Gregorio F. Zaide. ⁶

EDUCATION DOES NOT ALWAYS MEAN WISDOM - QUEZON

Education or instruction does not always mean wisdom; and a person who is just half-baked in his instruction is more dangerous than a man who has no instruction at all and who accepts his ordinary reaction as a guide. ⁷

STUDENTS SHOULD STUDY TO BE ABLE TO FORM OWN VIEWS

I believe the time of the people who are in the University should be devoted to study. That is their job there: to study, to prepare themselves properly, so that when the time comes for them to exercise the duties of citizenship, they will have sufficient preparation to study every question calmly, not from what they heard Quezon or Aguinaldo or anybody else say, but from what they themselves have formed. ⁸

PRIMARY EDUCATION FIRST, IMMEDIATE DUTY OF STATE

The first and immediate duty of the State is to provide universal primary instruction to girls and boys of school age, and that until such duty shall have been performed fully, the government subjects itself to the criticism of affording opportunities for higher instruction to people who can afford to pay for their own education while denying primary instruction to hundreds of thousands of the

4/ Speech before the Foreign Policy Association, Astor Hotel, New York City, April 3, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVEFF, p. 80.

5/ Ibid.

6/ Press statement on the Seventh World Educational Conference in Tokyo, July 30, 1937. Ibid., p. 328.

7/ Speech at a press conference, October 27, 1937. QP, MR, 40, TNL.

8/ Ibid.

sons and daughters of the poor. ⁹

PRIMARY EDUCATION NOT ENOUGH FOR CITIZENSHIP TRAINING

If primary education is as important as we acknowledge it to be, it seems unwise to continue with the present system whereby responsibility for the maintenance and extension of primary instruction is divided between the national and the municipal governments... It is therefore proposed to have the national government assume full responsibility for the support of primary instruction.

It should be admitted, however, that four years of primary education cannot prepare the individual for more than the most common and ordinary routine activities of his everyday life. For this reason it would be wise to encourage the attendance of children in the intermediate grades in order to obtain a complete elementary education. And with this end in view it is planned to have all existing intermediate schools supported by the municipal governments. ¹⁰

VOCATIONAL AND INDUSTRIAL EDUCATION IN SECONDARY SCHOOLS

I have given the question of secondary education a great deal of thought, and I am convinced that as a matter of policy we should, at this stage of our development, give greater emphasis to vocational and industrial education.

Besides giving every child a primary and if possible a complete elementary education to train him on how to discharge his duties intelligently and to make proper use of his rights as a citizen, the government should help the student acquire a secondary education which should round out his training for citizenship and give him proficiency in a vocation which would enable him to support himself and to contribute to the development of his country. Much as we would like to have the government extend all possible aid to the schools, at least for the present secondary education will have to be supported by those who desire this kind of education. ¹¹

AIM IS TO MAKE EVERYBODY LITERATE TO KNOW HIS RIGHTS, DUTIES

The policy of the national government now is to open primary schools in all places so that every child of school age, particularly the sons of the poor who live in the farthest barrios, can acquire a primary education. We don't want to deprive the child of the poor people at least of the knowledge necessary to enable him to read and understand his rights and duties. ¹²

PRACTICAL AND SOCIALLY BENEFICIAL USE OF ACADEMIC EDUCATION

An academic education is not, in itself, of value to anyone who receives it,

- 9/ Message to the First National Assembly, November 17, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 248.
- 10/ Message to the First National Assembly, March 25, 1938. Ibid., Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 314-315.
- 11/ Ibid., p. 315.
- 12/ Speech at Tacloban, Leyte, June 10, 1938. Ibid., p. 77.

unless he is capable of making practical and socially beneficial use of it. Those who must depend upon their toil for livelihood will be less exposed to becoming parasites and a charge on the community, if they pursue such courses of study as will most likely insure to them a steady work and gainful occupation. ¹³

TRAINING OF YOUTH FOR VOCATIONAL EFFICIENCY URGED BY MLQ

We must increase the wealth of the nation by multiplying its production. And to accomplish this, we must revise our system of education and emphasize the training of our youth for vocational efficiency as enjoined by the Constitution. ¹⁴

JOINT EDUCATIONAL SURVEY COMMITTEE CREATED

I do hereby create a committee, known as the Joint Educational Survey Committee, which shall make a thorough survey of existing educational methods, curricula, and facilities, to formulate plans and measures to enable the government to maintain a public school system in accordance with the mandate of the Constitution, and to recommend such changes and modifications in the present ways of financing public education as the economic resources of the country may justify.

32. E L E C T I O N S

"FEDERALISTS" ROUTED IN PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS

The last election in the Philippines, which took place on June 4, 1912, again shows conclusively that the people of the Philippines are unanimous in their desire to attain independence.

There are in the Philippines two political parties - the "Nationalist" and the "Progresist". The Nationalist Party has always contended for the right of the Filipinos to be independent from all foreign domination and has maintained their actual ability to manage their own affairs... The Progresist is the successor of another party called "Federal." This Federal Party believed in the annexation of the Philippines to the United States... Out of 81 members of the Philippine Assembly only five are Progresist and these were elected by a bare majority.

If there be a man who now dares assert that there is a single Filipino opposed to Philippine independence either now or at an early date, he must be either reckless of the truth or wholly ignorant of insular political conditions. ¹

^{13/} Speech on national policies, nationalism, and economic security, at the commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 67.

^{14/} Ibid., p. 66.

^{15/} Administrative Order No. 109, "Creating a Joint Educational Survey Committee," November 3, 1939. Ibid., pp. 1331-1332.

^{1/} Article, "The Last Election in the Philippines," In: The Filipino People, Vol. 1, No. 1, September 1912. Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, p. 99.

POLITICAL PARTIES A REAL NECESSITY BUT MAY BECOME A CURSE

Political parties are a real necessity in a democratic government; but they are guilty of a crime, if, in competing with each other for the confidence of the public, they conduct their campaign in a manner to cause deep dissention in the country.

The right of criticism is one of the safeguards of good government. However, when this right is made use of to denounce systematically as bad everything pertaining to the adversary, charging him in every instance with dishonesty or bad faith, whether with or without reason, it behooves us to eschew this as most destructive of the common welfare. ²

UPHOLD SACRED RIGHTS OF PEOPLE ABOVE PARTY INTERESTS

The rights of the majority as well as the minority should be respected and recognized, but mere party prejudices should not dominate any Filipino whenever his country demands of him patriotic services.

High above all party, high above all selfish interests rise the sacred rights and liberties of the people who have sent us here to the end that we may defend those rights and liberties. ³

PICK BEST MAN FOR JOB WITHOUT POLITICAL CONSIDERATION

We want to pick the best men, in my opinion, for the job without any political considerations whatsoever.

I have found that some of the evils that confront the head of the government is the fact that if he can seek reelection he has to play politics. ⁴

"COUNTRY ABOVE PARTY" SLOGAN ONLY FOR PUBLIC-SPIRITED MEN

It is easy enough to urge that partisan politics be set aside when the interests of the people are at stake, and to proclaim "country above party". But when the moment comes for these highly patriotic pronouncements to be translated into action, only true and tested public-spirited men can overcome the passions and prejudices of human nature. ⁵

CALLS ATTENTION TO STAGGERING COST OF TOO MANY POLLS

Since the general elections of 1934 to date (October 2, 1936), four elections have already taken place; namely, the general elections of 1934, the elections for the Constitutional Assembly, the plebiscite on the Constitution, and the Commonwealth elections, all of which have cost the insular and local governments the

2/ Address at a public banquet held in Quezon's honor, Hotel de France, Sta. Cruz, upon his triumphal return from the United States, September 28, 1916. *Ibid.*, p. 425.

3/ Speech on the floor of the Senate, November 2, 1916. *Ibid.*, p. 437.

4/ Interview with A. P. and U. P. correspondents, September 20, 1935. *QP*, MR#38, TNL.

5/ Congratulatory speech, Legislative building, December 21, 1935. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 111.

total amount of ₱ 2,226,690.07. Next April there will be a plebiscite for woman suffrage in accordance with Commonwealth Act No. 34, Under the present Election Law, the general elections for local officials will also take place next June, and in 1938 there will again be an election for members of the National Assembly.. If the 1937 elections for local officials are not postponed, there will be another general election for them in June 1940; and in 1941 the presidential elections will take place. Within ^{the} next four years, therefore, there will be five successive elections which will mean to the national and local treasury ^s an expenditure of approximately ₱3, 693,459.60. Adding this amount to the amount of ₱2,226,690.07 already spent since 1934, we will have spent up to and including the presidential elections of 1941 a total outlay of ₱5,920,149.67 for elections only within a period of seven years.

As a measure of immediate economy, it would be more convenient to postpone the general elections of 1937 to coincide with any other subsequent election, say, with the next elections for members of the National Assembly, and thereby eliminate the two general elections of 1937 and 1940 as separate elections for local officials. This will not only mean a substantial saving in the local funds of over a million pesos which we urgently need for general development work, but will also avoid much of the political and even social agitation incidental to each election. This will also insure, I hope, not only a more stable state of peace in the country, but also peace of mind among our citizens in this period of intense preparations and execution of a great part of our national program. ⁶

AGE LIMIT IN ELECTION LAW DIRECTED AGAINST WENCESLAO Q. VINZONS?

Responsibility and power are vested in the National Assembly as a body, and, therefore, one man alone cannot destroy the whole work of the Assembly. In the case of a governorship, the responsibility is individual, and the National Assembly argued that if the members of the National Assembly must be 30 years of age at least, then a governor should also be of that age...

I was informed that the provision was inserted (in the Election Law) in order to prevent (Wenceslao) Vinzons from being a candidate. However, I want him to be a candidate, because if he is defeated, the defeat would show that the province is not with him. If he wins, I would have the opportunity to see if he can make a good governor, and we will give him a chance; ⁷ but if he turns out to be a bad governor, I will go after him and suspend him.

QUEZON WANTS CLEAN ELECTIONS THAT WILL INSPIRE PUBLIC CONFIDENCE

The coming general elections being the first to be held under the Commonwealth government, I am particularly desirous of taking every precaution that will

6/ Letter of Secretary of the Interior Elpidio Quirino on postponement of elections of provincial governors, October 2, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 309-310.

7/ Conference with a delegation of Young Philippines, September 29, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 131-132.

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prevent, as much as human ingenuity will permit, the commission of any act in violation of the Election Law, with a view to inspiring confidence among the people in the high purposes of the national government, and avoiding suspicion that it is permitting, directly or indirectly, any undue influence to be exerted in the elections of a particular candidate, especially to the position of provincial governor. ⁸

CLEAN ELECTIONS BASIS OF REAL, ENDURING DEMOCRACY

It is my desire and plain purpose to have these coming elections - the first general elections under the Commonwealth - conducted in full compliance with existing laws. It is of general knowledge that in the past, officials and employees of the government who are subject to civil service rules and regulations have been taking part in the elections, directly or indirectly, in violation of such rules and regulations... All officials and employees of the government should know that drastic action will be taken against them for participating in electoral campaigns in violation of civil service rules and regulations. The time has come for a due and full enforcement of the Civil Service Law.

These early years of the Commonwealth government constitute the proper time for laying the foundation of a real and lasting democracy in the Philippines and for discarding all practices tending to frustrate the will of the people in the choice of their public servants. Particularly the justices of the peace, the police, and the school teachers must be impressed with the necessity not only of not taking any part in the elections other than to exercise their right to vote, but also of not giving any ground for suspicion that they have partisan leanings. ⁹

ALA EXPLAINS NON-PARTICIPATION IN ILOILO ELECTIONS

I desire to reiterate that I shall take no part nor interest in the elections of any candidate for any provincial, city or municipal office and that the Nacionalista Party cannot have an official candidate unless one is so selected by agreement between the "Anti" and "Pro" factions who have joined the new Nacionalista Party as agreed upon at the recent convention. ¹⁰

ELECTIONS NOT ONLY FOR RICH BUT ALSO FOR POOR

It is outrageous to compel a man to spend his own money for election, for that eliminates the poor who have no money. ¹¹

PRESIDENTIAL OFFICE NOT INTERVENING IN LOCAL ELECTIONS

Every time I am approached on purely (local) political matters a disfavor is done to me personally, if not to my administration. The duties of my office are

8/ Letter to Secretary of the Interior Elpidio Quirino, September 30, 1937.
Ibid., p. 293.

9/ Letter to the Secretary of the Interior, October 7, 1937. *Ibid.*, pp. 296-297.

10/ Letter on non-participation in the local elections in Iloilo, October 8, 1937.
Ibid., p. 299.

11/ Speech at a press conference, October 20, 1937. *Q*, MR#40, TNL.

too exacting, and I need all the time I can dispose of for my own relaxation, and not share it with party affairs, which, at least, as far as provincial and municipal elections are concerned, can have no possible effect on national policies.

FREQUENT RENEWAL OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS MORE DEMOCRATIC

The important thing in a democracy is the frequent renovation of public officials, so that the people may pass judgment upon them or their work. From this point of view, four years is much more democratic than six years. ¹³

CLEAN HONEST ELECTIONS A CREDIT AND JOY TO OUR COUNTRY - QUEZON

One of the things a candidate to an elective position craves to see, is to find out whether he can endear himself to his country or not. Nothing can bring more joy to one's heart than to find that he stands high in the esteem of his countrymen as proved by the election returns. That is why I am hoping for a clean and honest election - one that will be a credit and a joy to our country. ¹⁴

HONEST ELECTION GIVES OFFICIALS GREATEST SATISFACTION

It is the greatest ambition of my administration that the elections, while I am the President of the Philippines, be carried in perfect order and that in the electoral campaign the rights of everybody be protected. The greatest satisfaction of a man who seeks an elective public office is to see that the people are for him. But he can only get that if the people actually vote for him in accordance with their wishes. What satisfaction can there be if a man is elected and he, in his own conscience, knows that he has been elected only through fraud or through violence or through the use of illicit means. I don't want that to happen. I am attempting to give the people of the Philippines a good, honest and fair government. I want to give our people here a government of which not only the officials of the government but the people themselves may be proud of. And this can only be accomplished if everybody from the man in the highest position to the man in the lowest position should abide by the laws. ¹⁵

CLEAN ELECTIONS WILL SAFEGUARD DEMOCRACY AND LIBERTY

As long as elections are held at reasonable intervals and the people are permitted freely to elect the man whom they desire to entrust with the highest office of the land, self-government will remain unimpaired and democracy and liberty preserved in this country. ¹⁶

^{12/} Letter to Vice-President Sergio Osmeña, October 23, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 304.

^{13/} Untitled speech, 1938, n.d.m. QP, MR/41, TNL.

^{14/} Speech at the inauguration of the municipal building of Candelaria, Tayabas, October 29, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 239.

^{15/} Speech at a conference with the provincial and municipal officials of Negros Oriental, November 3, 1938. QP, MR/41, TNL.

^{16/} Message to the Second National Assembly, August 16, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 340.

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NEEZON TALKS ON HOW TO GET RID OF AN UNPOPULAR PRESIDENT

Under the Constitution the President can only be removed from office through impeachment proceedings, which presupposes malfeasance in office. So that under the Constitution once the President is elected for a term of years, no matter how poor he is as President, so long as he does not commit malfeasance in office he remains in his job until the end of his term even if he were to become the most unpopular President that was ever elected. There is no way of removing him. If we established the precedent of shortening the term of office of the President through an amendment to the Constitution, a perfectly good President who has become obnoxious to the legislature may be rid off by amending the Constitution and shortening his term of office. 17

RESPECT PEOPLE'S RIGHT TO ELECT GOOD OR BAD OFFICIALS

The Filipino people cannot hope to maintain their democratic form of government unless we begin to respect the laws and particularly the election law. One of the worst crimes that a citizen can commit is the commission of election frauds. The basis of a democratic government is the government of the people, through their elected representatives and it is the duty of every citizen to respect the free expression of the will of the people in the choice of their officials. It makes no difference whether they elect good or bad officials.

But the right of self-government includes the right of self-misgovernment. If the people make a mistake and elect a bum official, that is their fault. Nobody has the right to cheat them. They will only learn to elect good officials when they are allowed to make mistakes in electing bad officials because they realize that they themselves are the main sufferers of their mistakes. I don't know when our people are going to take seriously this duty of making the election an orderly and honest one. But I do know that unless we comply with our duty in this respect, the government of the Philippines is doomed to failure. 18

33. EMPLOYMENT

UNEMPLOYMENT PROBLEM BECOMING MORE SERIOUS

The problem of unemployment in the Philippines is becoming more serious every day. But unemployment can only be solved by providing opportunities for gainful work. There is very little more the government can do directly along this line. In fact we might find ourselves compelled to reduce positions in the public service in order to effect economies. It is in the field of private enterprise, through the expansion of some of our industries and the creation of new ones, that

17/ Remarks at a press conference, August 5, 1940. GP, MR#43, TNL.

18/ Speech in Cagayan, Misamis Oriental, September 4, 1940. GP, MR#44, TNL.

opportunity lies to provide work to those who are unemployed. ¹

QUEZON ADMITS LIMITATIONS OF NATIONAL GOVERNMENT

Unfortunately the government does not have the means to give employment to all those who would like to work and can find no work, much less to give food to those that are in want. It is also to be deplored that our laws are not sufficiently effective to protect the poor from the abuses of greed. ²

NATIONAL UNEMPLOYMENT BOARD CREATED BY QUEZON

"In order to coordinate all government and private efforts to reduce unemployment and to aid those who are in distress on account of unavoidable unemployment, I, Manuel L. Quezon, do hereby create a National Unemployment Board, composed of the Commission^{of} Health and Welfare as chairman, and the Undersecretary of Public Works and Communications, the Undersecretary of Agriculture and Commerce, the Undersecretary of Labor, and Executive Secretary of the Associated Charities of Manila, and two other persons who shall be appointed by the President, as members

"It shall be the duty of this Board to take a census of all unemployed persons in the Philippines, to ascertain their needs, to determine upon ways and means of relieving or ameliorating their conditions, and to advise the government authorities concerned as to the expenditure of the funds now appropriated or which may hereafter be appropriated." ³

ECONOMIC SECURITY THROUGH TOTAL EMPLOYMENT

Many important details will have to be attended to and a careful investigation will have to be made of local conditions if we must have a social security act which will be fair and will not overtax the resources of both the private industries and the government, that may be called upon to share a substantial part of the burden which the passage of such a measure will entail, and at the same time adequately accomplish its end.

Economic security for all is the only sure cure for such an ill, and this can be attained only by giving employment to all able-bodied members of the community and providing for a system of social insurance towards which the individual as well as the industries and the state should be made to contribute. ⁴

LESS UNEMPLOYMENT IF RICH WILL SPEND THEIR MONEY HERE

I believe that if our rich people will spend their money here, we shall have less unemployment in the Philippines. ⁵

1/ Message to the First National Assembly on the creation of the National Economic Council, December 18, 1935. Quezon Messages. Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 84.

2/ Address at the opening of the National Assembly, June 16, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

3/ Executive Order No. 122, "Creating a National Unemployment Board," October 8, 1937. Quezon Messages. Vol. 3, Part II, JBVFF, pp. 670-671.

4/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

5/ Speech at a press conference, October 27, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

34. ENCOMIUM

EX-REVOLUTIONIST QUEZON HAS GOOD WORD FOR AGUINALDO

I wish to say a few words in behalf of Gen. Aguinaldo. I was at one time an officer in the Philippine army, having left college in response to the call of my country to fight under her flag. For several months I was on the staff of Gen. Aguinaldo, then President of the Philippine Republic and commanding general of its army. I had occasion, therefore, to know Gen. Aguinaldo well and intimately, and from personal observation I can assert without fear of successful contradiction that he is a man of high character and patriotism.

Aguinaldo at one time wielded great power in the Philippines. During the revolution he was the supreme military chief, with powers of a dictator, just as the President of the United States would be here in case of war. He had the power to do with the treasury of the then independent Philippine government as he pleased. When he was captured by Gen. Funston, after having exercised this undisputed authority for more than two years, Aguinaldo was a/s poor as he was when the war started. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Mr. Chairman, I do not wish to make invidious comparisons, but I want to ask you how many revolutionary chiefs in other parts of the world who have been in the position of Gen. Aguinaldo have done what Aguinaldo did? How many have been willing to go back to their homes as poor as ever after having had in their possession so much money that they could have appropriated without question? Aguinaldo is not a rich man today. He is a modest farmer. He has not accepted any position from the American government, although it is authoritatively stated that he was offered a good one. He is not even in politics now.

Why? He wanted to show the world that he fought for his country, not because of any desire for personal profit or power, but out of patriotism, and that when he could not fight any longer he could go back to his home and lead a peaceful and modest life, the life of a good citizen, working on his farm, as he is doing now. Thus Aguinaldo demonstrated that the Filipinos who had known how to fight know likewise how to work/^{in time} of peace. I need say no more. [Applause on the Democratic side.] ¹

QUEZON PAYS TRIBUTE TO AUTHOR OF JONES ACT

Though aged and almost an invalid, I have seen him (William Atkinson Jones) work without repose in order that the Filipino people might obtain these new concessions (contained in the Jones Act - ABS). Without any hope of recompense except the satisfaction of duty well done, he has jeopardized his life, neglecting his broken health, in order that the American people might do us justice. Praise to Mr. Jones!

^{1/} Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, October 2, 1914.
Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, pp. 257-258.

Whatever we have done and may do for him will be but a scant reward. ²

IMPENSE HELP OF HARRISON TO PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE CAUSE

There is another person who has perhaps not been given all the credit due him for the aid which he has given to those who labored in Washington to get us our new Organic Law (the Jones Act). That person is the Governor-General (Francis Burton Harrison - ABS). Permit me, Mr. Governor, to tell you in the presence of this distinguished gathering that I believe that without you we would not have had a Jones Act. The confidence which, since the first day of your arrival on these shores, you have reposed in the intelligence and patriotism of the Filipino people, the manner in which you have administered the affairs of this country, the recommendations which you have made to the President (of the U.S.) and to our friends in Congress, have contributed more than anything to bring about that situation whereby the Filipino people are now in the enjoyment of the ample rights granted by the Jones Act. In the name of the people and on my own behalf, I thank you most warmly. Your memory will be forever inscribed, not only in the annals of my country, but also in the hearts of every Filipino citizen. ³

HEO FORESEES ROXAS' BRILLIANT PUBLIC CAREER

I have foreseen and foretold that he (Speaker Manuel Roxas) would reach the heights of glory by dint of his personal merits. So it is with a great satisfaction that I see him now endeared in the hearts of our people and receiving their homage of love and admiration. ⁴

QUEZON ACKNOWLEDGES HUMANITARIAN SERVICE OF RED CROSS

The Red Cross in the Philippine Islands is an organization that our people have come to know and respect through the direct beneficial services it has rendered them.

The Red Cross has never failed to respond promptly and efficiently. Although not a government institution and operating without any direct funds from the government, the Red Cross has cooperated with the government in public health, social and other ways. To carry out the work it is doing the Red Cross depends entirely upon the generous spirit of our people. ⁵

PRESIDENT COMMENDS SILLIMAN U. ON 34TH ANNIVERSARY

Thirty four years dedicated to training the youth intellectually and morally, constitute a valuable service to the nation and a record of which any institution can well be proud. ⁶

2/ Address at a public banquet in Quezon's honor held at the Hotel de France, Sta. Cruz, upon his triumphal return from the United States, September 23, 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, p. 427.

3/ Ibid., pp. 427-428.

4/ Press statement, 1929, n.d.m. QP, MR#31, TNL.

5/ Message for the Red Cross in the Philippines, July 3, 1935. QP, MR#38, TNL.

6/ Message on the 34th anniversary of the Silliman University, 1935. n.d.m. Ibid.

CALVO, ARNAIZ DID GREAT SERVICE BUT NOT NECESSARILY FOR PUBLIC GOOD

They (Calvo and Arnaiz) have won for themselves great credits as men of courage and ability, have rendered to aviation in the Philippines a signal service by giving it new impetus and encouragement, and have made the world aware of our participation in the conquest of the air. It is then natural that the whole country should be fired with enthusiasm for their successful flight. .

It is my belief that, while these two aviators have indeed won honor and glory for their people, they have not performed a task primarily devoted to public service within the purview of the Constitution in order to justify the expenditure of public funds for their just emolument. ⁷

FILIPINO CITIZENSHIP FOR FRANCIS BURTON HARRISON

Former Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison has expressed to me his desire to become a Filipino citizen. It appears, however, that under the present Naturalization Law he lacks the required residence to acquire Filipino citizenship.

It is not necessary for me to state that no American has contributed more to the cause of Philippine self-government and independence than the Honorable Francis Burton Harrison and that he deserves the eternal gratitude of our people. I feel it would be a very gracious act on the part of the National Assembly if it should confer Filipino citizenship upon former Governor-General Harrison by a special act, and I hereby beg to recommend that you present this matter to the Assembly.

ALDANESE CITED BY PRESIDENT FOR LONG SPLENDID PUBLIC SERVICE

As I examine your record of service I find that your first appointment as a mere clerk in the Cebu Customs Service dates as of April 4, 1899, a very long time ago; that you have steadily risen through the various intervening grades in the customs service until, early in 1918, you were promoted to the very difficult and important post of Insular Collector of Customs, the trying duties of which you have loyally, efficiently, and graciously discharged to the benefit of the public.

I am to give public recognition to your splendid performance, and I am sorry, indeed, that in fairness to you I feel I must not keep you any longer in the service.

QUEZON PAYS TRIBUTE TO SERGIO OSMEÑA

It is not talent alone that can make man superior to their fellowmen, it is wisdom.

There was none in that distinguished body (Philippine Assembly) of the best

1/ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 492, "Extending Financial Aid to Arnaiz and Calvo, Manila-Madrid Fliers," July 21, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 366-367.

2/ Letter to Speaker Gil Montilla of the National Assembly, re "Conferring of Filipino Citizenship Upon Ex-Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison," October 6, 1936. Ibid., p. 372.

3/ Letter to Vicente Aldanese on his resignation as Insular Collector of Customs, January 29, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 276.

men that the country had at the time who could approach him (Sergio Osmeña) as far as wisdom and vision was concerned. ¹⁰

HIGH TRIBUTE TO AN AMERICAN FRIEND - GEN. HARBORD

In my eyes, he stood as a living example of honesty, integrity, a public official who exhibited exceptional love of duty.

When we look around and point out to the men who, in behalf of America, have rendered that service to the Filipino people, gentlemen, we cannot overlook the fact that one of those men is General James Harbord of the Philippine Constabulary. He may not realize, like the good soldier that he is, how much he has done for the Filipinos... He does his duty without any ulterior motives, without evaluating what he is doing, but merely doing what a soldier should do as his duty. ¹¹

ROOSEVELT'S SENSE OF FAIRNESS, HONOR IS COMMENDED

The Filipino people have never had a better and truer friend than President Franklin D. Roosevelt. Every act taken by him, having to do with the relations between his country and my country, has been actuated by a desire to deal fairly and honorably with us in the Philippines. ¹²

QUEZON SAYS AMERICANS ARE "TEACHERS IN PRINCIPLES OF LIBERTY"

You (referring to the first American public school teachers in the Philippines - ABS) belong to history as furnishing one of the greatest examples of successful and disinterested, patriotism. You belong to posterity as the instructors of future generations of Filipinos in the principles of liberty and right. You belong to the present, to us, by your virtues and by your achievements. I think it is safe to assert on your behalf that you feel amply repaid for all that you suffered and for all that you did. ¹³

SERGIO OSMEÑA; ONE OF GREATEST FILIPINOS

Sergio Osmeña will go down in history as one of the greatest Filipinos. He had the ability to interpret to the American people the ideals and sentiments of the Filipino people, and to the Filipino people the purposes and objectives of the United States in the Philippines. ¹⁴

QUEZON COMPARES HIMSELF WITH SERGIO OSMEÑA

He (Sergio Osmeña) is by nature an evolutionist, and I have been all my life

- 10/ Speech extolling Vice-President Osmeña, October 29, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.
- 11/ Speech on Quezon's friendship with General James Harbord, May 22, 1938. Quezon Messages. Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 61.
- 12/ Speech at the Occupation Day radio program, August 13, 1938. QP, MR#41, TNL.
- 13/ Speech on Filipino gratitude to the United States, at the Luneta on Occupation Day, August 13, 1938. Quezon Messages. Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 127.
- 14/ Speech on the 60th birthday of Vice-President Osmeña, September 8, 1938. Ibid., pp. 204-205.

a revolutionist. He always built upon the past, while I always wanted to jump. That and that alone was the cause of our misunderstandings.

Inspired by a rebellious spirit, I always moved in a hurry, never satisfied; I always wanted to go on without looking back; while he, ever measuring the distance, always looked ahead but without forgetting what was behind. ¹⁵

PALMA ONE OF NOBLEST CHARACTERS THAT EVER LIVED - QUEZON

With the death of Rafael Palma, the Philippines has lost a patriot, a scholar, and one of the noblest characters that ever lived. He has joined the immortals, leaving us the example of a life devoted to the service of his country and his fellowmen. May he rest in peace. ¹⁶

QUEZON HONORS EISENHOWER WITH DISTINGUISHED SERVICE STAR

For services of extraordinary value to the Commonwealth of the Philippines in a position of major responsibility, the Distinguished Service Star of the Philippines is hereby awarded to Lieutenant-Colonel Dwight D. Eisenhower, United States Army. ¹⁷

35. E N G L I S H L A N G U A G E

ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND PRESERVATION OF DEMOCRACY

The English language is the best means of preserving democratic institutions in the Philippine Islands. So if you want to have a clear notion and conception of liberty and freedom you have to get it through English literature. ¹

ENGLISH PROVIDES GOOD MEANS FOR INSURING INDEPENDENCE

It would appeal to the American nation to know that even after their flag has ^{been} pulled down, American institutions and ideals have become the heritage of the Filipino people. They will be assured of this when they know that the English language has been adopted by the people of the Philippine Islands as their official language.

This is so important that when I was a Resident Commissioner in the United States I met people who discussed Philippine independence with me and generally at the end of the discussion they would ask, What would be your language? What would be taught in your schools when we leave you?

They, of course, know that English is now being taught in the schools. I invariably answered that it would be the English language. So I say the adoption

15/ Ibid., pp. 207-208

16/ Press statement on the death of Dr. Rafael Palma, May 25, 1939. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 2077.

17/ General Order No. 10, December 12, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 1354.

1/ Speech before the Inter-Alumni Union, Normal School auditorium, March 12, 1921. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 550.

of English as the official language of the Philippine Islands is a good means of securing Philippine independence! (Applause). ^{2(a)}

QUEZON'S HUMOROUS EXPERIENCE REGARDING ENGLISH LANGUAGE

I remember when I first left the Philippine Islands on my trip to Russia -- that was in 1909, and at that time I could only speak the Spanish language. From the time I landed in Hongkong until I met the first Filipino in Paris, I could not understand anybody whom I met. And that trip made me learn English.

* * *

On one occasion I sat at a table and intended to order some eggs. I picked up the menu which was in English, and pointed at something in it. I thought it was eggs, but they served me fish. (Laughter and applause.) So I was right there and then convinced that if I wanted to eat eggs and not fish I had to learn English. And when I came home I set myself to learning this language. ³

36. F I L - A M E R I C A N R E L A T I O N S

AMERICAN ACCOMPLISHMENTS BOTH EDUCATIONAL AND PROGRESSIVE

At the present time the Filipinos, without distinction of creed or class, are doubtless ready to acknowledge that the work of America, notwithstanding errors and mistakes, has been on the whole an educational and progressive one. ¹

THERE IS NO DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SPANISH AND AMERICAN RULE

The great masses in the Philippines see very little difference between the rule of Spain and that of the United States; they say that both are foreign governments and as such equally undesirable. The sooner the Filipinos are allowed to form a government of their own, a government which can be called bone of their bone and flesh of their flesh in which they can take great pride, the greater and faster will be their program in building a more perfect nationality. ^{2(b)}

QUEZON RESIGNS FROM PHILIPPINE SOCIETY IN NEW YORK

I am satisfied beyond any question that the Philippine Society has been organized to gather the scattered forces that are now at work to preserve the present regime in the Philippine Islands and systematize and concentrate their effort

Such being the case, my membership in your association is not only useless but harmful. It is harmful because it places me, and through me my people, whose ideas I am supposed to represent in my actions and words concerning their relationship with the United States, in a false position. If, under the circumstances

2(a)/ Ibid.

3_/ Ibid., pp. 550-552.

1_/ Article, "The Critical Moment," El Ideal, Manila, April 8, 1912.
QP, MR#22, TNL.

2(b)/ Ibid.

mentioned, I should continue my association with the Society, its members might be led to believe that it is possible "to create a sympathetic interest between the American and the Filipino people" under a policy of colonialism. The sooner our position on the subject is frankly and unmistakably announced the better. Philanthropic, religious or commercial aid will not reconcile the Filipinos to the policy of colonialism, which the Society is undoubtedly advocating in a more or less disguised, but none the less definite and energetic form. ³

MR. HARRISON DEFENDS HARRISON ADMINISTRATION IN U.S. CONGRESS

Because he is imbued with the spirit of free Americanism, he (Governor-General Francis Burton Harrison - ABS) has the love of the Filipino people. If you are seeking to lead that people along the path of prosperity, progress and individual freedom to the goal of national liberty, you have entrusted that noble enterprise to the right man. If it be your wish to subjugate the Filipinos, to exploit them, and to give their resources into the hands of a few concerns, you have placed the governorship in the hands of the wrong man, and Mr. Harrison should be recalled without delay. ⁴

AMERICANS LITTLE AND ILL-INFORMED ABOUT PHILIPPINE CONDITIONS

I have travelled to every part of the United States and I have been saddened to learn how many misapprehensions exist here as to the real conditions in the Philippine Islands due, probably as much as anything else, to the exhibition of the native Igorot village at the St. Louis Exposition ten years ago. It is actually believed by many, if not most, Americans that the Islands were inhabited only by naked savages before the United States took possession.

Great things have been done by the United States in the Philippine Islands, but no government could have converted a savage, naked people in ten years, into such citizens as you see represented here in the person, say, of the Philippine Resident Commissioner. ⁵

FILIPINOS MUST ALWAYS MAINTAIN GOODWILL OF U.S.

Nothing would more certainly result in the complete failure of our labors than an offensive attitude on our part towards other peoples. We must endeavor especially to gain more and more the goodwill of the American people. This is a people that have given us repeated proofs that it is cordially interested in our welfare, and it is simple justice that we should give it proofs of our gratitude. I assure you that after a sojourn of seven years in the United States, I am firmly

- 3/ Letter to Richard E. Forrest, secretary, Philippine Society, 30 Church St., New York City, June 13, 1913. In: The Filipino People, Vol. 1, No. 10, June 1913. Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, pp. 163-164.
- 4/ Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, June 29, 1914. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 190.
- 5/ Remarks at the Panama Exposition (date inadvertently omitted). In: The Filipino People, Vol. III, No. 8, December 1915. Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, p. 346.

convinced that we could not find a better friend than the American people. On every question concerning the Philippines that has come up in Congress, the representatives and senators, those who voted in accordance with our opinion as well as those who voted the other way, have voted in the belief that they were acting in our best interest. ⁶

QUEZON COMMITS P.I. ON AMERICA'S SIDE IN WORLD WAR I

If we believe that America is enslaving us, if we believe that America is not sincere, if we believe that America has not fulfilled its pledges to the Filipino people, let us take advantage of this opportunity in which she is engaged in a war and declare war against herself. If we do not do this, we are cowards, for a coward is the man who speaks much of liberty but does not know how to die for it. On the other hand, if we think that America is sincere, if we think that we have been fairly treated by her, let us show her our gratitude by siding with her and upholding the cause that she is upholding.

Let us throw a retrospective glance over the past. This liberty, this progress we are now enjoying, we owe to the American nation. From the remotest corner of the Islands come messages of peace and progress. America is entitled to our gratitude. And the time has come for us to show that we are grateful. ⁷

QUEZON ACKNOWLEDGES U.S. CONTRIBUTION TO P.I. DEVELOPMENT

Q. What is your estimate of America's contribution to Philippine development?

A. It has been a great contribution. America has been remarkable not only for what she had done but also for what she has not done affecting Filipino development. She had it in her power to practice in these Islands the creed of military despot, but she did not do so. She cooperated with us in our efforts to make the Philippines a prosperous country. She promoted education, liberal and political. She fostered applied science. Economic and financial aid accompanied the Americans into the Philippines. All America did and all we did, as we consistently have been led to suppose, were predicated upon the theory that one day the Philippines would be free. We believe the day when they ought to be free has arrived. ⁸

BASIS OF FILIPINO COOPERATION WITH AMERICAN ENVOYS

The people of the Philippine Islands are ready to cooperate with the representatives of the United States in this country and with the policies of the American government so long as those policies are in line with the promises made solemnly to us and if those representatives are in earnest trying to carry out those

6/ Address at a public banquet in Quezon's honor held at the Hotel de France, Sta. Cruz, upon his triumphal return from the United States, September 28, 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, p. 426.

7/ Speech in the Senate, November 6, 1917. Ibid., p. 443. Quoted in Isabelo P. Caballero and M. de Gracia Concepcion, Quezon: The Story of a Nation and Its Foremost Statesman. Manila: The International Publishers, 1935, pp. 179-180.

8/ Exclusive interview with Edward Price Bell for the Chicago Daily News, 1925, In: The Philippine Republic, published monthly in Washington, D.C., and edited by Clyde H. Tavenner. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 763.

promises. We will be ready to do anything and everything on our part to cooperate with America on the basis that America is here, first, to see that a nation is born in the East with its own government and flag, a government based upon the very foundation that the American government has been founded, namely, that all men are equal, that they are endowed by the Creator with inalienable rights, and that they are entitled to have such government as in their opinion shall best serve their interests. ⁹

PHILIPPINES WILL HELP, BUT NO EXPLOITATION PLEASE

We, the Filipino people, have the kind/^{liest} feeling for President Coolidge and the people of the United States. That we are loyal and friendly is demonstrated by the manner in which our people have welcomed and received the Presidents representative, Col. Thompson.

We are just as anxious as the President himself to further the economic development of the Islands and to have a better administration of affairs.

The Filipino people are willing to give the American people rubber and other commodities they need but it must be done without exploiting our people, and within the limitations prescribed by the land laws of the Islands. ¹⁰

U.S. MUST HONOR LEADERS' PRONOUNCEMENTS

Ever since the United States has taken possession of the Philippine archipelago the invariabl/^e pronouncements of those who could constitutionally speak for the people of the United States, their presidents and their Congress, have been in effect, that the United States did not come to own our country but in the capacity of a trustee to administer its affairs in the interest of the Filipino people until such time as, through their practical training in the art and science of self-government, they may be able to administer their own affairs without outside interference and control as/^a free and independent people. These pronouncements we firmly believe made on behalf of a great nation jealous of its fair name cannot be withdrawn without disgracing the name of that nation. ¹¹

AMERICA'S RESPONSIBILITY IN PHILIPPINES IS CITED

You have a very serious responsibility in the Philippines. Upon your own volition you have gone there, and being the power to decide what you would do with the Filipinos, you deliberately told them that you were in the Philippines not to remain forever, nor to exploit the riches of the country, nor to annex territory, but for the purpose of helping the people of the Philippines to learn the art of self-government. And, when they had learnt that, to grant them independence. ¹²

9/ Speech in the Senate, 1926, n.d.m. QP, MR#29, TNL.

10/ Press statement, 1926, n.d.m. Ibid.

11/ Speech in the Senate, 1926, n.d.m. Ibid.

12/ Speech requested by a prominent American, Mr. Brown, 1927, n.d.m. Ibid.

UNCERTAINTY RETARDS PHILIPPINE DEVELOPMENT - QUEZON

Whatever you are going to do with the Philippines, you had better do it, for development in the Philippine Islands is retarded because of uncertainty. American doctrines of government, American practice in good living, will remain in the Philippine Islands forever. And, if we are able in the Philippines to adopt your system of child welfare, you will have left something there that will remain a monument to your nation. ¹³

U.S.-AMERICAN RELATIONS MUST BE BASED ON GOODWILL

The relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands, whatever they may be now or in the future, if in any shape or manner they may ever be profitable to both countries, they must be based upon goodwill; and I am sorry to say that as long as the relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands are premised upon the assumption that the Philippine people cannot govern themselves, this will not evoke a sympathetic response on the part of our people. ¹⁴

UNJUSTIFIED INTERFERENCE IN PHILIPPINE AFFAIRS

If you want to make a success of your administration of the Philippine Islands, then there must be cooperation between your representative in the Philippines and the Filipino people; and when we are willing to do what you ask us to do, you should let us do it. To proceed otherwise and have Congress act, when we have the power to act and are willing to act, is an unnecessary and unjustified interference in our affairs which cannot possibly be helpful to anybody. ¹⁵

QUEZON CONJURES PICTURE OF AMERICA AS MOTHER OF DAUGHTER REPUBLIC

Just picture to yourself, if you will, a Philippines raising her head as mistress of her own destinies in the midst of the West Pacific, holding the torch of democracy and freedom and pointing the way to the teeming millions of Africa and Asia now suffering under alien rule; a Philippines, heir in the Orient to the teachings of Christianity, a fair daughter republic of the greatest Republic (U.S.) upon which the sun has ever shone, and tell me whether such a picture does not make you thrill with the pride of motherhood! ¹⁶

DANGER OF PHILIPPINE INVOLVEMENT IN WAR AS U.S. COLONY

As long as the Philippine Islands are a colony of one of the probable contenders we cannot escape the disastrous results of this oncoming conflict. Prudence, therefore, counsels us that we should have a separate international

^{13/} Ibid.

^{14/} Speech at ^{the} Hippodrome Theatre, Baltimore, USA, December 4, 1927. Ibid.

^{15/} Speech before the U.S. Senate Committee on Territories and Insular Possessions, December 16, 1927. Ibid.

^{16/} Address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, November 25, 1927. In: The Philippine Republic. Vol. V, No. 2, March 15, 1928. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 804.

personality. This will undoubtedly have its own responsibilities and risks, but a state of freedom is the lesser evil. We shall be less exposed to become involved in such a conflict as an independent nation, than as a colony of the United States.

BOON OF FIL-AMERICAN FRIENDSHIP MORE ENDURING

While seeking to erect our own government, we hope that when the present political bond between the United States and the Philippines shall have been severed, another more lasting, more enduring, will replace it, the only bond that can really bind together two different peoples permanently - the bond of mutual interest, equality of rights, and friendship. ¹⁸

ROOSEVELT CONSIDERING WORTHY SOLUTION TO P.I. PROBLEM

President Franklin D. Roosevelt has given and was giving very careful consideration to every aspect of the Philippine question, with the purpose of giving it a solution that will be creditable to the United States and in the interest of both people.

I am hopeful, therefore, that during his administration the question of Philippine independence will be settled definitely and in a manner satisfactory to both the people of the United States and the people of the Philippine Islands. ¹⁹

FIL-AMERICAN BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP AND GOODWILL

I am sure that my people are more than ever grateful to America, and as the political ties binding the two countries are cut, the bonds of everlasting friendship and goodwill will bind the two peoples together for all the years to come. ²⁰

AMERICANS CAN ACQUIRE MINING PROPERTIES UNDER CHARTER

There is no question in my mind as to the equal rights that Americans and Filipinos have as to mines. If the Filipinos can acquire, Americans will have the same rights, because under the Constitution, American citizens for the next ten years will have the same rights as the Filipino citizens. ²¹

TIE OF FRIENDSHIP, GRATITUDE MORE LASTING

The political tie which binds the Philippine Islands to the United States is being substituted by a tie stronger and more permanent - the tie of friendship and everlasting gratitude. ²²

^{17/} Memorial to the U.S. President, December 1933. QP, MR#34, TNL.

^{18/} Speech before the joint session of the Territorial Legislature of Hawaii, November 22, 1933. Ibid.

^{19/} Press statement, February 16, 1934. QP, MR#36, TNL.

^{20/} Press statement, March 22, 1934. Ibid.

^{21/} Press conference at Malacañan, January 24, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

^{22/} Press statement, April 21, 1934. QP, MR#36, TNL.

QUEZON CLARIFIES POWERS OF U.S. PRESIDENT, HIGH COMMISSIONER

Let it be clearly understood that no American official, from the President of the United States down to the High Commissioner, has any authority, powers, prerogatives or privileges in the government of the Commonwealth except those granted in the independence law, commonly known as the Tydings-McDuffie Act. The President has no power under the said independence act, much less the High Commissioner, to veto any law passed by the National Assembly. The President has the authority to suspend the taking effect of or the operation of any law, contract or executive order of the government of the Commonwealth to fulfill its contracts, or to meet its bonded indebtedness and interest thereon or to provide for its sinking funds, or which seems likely to impair the reserves for the protection of the currency of the Philippines, or which in his judgment will violate the international obligation of the United States. In the case of bond issues, the independence act provides that the public debt of the Philippines and its subordinate branches shall not exceed limits now or hereafter fixed by the Congress of the United States, and no loans shall be contracted in foreign countries without the approval of the President of the United States. ²³

U.S. PATERNALISM INJURIOUS TO OUR NATIONAL INTEREST

When we accepted the independence plan prescribed in the Tydings-McDuffie Law, we also accepted exclusive responsibility for all obligations revolving upon an independent nation.

We felt that a continuation of paternalism, no matter how well intentioned, would tend to weaken our national character. ²⁴

QUEZON EMPHASIZES FIL-AMERICAN TIES OF FRIENDSHIP, GRATITUDE

The day when the American flag goes down to give place to the Filipino flag, American history in the Philippines will not have been terminated; it will only be the beginning of a history more sublime; it will be the beginning of a relationship between America and the Philippines strengthened by a tie more lasting than that which is merely political - the tie of friendship and gratitude. ²⁵

MLQ EXPRESSES FILIPINOS' GRATITUDE TO AMERICA

The establishment of an independent Philippine government insofar as the Filipinos' desires, wishes and hopes go, means only our separation from America

^{23/} Press statement on the powers of the U.S. President, High Commissioner under Tydings-McDuffie Law, August 3, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

^{24/} Speech before the graduating class, Reserve Officers Service School, September 18, 1936. Ibid.

^{25/} Speech, "Spanish-American War and National Defense," before the Military Order of the Carabao, Williard Hotel, Washington, D.C., February 27, 1937. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, pp. 1470-1476.

in the field of politics.

Gratitude is the memory of the heart. ²⁶

AMERICAN CONCEPT OF LIBERTY FOR INDIVIDUAL AND STATE

With all due respect to you (Americans), let me tell you, I am afraid that your conception of liberty is not altogether right. A proper conception of liberty is the performance of duty to a nation. It is because you are giving too much importance to the freedom of the individual to do as he pleases, as against the interest of the State, that you are suffering from the evils that you are suffering today in this country. ²⁷

QUEZON EXPRESS^{ES} GRATITUDE OF FILIPINOS TO U.S.

I bring with me not only the greetings of the Filipino people - to the people of America, but also a message of gratitude for the great work accomplished in the Philippines by the altruism of the American nation culminating in the establishment of the Commonwealth of the Philippines. ²⁸

MUST CORRECT ONEROUS FIL-AMERICAN RELATIONS AFTER INDEPENDENCE

The present relationship between the United States and the Commonwealth government, as established by the Tyding-McDuffie Act, offers possibilities of evils so inherent that they can be corrected only with the advent of complete and final independence. ²⁹

QUEZON FOR MORE REALISTIC P.I. - U.S. TRADE RELATIONS

I hope the question of the trade relations between the United States and the Philippines will be considered both by Americans and Filipinos from a more realistic point of view, and not by making us feel more obligated than we already do because of our desire to acknowledge every good work done by the United States in the Philippines.

My acquaintance with current world events is doubtless more intimate because I have travelled quite a lot abroad and have become acquainted with responsible officials in different countries. Consequently, the position that I hold has placed me in a vantage point to see the international forces, both political and economic, at play. ³⁰

ELEMENT OF MUTUALITY, EQUALITY IN FIL-AMERICAN TIES

I do not think it is at all impossible for the United States to accept

^{26/} Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, March 10, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

^{27/} Speech before the Foreign Policy Association, Hotel Astor, New York, April 3, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 81.

^{28/} Radiogram on his arrival in the United States, 1937, n.d.m. QP, MR#40, TNL.

^{29/} Report to the Congress of the United States, 1937, n.d.m. Ibid.

^{30/} Speech on Philippine-American trade relations, October 11, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

our products under a limited free trade or under a preferential arrangement . But if we must sell to the United States we must ^{also} buy from her. If we seek her market we must also open to her our market. If we receive a preferential, we must likewise offer the same treatment. If we obtain protection, we must also give her protection. A business arrangement must be mutually beneficial or it is not a business arrangement at all. We cannot seek a ^{one-}/sided arrangement and expect to get it. ³¹

IT'S UP TO FILIPINOS TO MAKE BEST OF PRESENT SITUATION

To those of my countrymen who believe that the apparently untimely restrictions and impositions upon our trade now and during the Commonwealth period are entirely due to American self-interest, I say that they are utterly unacquainted with the real spirit of American leadership in dealing with the Philippine question. I know from my contact with that leadership that America is unwilling to see the structure that she has built in this far-off land crumble to pieces and for this reason, aside from the motive of pure self-interest, she adopted those restrictions and the ten-year period of adjustment as means of preparation for our complete freedom. Whether or not we will succeed in making a proper use of this economic period of preparation for the independent Philippines that is to be, depends entirely upon the course that we are to follow and the decision that we are to make at the outset. ³²

FILIPINOS MUST UNDERSTAND THAT U.S. IS JUST OUT OF WORST DEPRESSION

But now we are confronted with the facts of the present and of the future and not with what might have been in the past. The facts of the present are that the rights and privileges granted us by free trade are now being curtailed even before American sovereignty begins to be withdrawn and during the process of its withdrawal in the Commonwealth period. To most people in the Philippines there is gross inconsistency in America's first enunciation of fair-dealing and her subsequent act of curtailment. But this later conduct of America finds justification in the fact, which all fair-minded men must admit, that in the struggle for self-preservation resulting from the worst economic depression the world has ever seen, self-interest is the first consideration. ³³

U.S., P.I. HAVE SAME HOPES, ASPIRATIONS, MORAL OBJECTIVES

Our aims, our hopes, our appreciations are the same. In the great moral causes, the great causes of righteousness, of liberty, of peace, the great causes which mean the perpetuation of life, the United States and the Philippines are in complete unison, not dominating nor conspiring against each other, but going on in accord, because in the essential things, we are in absolute and hearty agreement. ³

^{31/} Untitled speech, 1938, n.d.m. OP, MR#41, TNL.

^{32/} Ibid.

^{33/} Ibid.

^{34/} Address on Occupation Day, August 13, 1938. Ibid.

QUEZON LAUDS U.S. FOR PASSAGE OF PHILIPPINE ECONOMIC ACT

The Philippine Economic Act is a concrete manifestation of the abiding interest of the United States in our welfare and of the desire of the American people to be fair and just to our people and to do everything reasonably necessary to prepare us adequately for independent nationhood. ³⁵

LOYALTY TO AMERICA BUILT ON HER SENSE OF FAIRNESS, JUSTICE

In this critical moment, I wish again to pledge to America, on behalf of our people, our unstinted loyalty and our fullest cooperation in the promotion of the ideals of justice and liberty and in the safeguarding of the legitimate rights and interests of both the United States and the Philippines.

We want the government and the people of the United States to feel that we are bound to them not merely by the presence of the American flag in our country but by the nobler and stronger ties of gratitude and affection - bonds of sentiment that are born of the human heart and which transcend the obligations of allegiance implied in the presence of that flag. Our loyalty to the United States is rooted in something more permanent, something more lasting, than legal or political relationship. Our loyalty is built on faith - faith in the sense of fairness and justice of the American people. Faith in the great principles and ideals for which the Stars and Stripes proudly waves over land and sea, over a free and happy people. ³⁶

ALTRUISTIC POLICY SHOWS MORAL GRANDEUR OF AMERICA

Our loyalty to the great American nation is but the fruit of her altruistic policy in dealing with our people - a policy which has been characterized by justice and goodwill and by both moral and material assistance. That loyalty, I am sure, will outlive the sovereignty of the United States over our country, and will attest for all time the moral grandeur of America and the virtuality of her own institutions. ³⁷

FDR PROMISED TO REMEDY T-M ACT IMPERFECTIONS - QUEZON

One of the objectionable features of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act which was not corrected by the Tydings-McDuffie Law was that regarding the trade relations between the United States and the Philippines five years after the establishment of the Commonwealth. But the Philippine Legislature accepted the Tydings-McDuffie Law as a substitute for the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act not only because the most objectionable provisions of the latter Act had been eliminated but also because the President of the United States assured me, and in a message to the Congress reiterated this assurance, that if there were found to be inequalities and imperfections in the Tydings-McDuffie Law they would later be remedied. ³⁸

^{35/} Radio address on the significance of the Philippine Economic Act, 1939, n.d.m. QP, MR#43, TNL.

^{36/} Message to the Second National Assembly, September 5, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 343.

^{37/} Message to the Second National Assembly, September 5, 1939. QP, MR#43, TNL.

^{38/} Radio speech, October 11, 1939. Ibid.

PHILIPPINE COOPERATION IN U.S. DEFENSE PROGRAM IS PLEDGED

The government of the United States has embarked upon a program of the national defense which, we earnestly hope, includes the Philippines; for, under the terms of the Tydings-McDuffie Act, the defense of our country remains primarily the responsibility of the United States.

This is as it should be, because so long as we are under the American flag it rests exclusively with the United States, and not with us, to determine whether we shall be at peace or at war. The Filipino people, desirous of cooperating with the United States in the execution of this defense Program, are ready to bear their full share of that responsibility. To this end, I have assured the government of the United States, in behalf of the Commonwealth, that the entire Philippines is at the disposal of the United States in the present emergency. 39

U.S. ENTRY INTO WAR MAKES PHILIPPINE INVOLVEMENT INEVITABLE

The trend of events seems to point strongly to the possibility of America's entry into the present world war. If such a situation arises, it goes without saying that the Philippines would also be involved directly in the war. 40

PHILIPPINES PLEDGES TO FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE WITH U.S. IN WAR

Should the United States enter the war, the Philippines would follow her and fight by her side, placing at her disposal all our manpower and material resources to help her in achieving victory, for the cause for which America would fight is also our own cause.

The United States seeks to defend the principles which we cherish and without which we could not live as a free nation. She is striving to preserve liberty and democracy and individual freedom, and these are things for which we, too, would fight and die.

* * *

Our stake in this war is more than the continued existence of democracy and individual freedom in the world. Our stake is our future independence and the assurance that the independence may endure. 41

QUEZON ACTIVATES RESERVE FORCE IN RESPONSE TO MACARTHUR REQUEST

I take pleasure in reaffirming, in this reply to the first official request for the services of the Reserve Force of the Philippine Army, that the policy and determination of the Commonwealth government is to support the United States

39/ Message to the Second National Assembly, January 31, 1941. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2274.

40/ Message to the Second National Assembly on the extension of the Emergency Powers Act, May 15, 1941. *Ibid.*, p. 2297.

41/ Speech on Loyalty Day, June 19, 1941. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2302-2303. Also in U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 87, Part 13, pp. A-3652-53.

during this national emergency with all the resources at its command.

I have this date ordered to active duty the elements of the Reserve Force requested in your letter, and have instructed the Chief of Staff to issue the orders necessary to make them available to you on September 1, 1941. ⁴²

QUEEN COMMITS PHILIPPINES TO AMERICA'S SIDE IN WAR

The United States is struggling to prevent the domination of the world by dictators and we, too, would fight and die against such masters. The United States wants to uphold the rule of right and justice in international relations and to safeguard the independence of small nations, to free them from the fear of aggression and subjugation by military powers - and we, too would fight and die to save our country from such threats and perils. And so, if the United States decides to enter this war, it will be our war as much as the war of the United States, and her decisions will be our decision. In such ^{an} event, she will find all the people of this country to the last man on her side, fighting under her banner and praying to Almighty God for the victory of her arms. ⁴³

PRESIDENT PLEDGES FILIPINO GRATITUDE TO UNITED STATES

We shall do our share - for our country and for the United States, for liberty and for justice, and for the rights of free men to think and speak freely, to worship God as they please, to work without restraint or compulsion in the pursuit of happiness, and to lead a way of life chosen by themselves.

* * *

For weal or for woe, in victory or in defeat, we cast our fate with America and the great principles she is striving to uphold.

* * *

We shall defend with our all this far-flung frontier of American liberty and maintain untarnished the honor and glory of the United States. ⁴⁴

FILIPINOS CAST FATE WITH AMERICA FOR WEAL OR WOE

In this crucial moment, your sentiments are our sentiments, your ideals and aims are our own, the freedoms that you are defending and for which you are willing to shed your blood are the freedoms which we cherish and for which we are willing to bleed and die. For weal or for woe, in victory or in defeat, we cast our fate with America and the great principles she is striving to uphold. ⁴⁵

^{42/} Letter to Lt. Gen. Douglas MacArthur, commanding general, United States Army Forces in the Far East, August 2, 1941. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2306.

^{43/} Radio message to the United States, August 19, 1941. QF, NR#45, TNL.

^{44/} Address on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1941. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2329-2332.

^{45/} Radio message to the U.S. on the 6th anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 16, 1941. QF, NR#45, TNL.

AMERICANS, FILIPINOS FIGHTING SIDE BY SIDE AGAINST JAPS

Christmas to us this year is a rededication of loyalty to the ideals that bind together the democratic nations the world over. Here in the Philippines, loyalty to those ideals is being demonstrated through the daily feats of heroism of American and Filipino troops fighting side by side on our battlefields against the common enemy. My people in this hour of their greatest trial look with confidence towards America, secure in the belief that with the help of that great Republic the ideals of democracy will never perish from our native land. 46

WE FIGHT WITH AMERICA FOR AMERICA AND PHILIPPINES - QUEZON

At the present time we have but one task - fight with America for America and the Philippines. To this task we shall devote all our resources in men and materials. Ours is a great cause. We are fighting for human liberty and justice, for those principles of individual freedom which we all cherish and without which life would not be worth living. Indeed, we are fighting for our own independence. It is to maintain this independence, these liberties and these freedoms, to banish fear and want among all peoples, and to establish a reign of justice for all the world, that we are sacrificing our lives and all that we possess. The war may be long-drawn and ^{hard-}/fought, but with the determination of freedom-loving peoples everywhere to stamp out the rule of violence and terrorism from the face of the earth, I am absolutely convinced that final and complete victory will be ours. 47

PHILIPPINES CAN SERVE AS EAST-WEST BRIDGE, SAYS QUEZON

Filipino civilization represents the merger of East and West. In the Philippines, they have met on an equal footing, and the best of each has intermingled. We have been enriched by this fusion.

Clearly, if we are to establish a world of peace after this war, human beings of all nations must learn to understand and respect one another. The West must try to understand and respect the East, and the East must try to do the same for the West.

We of the Philippines can help by serving as the meeting ground, as the interpreter between the East and West. This will be our contribution to the free world of tomorrow. 48

BATAAN EPIC IS SYMBOL OF FIL-AMERICAN SOLIDARITY

The epic of Bataan will go down in history as a symbol of American and Filipino solidarity. The Filipinos fought because they had faith - faith in

46/ Message to the people of America, December 24, 1941. Ibid.

47/ Message on Rizal Day, December 30, 1941. Ibid.

48/ Statement for the "Free World Theater of the Air" program, January 21, 1943. Ibid.

America and faith in themselves. They fought because they love freedom and they knew that freedom was worth dying for. That faith and that love kept them fighting in the face of overwhelming odds, and even after their physical endurance has been reduced to a minimum by hunger and sickness. ⁴⁹

37. FILIPINISM

IT'S TIME TO FILIPINIZE FILIPINOS - QUEZON

The time has come to Filipinize the Filipinos, We have for many years been assimilating first with Spaniards and then with Americans. Let us assimilate ourselves with Filipinos, too. I don't know whether ours are Filipino or Spanish customs; but we have customs which I have seen since my boyhood that are magnificent. It makes no difference to me whether they came from Spain or from ancient Malaya. For instance, our family life. That must be preserved. ^{1(a)}

IT'S IMPORTANT THAT FILIPINOS SHOULD FEEL, THINK LIKE FILIPINOS!

It is important that we should feel and think like Filipinos - nothing more, nothing less. There are no separatists here. If there are, let us throw them overboard. They are better dead than alive. ²

38. FILIPINO FLAG

FILIPINOS REJOICE OVER REAPPEARANCE OF FILIPINO FLAG

The reappearance of our flag will cause immense satisfaction in our hearts, and it is but natural that the people should hold special celebrations of rejoicing. It is for this purpose that Governor-General Harrison will soon fix a date for our Flag Day to celebrate such an important event. ^{1(b)}

[Note: The following is the message of Governor-General Harrison to the Philippine Legislature:

"The time has now long passed for suspicion and distrust between the two peoples, and Act No. 1698 known as the Flag Law was passed during a period of such temporary feeling which has long since been allayed. I recommend to you, therefore, the repeal of the Flag Law, so that it may no longer be a crime for a Filipino to exhibit in public that flag under which his people had set up a generation ago their own form of government.]

DESCRIPTION AND SPECIFICATIONS OF FILIPINO FLAG

"Whereas, section one, Article XIII of the Constitution prescribes what the Philippine National Flag should be without giving description and specifications; "Whereas, Act No. 2928 described the construction of the Filipino flag without the necessary specifications of the different elements of the flag;

⁴⁹ Statement on the first anniversary of the fall of Bataan, April 9, 1943. Ibid.

^{1(a)} Address at the San Juan de Letran College, November 7, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 169-170.

² Speech at the banquet for Secretaries Elpidio Quirino and Jose Yulo, Malacanang, September 27, 1938. Ibid., Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 221.

^{1(b)} Press statement on the reappearance of the Filipino flag, October 6, 1919. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 526.

"Whereas, compliance with this Act has not been uniformly carried out and has caused the making of Filipino flags in disproportionate sizes with incorrect proportions of the different allegorical symbols of the flag; and

"Whereas, to avoid irregularities and discrepancies, it is necessary to follow the Constitutional provisions and Act No. 2928 with uniformity;

"Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, do hereby promulgate and order that the following specifications for the Philippine National Flag be strictly observed by all civil and military branches of the government:

"1. The maximum length of the flag is twice its width; the minimum length is twice the altitude of the equilateral triangle;

"2. Any side of the equilateral triangle is as long as the width of the flag;

"3. (See accompanying illustration.) Solid golden sunburst without any markings - Sun with eight rays, equally spread; Arc with Sun ray = Free arc; two opposite rays in the horizontal axis and two ⁱⁿ/vertical axis; sun's diameter $D = \frac{W}{5}$ = each rays has one major beam, twice as broad as the minor beam on either side; length of major beam, $R = \frac{5}{9} D$: length of minor beam $r = \frac{4}{5} R$.

"4. Three five-pointed golden stars of equal size, each star with one point directed to the vertex of the angle enclosing it; diameter of circumscribed circle of each star = $\frac{5}{2} D$ diameter of inscribed circle of each star = $\frac{2}{9} D$; distance from each corner = $\frac{D}{9}$.

"Canvas ² trimmed edge to the left of the triangle is approximately $\frac{D}{5}$ wide - not counted in measuring length of flag.

"Flags made of silk will be trimmed on three edges with a knotted fringe of yellow silk ² $\frac{D}{5}$ wide.

QUEZON SEES SPANISH FLAG REPLACED BY STARS AND STRIPES

As I saw in that late afternoon of August 13, 1898, the sun set in the clouds that crown ^{ed} Mariveles with purple and gold, in the gathering darkness of the Pacific, the royal flag of Spain came down and for the first time in my life I saw the Stars and Stripes run to the fore.

Little did I realize then that I was witnessing what in ultimate result may prove to be the greatest event of modern civilization in the Orient. Little did I know in my immaturity that I was beholding the birth of a new ideology in Asia - ideology based upon what was then a strange, new conception in this part of the world - a conception that government is "of the people, by the people, and for the people" - a conception based upon the magic words - liberty and freedom. To me, as I watched in the sunset glow the Spanish colors being lowered, it seemed the setting sun was symbolical of the falling flag - the waning of a great empire. Little did I dream that the first pangs of Philippine nationhood were in their beginnings, that forty years later I would be speaking as I am

2/ Executive Order No. 23, "Description and Specifications of the Filipino Flag," March 25, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVEF, pp. 635-637.

today. All I could see then was the symbol that I once loved passing away. I paid it then the mead of affection I felt for Spain as I voice now the measure of my lasting gratitude to her as mother of our Christianity and of that indefinable but delightful thing the world calls Spanish culture.³

PRESIDENT TALKS ON NATIONAL FLAG AND MYSTERY OF SYMBOLS

Strange the hold that a national flag has upon its people. The mystery of symbols lies deep in human nature. It is probable that almost as soon as man began to gather together for common purposes, some kind of conspicuous object was used as an emblem or symbol of the common interests. They do not issue from prearranged culture of sentiment but by a process of instinctive fervor spring from honest and simple-hearted simplicity, prompting mankind to cherish and to stand by kith and kin, and engendering those sentiments of devotion to home and fireside upon which the perpetuity of nations depends.

Symbols in all ages have played a large part in human affairs by stimulating the actions of men through their sentiments and imaginations. All written forms containing injunctions and rules of action and duty are precise and appeal strongly to the understanding, but are destitute of the warmth and color that awaken the immeasurable emotions of the heart.

The signs and emblems of great movements have always laid hold on their followers with more vigor and tenacity than the history and written rescripts of the movements themselves. Attachment to the flag has been quite as potent as loyalty to the law as a factor of national stability.⁴

QUEZON ASKS PEOPLE TO RENEW PLEDGE TO FILIPINO FLAG

In the midst of your sufferings - and I share them to the full - let us turn our thoughts today to our flag of Sun and Three Stars, the flag that our heroes followed in countless battles for freedom.

Let us renew our pledge that our heroes for it will not be dimmed, nor our faith in it fettered, nor our love for it weakened by the invader, but that each returning sun will make us more determined in our resolve that, as in honor we inherited it from our fathers, in honor we must bequeath it to our sons. That honor is the badge that only free men can wear.⁵

39. F I L I P I N O H O S P I T A L I T Y

FILIPINO HOSPITALITY DESCRIBED AT ROTARY CONFERENCE

In the old days, when a foreigner travelled in the provinces, he would ordinarily go to any house as there were no hotels around. The owner of the house

3/ Speech on the 40th anniversary of Occupation Day, August 13, 1938. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, pp. 1838-1839.

4/ Ibid. Also in Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 128-129.

5/ Radio speech beamed to the Philippines from Washington, D.C., June 14, 1944. This was Quezon's last public utterance before his death at Saranac Lake, New York, 48 days later on August 1, 1944. Ibid., Vol. V, p. 2505.

would open his door wide to welcome him; but more than merely receiving the visitor, he would give him the best he had in the house. If he had just one bed it would be given to the guest. If the family had just one table, that also would be given to him. The owner would not sit with the visitor to eat, but would prefer to serve him.

This hospitality means that we give to our fellow men all we have, regardless of nationality. An ideal could not be expressed more emphatically than by this general custom in the Philippines. ^{1(a)}

RENUNCIATION OF WAR POLICY EXPRESSIVE OF FILIPINO HOSPITALITY

When our delegates to the Constitutional Convention drafted the Philippine Constitution, they inserted a clause that the Philippines renounces war (as an instrument of national policy - ABS). It is not merely a gesture of a small people trying to win the goodwill of other peoples. This clause is expressive and is in perfect harmony with our hospitality, which is proverbial. It is indicative of our friendship to everybody.

In entering upon this new life our people have but one ambition, that is, the exercise of their self-expression that they may contribute their part in the furtherance of peace and goodwill. ²

40. FILIPINO PEOPLE

FILIPINO SOCIETY IS FAMILY-BASED, SAYS QUEZON

Those who have come to the Philippine Islands and have lived in Filipino homes will admit that the Filipino loves his home, loves his family, and that family ties are strong. Our society is not yet based upon the individual. It is based upon the family.

Well, that makes up our communities where the interests are shared by many people, and each family is interested in seeing to it that the members live a life that will not dishonor the name of the family. ^{1(b)}

FILIPINOS' SUPERIOR QUALITIES DORMANT IN RECENT YEARS

I have an abiding faith in our people. I know that they have all the faculties needed to become a powerful and enlightened nation. The Filipino is not inferior to any man of any race. His physical, intellectual, and moral qualities are as excellent as those of the proudest stock of mankind. But some of these qualities, I am constrained to admit, have become dormant in recent years. If we compare our individual and civic traits with those of our forefathers, we will

^{1(a)} Welcome speech at the Fifth Pacific Regional Conference of the Rotary International, U.P. School of Hygiene and Public Health auditorium, February 18, 1935. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1152.

² Ibid.

^{1(b)} Speech at the Columbia University, USA, November 17, 1927. QP, MR#29, TNL.

find, I fear, that we, the Filipinos of today, have lost much of their moral strength and power for growth. ^{2(a)}

PRESIDENT DEPLORES ONLY FEW HAVE AMBITION TO DO GREAT THINGS

One of our great weaknesses is our inability to appreciate the true value of things. Only a few of us have the ambition to accomplish important things, and I consider ^{those} few persons as the most valuable elements not only in the government but also in our community. And I wish to tell them that, as far as I can, I am always ready to give them every opportunity and encouragement in the work to which they have devoted their life - a work which may appear sentimental now, but which, in the end, may leave lasting benefits to humanity. ³

LET REASON, NOT FRIENDSHIP OR PITY, GUIDE OUR ACTIONS - QUEZON

Filipinos have one characteristic weakness. We are sometimes prone to be influenced more by a feeling of friendship and pity than by a sense of justice or duty. We must overcome our sentimentality and let reason guide our actions. This is essential if we are to be a virile and strong people. ⁴

41. F I L I P I N O S O L D I E R

BETTER SOLDIER IN WAR, BETTER CITIZEN IN PEACE

The whole philosophy of the national defense program of the Philippines is to make of a Filipino soldier, when he has got to fight, a better soldier, and in peace, a better citizen.

* * *

Military training brings young men from every place of the country together and enables them to talk with one another and realize their oneness or common nationality. They come to know that they belong to one country which they must defend together or perish. ¹

SOLDIER'S UNIFORM SYMBOL OF INTEGRITY AND PATRIOTISM

I want the uniform of the soldier in the Philippines to be a symbol of honesty, integrity, obedience to law, civic spirit, and patriotism, and that is why I am not going to tolerate any abuse or abuses on the part of any member of the Philippine Army. ^{2(b)}

^{2(a)}/ Address before the faculties and student bodies of public and private schools, colleges and universities, August 19, 1938. QP, MR#41, TNL.

³/ Speech before Filipino scientists in Malacanang, March 2, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL. Also in Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVEF, p. 54.

⁴/ Message to the Second National Assembly, January 24, 1939. Ibid.

¹/ Speech before the U.S. Foreign Policy Association, Astor Hotel, New York City, April 3, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

^{2(b)}/ Speech at a press conference, Malacanang, November 3, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

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QUEZON WANTS EVERY ARMY OFFICER TO BE HONEST AND HONORABLE

I want to say to everyone here that I prefer to have no army at all in the Philippines unless every officer in the army believes and practices the ideal that he should be, above all, an honorable man. I would rather have officers who know very little of military science and tactics provided they are honest and honorable, than officers who know much but are dishonest and dishonorable. I want every officer of the Philippine Army to consider his uniform as incontrovertible evidence that he is a gentleman. I want everyone of you to love that uniform more than your wife, sister, or son, or even yourself; and that love should be manifested in your determination not to allow anybody to disgrace the uniform. ³

PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE TO FILIPINO SOLDIERS: LIVE WITH HONOR

Every soldier should bear these words in mind: they only are fit to live those who live with honor. A man who has no concept of honor, who does not know that honor is above life itself, should never wear the uniform of a soldier. So, to you, I have only that message to give: they only are fit to live those who are not afraid to die, and a man is only entitled to live so long as he lives with honor. ⁴

KLQ SALUTES 2ND FILIPINO INFANTRY ORGANIZED IN AMERICA

With you, as you march, will go the hopes and prayers of the Filipino people. By your side will be the heroic spirit of your brothers who laid down their lives in the battle of the Philippines and of our ancestors who also fought and died in defense of liberty. And over your heads will fly the proud banners of your regiment. I know that you will carry those banners with the same high courage as the heroes of Bataan.

I salute your regimental colors, symbol of Filipino bravery, of Filipino faith in God and freedom, of Filipino determination to fight on to victory. ⁵

PRESIDENT RECALLS MATCHLESS COURAGE OF FILIPINO SOLDIERS IN BATAAN

It is more than a year since the echoing thunder of the guns has rolled over the peninsula of Bataan - since the Americans and Filipinos of MacArthur's Army fired the last, desperate shots from their jungle foxholes. The memory of the hunger, the disease, the misery - and also of the insuperable courage of those men - is all that remains to us of that hopeless battle. ⁶

- 3/ Speech at the oath-taking of Brig. Gen. Vicente Lim as deputy chief of staff, Philippine Army, May 17, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.
- 4/ Speech at the graduation exercises of the Reserve Officers Service School, Camp Dau, Pampanga, May 29, 1939. Quezon Messages. Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 136.
- 5/ Message to the Second Filipino Infantry, May 29, 1943. QP, MR#45, TNL.
- 6/ Message to the Filipino regiments read for the President by Maj. Gen. Basilio J. Valdes, August 2, 1943. QP, MR#46, TNL.

OUR DUTY IS TO FIGHT AND RESIST JAPS, MLQ TELLS SOLDIERS

I am aware of your sufferings, your privations, your sacrifices, and the dangers to which you are exposed. All these weigh heavily upon my mind, but I am consoled by the fact that I am sharing with you your trials and sacrifices. Indeed, right now bombs are falling near me, just as they must fall around you. But we cannot allow them either to daunt our spirit or to weaken our determination to continue fighting to the bitter end.

We must stand by the plighted word, by the loyalty that we have pledged to America and by our devotion to freedom, democracy and our liberty. We are fighting that the Filipino/Say be the masters of their own destiny and that every Filipino, not only of this generation but also of the generations to come, may be able to live in peace and tranquility in the full enjoyment of liberty and freedom. Your duty - our duty - is to fight and resist until the invader is driven from our land. You must not give the enemy a foot of ground when the battle is joined. You must hold in place - and hold, and hold! ⁷

SOLDIER'S PROFESSION NOBLEST OF ALL CALLINGS, SAYS QUEZON

Of all professions, that of a soldier is the noblest. Its very essence is self-sacrifice and devotion to duty. In every other professions, of course, a man can be of service to his community and to his nation, but the soldier, from the moment he embraces his profession, is dedicated exclusively to the defense and protection of his motherland and of his people. ⁸

SOLDIERS ARE TRAINED TO OBEY, OFFICERS TO COMMAND - AND GET ALL CREDIT!

Here is what I am going to tell you - what a few of you know. You know the soldier, his duty is to obey commands - to do what he is told to do and taught to do. The credit is taken not by him, for what he has accomplished, but by those who have given the instructions or orders; and consequently when you read articles or books written about Americans in the Philippines very little is said about what the soldier did. ⁹

42. FILIPINO WOMEN

QUEZON CITES WHOLESOME INFLUENCE OF FILIPINO WOMEN

Our women have exercised in the home a very effective influence. The influence of women, I think, and I suppose the ladies will agree with me, is always very wholesome. So that when you think of the Philippines, all you have to do is

⁷ Message to Filipino soldiers at the front, January 3, 1942. Same statement was presented to the Committee on Territories and Insular Affairs, U. S. Congress, September 28, 1943. QP, MR/45, TNL.

⁸ Speech as guest of the Canton Military Academy, Canton, China, December 13, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 153.

⁹ Speech before the Military Order of the Carabao at the Willard Hotel, Washington, D. C., February 27, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 58.

to picture to yourself a country where men and women are not different from the men and women in other parts of the world, who are neither better nor worse than ordinary human beings.

The government that will be established in the Philippines will be that government which will be satisfactory to educated, civilized people, with lofty ideals of morality and religion. ¹

COUNTRY CAN'T HAVE GOOD CITIZENS WITHOUT GOOD MOTHERS

Our women must guide the Filipino youth away from the many temptation^s of modern life, influence them to dedicate their attention more seriously to their studies, for God knows how much their country will have need of them and their sound intelligence. The saying that the hand that rocks the cradle is the hand that rules the world, is an eternal truth. Without good mothers, we cannot have good and disciplined citizens. ²

PRESIDENT DEFINES WOMAN'S DUTY IN HOME

It is peculiarly the woman's duty and prerogative to look after the spiritual and physical well-being of her household. A nice and well-governed home contributes largely to the happiness of those who live in it. And a well-balanced diet is the first requisite to preserve health.

In the present-day civilization housekeeping is at once a science and an art, and it is to be expected that the average woman should be equipped with necessary knowledge to perform this work properly and efficiently. ³

MLQ APPEALS TO FILIPINO WOMEN FOR SUPPORT, INSPIRATION

We are about to face the most difficult task that, as a people, we have ever faced - that of establishing and maintaining a government of our own. It has been my lot to lead the nation in this great undertaking and I appeal for inspiration and support to every Filipino woman, without which I cannot succeed. ⁴

CHIEF EXECUTIVE SAYS WOMEN HAVE KEENER SENSE OF JUSTICE THAN MEN

Women, if given a share in the administration of our government, can do more towards the promotion of social justice in the Philippines than when such task is left in the hands of men alone, for women have a keener sense of justice than men. ⁵

- 1/ Speech at the Hippodrome Theatre, Baltimore, Maryland, December 4, 1927. QP, MR#29, TNL.
- 2/ Speech before the National Federation of Women's Clubs of the Philippines, 1929, n.d.m. QP, MR#31, TNL.
- 2/ Speech before a group of Filipino women, October 17, 1933. QP, MR#34, TNL.
- 4/ Message for the Women's Journal, October 4, 1935. QP, MR#38, TNL.
- 5/ Speech at the sixth biennial convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs of the Philippines, November 25, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 147.

FILIPINO WOMAN EQUAL TO BEST IN WORLD - QUEZON

The Filipino woman is the equal of the best in the world and there is no reason why she should not enjoy all the rights and privileges of women in more progressive countries. ⁶

WOMEN'S HIGHEST DUTY IS TO SHAPE CHARACTER OF THEIR CHILDREN

I am willing to give women more rights than those already granted. I will give them more because it is their paramount duty today to educate, direct, and shape the character of their children. That is the greatest duty a woman has to perform as a citizen. ⁷

43. F I N A N C E

PRESIDENT VOWS TO MAINTAIN INTEGRITY OF MONETARY SYSTEM

I shall keep our present currency system in all its integrity and will allow no change that will affect its value. If new conditions should require such a change it will be done only after the most careful study and consultation with competent experts. ¹

QUEZON FAVORS REDUCED, MINIMUM BONDED INDEBTEDNESS

As a national policy, our government should diminish, not increase, our bonded indebtedness. If at all it becomes necessary and urgent that the government should increase its public debt, it should be with the understanding that the bonds are to be floated locally and to be absorbed, if possible, by our own nationals. ²

MR. PLEDGES TO MAINTAIN GOVERNMENT ON BALANCED BUDGET

A government draws the breath of life from its finances, and it must balance its income and expenditures as any other going business concern if it expects to survive. It is my duty, then, to see that the government of the Commonwealth live within its means and that it stand foursquare on a well-balanced budget. ³

PRACTICE STRICTEST ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT EXPENDITURES

Confronted as we are with increasing demands on the public treasury, we cannot escape the duty of practising the strictest economy in government expenditures. We must retrench if we hope to maintain a balanced budget. Wherever a

^{6/} Speech on woman suffrage broadcast from Washington, D. C., April 4, 1937. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 88.

^{7/} Speech on the 21st anniversary of the first meeting on woman suffrage, October 28, 1939. *Ibid.*, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 198-199.

^{1/} Speech on accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 237.

^{2/} Campaign speech, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

^{3/} Inaugural address, November 15, 1935. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 15.

owing can be made, whether by elimination of unnecessary activities or personnel, or by a reduction of excessive salaries and other expenses, it should be accomplished as soon as possible. ⁴

QUEZON REPORTS GOVERNMENT INCOME INCREASING FAST

In connection with my message to you (referring to the members of the First National Assembly - ABS) of September 28, 1936, in which I raised the total estimated regular income for 1936 by P5,603,100 on account of the increase actually realized in the revenue collections during the first eight months of the year, I hereby also raise, based on the same increase in the collection of the government revenues, the estimate of the total regular income of the national government accruing to the general fund by the amount of P5,002,600 or from P65,817,400, as originally estimated in the budget for 1937, to P70,820,000. ⁵

PRESIDENT VETOES LOANS TO "AGRI" GRADUATES FOR LACK OF FUNDS

I realize the importance of giving financial aid to graduates of agricultural schools and colleges who have no capital of their own with which to undertake their chosen career. However, the financial condition of the government does not permit at this time the investment of one-half million pesos of its already much depleted accumulated surplus, in loans, the recovery of which will be very doubtful. ⁶

GOVERNMENT OF THE PHILIPPINES FINANCIALLY SOUND - AS OF 1937

The national government is in a very sound financial condition, there being at the end of the first six months of this year a surplus of nearly P45,000,000. After making allowances for certain commitments and other obligations, it is believed that there will be a substantial amount of unencumbered surplus.

The considerable increase in collections is the natural consequence of the increase in the volume of foreign trade. Monetary circulation likewise increased as a result of our favorable trade balance.

The improved local business conditions and the healthy outlook of our foreign trade, together with the adoption of sound banking policies, have contributed largely to the increase of our banking resources. ⁷

QUEZON ENJOINS ABSOLUTE HONESTY IN SPENDING PEOPLE'S MONEY

The most rudimentary principles of honesty, public and private, demand that we be true in everything we do. If we receive a sum of money and we know

⁴ Message to the First National Assembly, December 12, 1935. Ibid., p. 46.

⁵ Message to the First National Assembly, October 7, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 313.

⁶ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 405 providing for loans to agricultural graduates, November 6, 1936. Ibid., p. 371.

⁷ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, THL.

But the money has been given to us by U.S. Congress with the prohibition that we must not spend it directly or indirectly for a certain purpose, we can only follow one of two courses: either we refuse to accept the money so as not to comply with that condition, or we take the money and comply faithfully with the condition.

44. FREEDOM OF SPEECH

PRINCIPAL DUTY OF PRESS IS TO BE TRUTHFUL AND IMPARTIAL, SAYS QUEZON

The main duty of the press as an expounder of facts and an index of public opinion is to be truthful and impartial. No one has a right to demand that newspaper should not have an established opinion on various questions which daily come under their consideration, nor should any one deny them their just prerogative to weigh the facts as best they could, but the public has the full right to demand that the press should not deliberately distort the truth nor fabricate yarns to back up a certain campaign or support a preconceived plan.

If to lie is bad enough for a man, it is a serious crime for the press. The reason is that when an organism, like the press, which exercises a dominating influence in the community, commits a falsehood, the effect is such that it perverts public conscience and obstructs the adequate solution of the problems which affect society at large. ¹

HYPER-SENSITIVE PUBLIC OFFICIAL'S PLACE IN WOODS OR HILLS

A hyper-sensitive public man, who shuts himself in disdainful isolation and admits no criticism nor listens to wise counsel, should seek refuge in the woods or in the hills. These are the spots which become him. As for me I do not wish to be a wild man.

* * *

I welcome newspaper criticism more than newspaper praise.

* * * *

The place of a man in public life with thin or "onion" skin is the mountains or the tree-tops. ²

QUEZON INSURES FREEDOM OF SPEECH, PRESS AND BELIEF

I will hold inviolate and will defend to the utmost the people's individual rights and liberties. I shall safeguard free speech, the freedom of the press, and the equality of every man before the law, however poor or ignorant. I shall insure for every citizen of the Philippines, from Luzon to Mindanao and

8/ Speech before coconut planters and municipal mayors, February 19, 1938.
Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 29.

1/ Speech at a press banquet, Manila Hotel, January 12, 1917.
Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 439.

2/ Ibid.

Sulu, the right to worship God as his own conscience dictates. 3

PRESIDENT'S MEMO CENSURING CENSORSHIP OF RADIO PROGRAMS

I have seen in a Sunday paper a news item to the effect that the Radio Board has decided at its recent session to order the broadcasting companies to submit their programs before they are held. If this is true, it is contrary to the views I expressed at a meeting of the cabinet not long ago. In that meeting I expressed my objection to the Radio Board censoring radio programs. All I wanted the Radio Board to do was to require that speeches or news broadcast be in writing and copies thereof sent to the Radio Board after they have been delivered, in order that if and when a broadcast made be against the law, there may be evidence at hand for the prosecution of the guilty party.

* * *

As I stated at the meeting, any attempt on the part of the government to censor the radio programs is tantamount to a limitation of the freedom of speech, and it was because of my opposition to any policy on the part of the government that would, in any way, curtail the freedom of speech or give the government a monopoly of any kind or means of information that I have objected to the establishment by the government of a radio station, if it is going to be an exclusive franchise. 4

FREE TO CRITICIZE GOVERNMENT POLICIES, BUT NOT ATTACK PRESIDENT

There is an idea, which is quite general among us, that if you express an opinion contrary to those of your superiors, you go against them. The idea is nonsensical. I want you to feel free in expressing your opinions. Now, don't be afraid to express them; but don't criticize me. It is not right to lambast me. And as President of the nation I might suspend you.

Now is the time for the provincial governors to express their opinions but not the opportunity to stand up and attack the President. You can say you are not in accord with our policies. But don't attribute our mistakes to bad faith. We all make mistakes. It is not humiliating to own our mistakes and it is a great help to the administration if you should call my attention to those mistakes. It is one thing to express your opinion freely, whether or not you agree with me or with the secretary of the interior, it is another thing to start saying that we are dictators or something else. I welcome the first, but won't tolerate the second, which is demagoguery. 5

3/ Speech on accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 236.

4/ Memorandum for the chairman of the Radio Board on censorship of radio programs, September 20, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 363.

5/ Speech on government policies at Malacanan, February 14, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 5

TELL THE PRESS TO GO TO HELL - BUT IT TURNS OUT TO BE A PRIEST!

What I am going to relate is a true story. I was sick in Baguio once, many years ago. I had a nurse; and, by the way, nurses are supposed to be educated or used to be. (Laughter.) They are now required to finish high school; but in those days they were only required to pass the intermediate grades.

One day, while I was resting in bed, the nurse came to me and said, "Mr. President, the press." I said, "Tell the press to go to hell!" (Laughter.)

Did you know who the fellow was? I found out later that he was a priest! (Laughter.) He was the Rector of the University of Sto. Tomas. (More laughter.) It was a mistake due to bad pronunciation of an acquired language.⁶

45. F R I E N D S H I P P O L I C Y

ON OUR NATIONAL IDEAL AND GOODWILL TOWARDS OTHER NATIONS

Like other peoples, the Filipinos have a national ideal which they cherish and for which they have given the full measure of their devotion so that their country might take its deserved place in the community of free nations. And after the Philippines shall have become independent, with more reason they will cherish the goodwill of other peoples because they know that no nation can isolate itself from the rest of the world.¹

PHILIPPINE SECURITY LIES IN POLICY OF FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL NATIONS

If the Philippine Islands are ever to become independent, the Filipino people must make up their mind that they shall have to take full responsibility for their life as an independent nation. We must candidly admit that we are not yet living in the era of absolute security and peace for all nations, great and small alike, and therefore, peoples aspiring to be free and independent must take their chances as other peoples have done before them, some with success and a few others with failure. Fortunately, there are no longer governments, however powerful, that will boldly assert their right to conquer, simply because they have the power and the will. And any nation, no matter how small and weak, may properly hope to be let alone in the full enjoyment of its independent life, if it should follow a wise, just and friendly policy with all the other nations, especially with its neighbors, a policy that will give no excuse for any nation to interfere with its domestic and internal affairs.²

FILIPINOS FOR AMITY AMONG PACIFIC NATIONS - QUEZON

We are, more than any other people living in the Pacific, interested in

6/ Speech before coconut planters and municipal mayors, February 19, 1938. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 1702.

1/ Speech on Balboa Day, September 25, 1933. QP, MR#34, TNL.

2/ Speech before the Pan Pacific Union, ^{Tokyo,} November 14, 1933. Ibid.

the promotion of goodwill and happy intercourse among the Pacific nations. It is for us a question of life and death that amity amongst us should prevail and mutual respect for our respective rights be the norm of our inter-relations. ³

FOREIGN RELATIONS BASED ON TIES OF RACIAL KINSHIP

It is necessary that now that we are going to realize our cherished ideal of independence and will soon have to conduct our own foreign relations, we should learn more and more of the culture, progress and achievements of other peoples particularly those nearest to us and with whom we have a certain degree of racial kinship. ⁴

GOODWILL TOWARDS ALL NATIONS IS POLICY OF QUEZON ADMINISTRATION

Goodwill towards all nations shall be the golden rule of my administration. The peoples of the earth are inter-dependent and their prosperity and happiness are inseparably linked with each other. International brotherhood and cooperation are, therefore, necessary.

Amity and friendship, fairness and square deal in our relations with other nations and their citizens or subjects, protection in their legitimate investments and pursuits, in return for their temporary allegiance to our institutions and laws, are assurances I make on behalf of the new government to Americans and foreigners who may desire to live, trade, and otherwise associate with us in the Philippines. ⁵

OF FRIENDSHIP AND GOODWILL WITH OTHER NATIONS

We are just emerging from a condition of tutelage to that of a self-governing people. Soon we shall take our rightful place in the family of independent nations. We seek and we need the friendship and goodwill of all the peoples of the world and we offer them ours in return. We have but one ambition - to be able to take our share, however modest, in the onward progress of mankind. ⁶

EMPHASIS ON FRIENDSHIP THROUGH FAIR DEALING, JUSTICE

I want to assure you that Japanese in the Philippines will be more than amply protected in their rights by our government and that they will always receive every courtesy and consideration from our people. A geographical fact is as inflexible as a mathematical truth. Japan and the Philippines are neighbors and it is to their mutual interest that they be friends, and friendship can only be promoted through fair dealing and justice on both sides. ⁷

3/ Ibid.

4/ Press statement, June 10, 1934. OP, MR#36, TNL.

5/ Inaugural address, November 15, 1935. Quezon Messages. Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVEF, p. 17.

6/ Address after receiving the Chinese decoration of the Order of the Brilliant Jade in Shanghai, China, January 28, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVEF, p. 36.

7/ Speech before the Philippine Society of Japan, February 2, 1937. Ibid., p. 38.

PHILIPPINES SEEKS BROTHERHOOD OF ALL NATIONS

It is with Christian love in our hearts that we seek to become a member of the family of nations, never to take part - except in self-defense in any armed struggle to kill men for the conquest of power or the accumulation of riches.

We seek the brotherhood of nations, with love in our hearts for all mankind and a prayer on our lips for the salvation of humanity. ⁸

MR. QUEZON SEES FUTURE PHILIPPINE FOREIGN POLICY: FRIENDSHIP WITH ALL NATIONS

I now turn to the question of our future conduct towards the nations of the world. To America we owe a special debt of gratitude. To her altruism and generosity, we shall be indebted for our national independence. She has made us heirs to her ideals of liberty and democracy and the beneficiaries of her civilization and culture. It should be our constant endeavor to preserve undiminished this invaluable inheritance as well as our friendly and cultural relations with her after we shall have become independent.

Toward the rest of the world, we shall follow a course that will insure their amity and cooperation, without in anyway involving ourselves in their affairs. We shall adopt a most liberal policy in our foreign commerce. This is the policy demanded by our best interests. We shall thereby make friends and, being primarily an agricultural country, we shall in any case profit by it. In our foreign policy, let our motto be: justice and friendship to all! ⁹

46. G O O D G O V E R N M E N T

THERE IS NO PERFECT GOVERNMENT ON EARTH - QUEZON

I would like to find the country on the face of this earth where every public official is superb, or had never made any mistake. One has but to read the newspaper to see that some investigations are going on somewhere. Mistakes or crookedness in government are not the monopoly of any people; they will be found in every country and in every form of government as long as men are men and not angels. ¹

PRESIDENT SAYS PORK BARREL SYSTEM MUST BE DISCARDED

The so-called pork barrel system, as known in the United States and as sometimes practiced in the Philippines, must definitely be discarded. It is a waste of public funds. I am in favor of continuing the building of roads and schools, in accordance with a carefully prepared plan to be followed systematically in the order of their relative importance to the general public. ²

⁸ Speech at Georgetown University, U.S.A., April 17, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

⁹ Speech at the commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 73.

¹ Speech, "A Plea for Philippine Independence," November 25, 1927. QP, MR#29, TNL.

² Speech on accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 238.

LET'S HAVE COMMON PURPOSE FOR COUNTRY'S GOOD, SAYS QUEZON

I wish to thank them all (referring to the Iloilo leaders - ABS), and I take leave to crave their continued cooperation in my endeavor to turn the public mind, temporarily at least, from bitter, partisan politics to a more constructive and high-spirited administration of public affairs.

The country needs a common purpose and our combined efforts, and we must give both with enthusiasm and determination. Thus only can we insure the future happiness, well-being, and liberty of our people. ³

CHIEF EXECUTIVE ENVISIONS JUST, HONEST, EFFICIENT, STRONG GOVERNMENT

We shall build a government that will be just, honest, efficient, and strong so that the foundations of the coming Republic may be firm and enduring - a government, indeed, that must satisfy not only the passing needs of the hour but also the exacting demands of the future. ⁴

GOVERNMENT IS MERE INSTRUMENT TO ACHIEVE NATIONAL PURPOSE

The government which we are inaugurating today is only a means to an end. It is an instrumentality placed in our hands to prepare ourselves fully for the responsibilities of complete independence. It is essential that this last step be taken with full consciousness of its significance and the great opportunities that it affords us. ⁵

GOVERNMENT HAS FULL POWERS TO PROMOTE GENERAL WELFARE

The framers of our Constitution conferred upon our government all the power and authority needed to meet the demands of a progressive and enlightened epoch so that it may be able to promote the welfare and happiness of our people and safeguard their liberty. ⁶

OUR COMMON OBJECTIVE: ECONOMICAL, EFFICIENT, AND SIMPLIFIED GOVERNMENT ✓

Together with the efforts to effect economy we should promote efficiency and simplify the operation of the government. Duplication or overlapping of functions should be avoided. With new problems before us we should determine the relative importance of the different government activities and lay the proper emphasis upon each of them. We need to insure the expeditious transaction of the public business, for nothing breeds more discontent or casts discredit on the government in the eyes of the people than its inability to act with reasonable

^{3/} Speech at the inauguration of the City of Iloilo, August 25, 1935. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 128.

^{4/} Inaugural address, November 15, 1935. Ibid., Vol. Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 13.

^{5/} Ibid.

^{6/} Message to the First National Assembly, November 25, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 18.

promptness. Every effort should be made to introduce the approved practices of private business in all government offices. ⁷

GOVERNMENT CAN BE AS EFFICIENT AS PRIVATE FIRMS

I don't agree that the government cannot render the same efficient service as a private company. The government can do anything that a private corporation does provided we get the right men to do it.

I cannot see why an individual, who is capable of doing a certain job for a private corporation, cannot do the same work for the government. ⁸

CONTRACTS RENEWED WITHOUT PUBLIC BIDDING INVITES SUSPICION

It is wrong for the government to renew contracts without submitting them again to public bid. Not to do so places the government and the officials concerned in a vulnerable position: it gives occasion for the charge, however unfounded, that the government is playing favorites or that the officials concerned are being influenced by considerations other than those of public interest. ⁹

QUEZON REBUKES LEAGUE OF PROVINCIAL GOVERNORS

The resolution of the League of Provincial Governors recommending the appointment of Mr. Maximino Noble, member of the provincial board of Camarines Sur, as governor of the province, has been submitted to me. Please inform the provincial governors that I consider their action not very much to the credit of their League. The resolution would give the public the impression that the League of Provincial Governors has been organized for the purpose of promoting personal or political interests among its members.

The League would certainly be a helpful organization if instead of approving resolutions of this nature it devoted itself to the study of ways and means whereby the provincial governors could help one another and the national government in the promotion of the public weal. ¹⁰

PRESIDENT SAYS IT'S NOT DIFFICULT TO HAVE GOOD, HONEST GOVERNMENT ✓

I want to say to all the officials of the national, provincial and municipal governments of the Philippines that it is not a difficult task to give the people of this country the best government they ever had. All that is necessary is that every official of this government, from the President of the Philippines down to the last policeman, should know that the office is not given to him for the purpose of his own personal aggrandizement or profit, nor with the idea of

7/ Message to the First National Assembly, December 12, 1935. Ibid., pp. 46-47.

8/ Speech at a press conference, January 31, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

9/ Letter to then Secretary of Finance Elpidio Quirino, February 3, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 419.

10/ Letter to Secretary of the Interior Elpidio Quirino, February 26, 1936. Ibid., p. 437.

Permitting him to abuse the powers of that office. Public office is given to a man in the interest of the people of the country. ¹¹

EVERY FILIPINO OWES LOYALTY TO HIS GOVERNMENT - QUEZON

Every Filipino citizen owes loyalty to this government not only as his duty for living under it, but also as one who must abide by its laws. That loyalty is also his legal and moral obligation born of the fact that he has taken part in the preparation and adoption of the Constitution which now constitutes the fundamental law of the land. ¹²

QUEZON ADMINISTRATION WILL PROTECT "HAVES" AND HELP "HAVE-NOTS"

I want to say to you (addressing the Manila Rotarians - ABS) that I am going to run a purely human government here, a government that will consider the rights of everybody and protect all; a government that will try to do business as business is being done by private enterprise; a government that will attempt to protect those who have in what they have, and help those who have not in acquiring what they need. ¹³

GOVERNMENT WILL TRY SOMETHING NEW TO ACCOMPLISH MORE

Judge our government by the results, for you are going to see new methods in the government of the Philippines, methods that have not been tried before. Don't get scared. Wait for results. The easiest thing for a Chief Executive to do is to follow the trodden path. Well, if that is all we are going to do here, I don't see the necessity of changing Chief Executives.

We have to try new things in the Philippines if we wish to accomplish something. We have a country here that has immense possibilities. We have been talking about economic development during the last 35 or 40 years and we are almost where we were before. We have done nothing new, or very little that is new. . But unless we try something/^{new}we will never accomplish anything. ¹⁴

BAR PUBLIC SERVANTS' PARTICIPATION IN BEAUTY, POPULARITY CONTESTS

In order to prevent the recurrence of complaints against officials for coercing their subordinate employees to cast, obtain, or solicit votes in beauty, popularity, and other contests, the taking part directly or indirectly of government officials in such contests either by soliciting votes or otherwise is hereby prohibited, and shall subject the offenders to administrative penalties including

^{11/} Speech in Iligan, Isabela, February 28, 1936. Ibid., p. 55.

^{12/} Speech at the Senior Teachers' Assembly, Baguio City, May 22, 1936. Ibid., p. 91.

^{13/} Speech at the Manila Rotary Club, June 4, 1936. Ibid., p. 110.

^{14/} Ibid., pp. 107-108.

removal from the service. 15

SOME EX-OFFICIO OFFICERS IN GOVERNMENT FIRMS UNFIT FOR JOBS

The present arrangement has not worked out as advantageously as expected in view of the fact that ex-officio members hold office without regard to their personal qualifications and special fitness for the work entrusted to them as members of the Metropolitan Water District board. Moreover, they attend to so many functions and activities pertaining to their respective principal positions in the government that sometimes they find no time to give the necessary attention to demand thorough study and consideration. 16

QUEZON WON'T FILL UP POLITICAL POSITIONS WITH ADMINISTRATIVE MEN

As a matter of policy I do not intend to designate as Acting Secretaries of Department the Under-Secretaries whenever there is a vacancy in the post of Secretary of Department, because this is a political post and it should not be filled by non-political appointees. The Secretaries of Department are a part of the policy-determining body of the Executive, while the Under-Secretaries are purely and exclusively administrative officials. 17

HE VOWS TO ESTABLISH ECONOMICAL AND SIMPLE GOVERNMENT

We are committed to the policy of establishing an economical and simple government, and this commitment makes it imperative that we do not increase the present number of departments unless it is clearly seen beyond question that it would be in the interest of the public service to create a new department. 18

ONLY GOVERNMENT WITH VISION CAN SURVIVE - QUEZON

To establish a new government in our day, when a great social revolution is taking place and new ideas and ideals are gripping the imagination and emotions of the masses, demanding the recognition of rights which have been ignored and denied by governments since the dawn of civilization, only governments that have sufficient vision to see this worldwide change, and wisdom to meet it fearlessly and squarely, can survive. 19

15/ Administrative Order No. 11, "Prohibiting the Taking Part of Officials and Employees in Beauty, Popularity, and Other Contests," June 4, 1936.
Ibid., p. 758.

16/ Message to the First National Assembly re Metropolitan Water District Board, September 2, 1936. Ibid., p. 232.

17/ Letter to Assemblyman Benigno S. Aquino, chairman, committee on appointments, September 2, 1936. Ibid., p. 234.

18/ Letter to Assemblyman Antonio Villarama, chairman, Committee on Health, September 2, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 238.

19/ Speech on the first anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1936.
Ibid., p. 143.

PRESIDENT URGES NATIONAL ASSEMBLY TO MAINTAIN HIGH CREDIT OF GOVERNMENT

The bonds issued by the government are contracts between the bond purchasers and the national government. To divert, therefore, the use of the proceeds of such bonds for a purpose other than that specified in Act No. 3329 would constitute a violation of the conditions under which the obligation was contracted. In effect, the approval of this bill would be impairing the obligation of contracts.

The Commonwealth of the Philippines has just finished its first year of existence with an established credit comparable with other countries of the world, and we should not, by the enactment of this bill, give a chance for the bondholders to lessen their faith in the credit of our government. ²⁰

LOVE OF COUNTRY STEMS FROM LIVING UNDER GOOD GOVERNMENT

The love of the citizen for his country should be not alone for the beauty of its panoramas nor for the riches of its soil. Love of country springs from the satisfaction one finds in living in it, from the intimate security in which he can live freely and quietly under a just government, and where the natural resources of the country are the nation's own and for the good of all its inhabitants. ²¹

GOVERNMENT MUST COMMAND RESPECT FOR FAIRNESS AND JUSTICE

The Philippines is a new nation on the threshold of its complete political independence. She is about to enter into the family of nations and she must carry with her a name that will command respect from all quarters for the justice and fairness of the acts of the government of the Commonwealth. Our national credit will be enhanced and strengthened by the Act restoring pensions to retired employees which the National Assembly has just passed. ²²

PROMISE OF GOOD GOVERNMENT AMIDST TROUBLED TIMES

We promised to give the country a government free from partisan influence and selfish motives; a government where merit is to be the primary consideration; a government where justice is to be administered to poor and to the rich alike, to the influential and to the humble.

No one better than the President of the Philippines realizes how difficult it has been for the members of the National Assembly and the officials of the government, from the head to the last, to sail through unrippled waters over

^{20/} Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 1052, "Authorizing the Province of Nueva Ecija to Spend the Unexpended Balance of the Proceeds of Certain Bonds," November 23, 1936. *Ibid.*, p. 392.

^{21/} Speech on social justice and national defense, January 20, 1937. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 31.

^{22/} Press statement, September 9, 1937. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 329.

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meaningful and comfortable life. 27

PHILIPINOS MUST HAVE GOVERNMENT WORTHY OF THEIR COMPLETE LOYALTY

We must have a country that can make its citizens feel that the government they are serving is a government that is worth their complete and undivided loyalty because they have their rights protected and their means of livelihood are insured. If we have a country like that, no matter how small, the people will enjoy it. 28

PEOPLE'S WELFARE IS PRIMARY CONCERN OF GOVERNMENT

The welfare of the people should be the primary concern of the government. It is the duty of the government to protect the working men against abuses and exploitation, and to secure to them fair wages or a reasonable return for their labor.

He who tries to curry favor with the masses by appealing to their passions, stirring up prejudices or magnifying discontent or human suffering, is unworthy of public trust. 29

LOYAL ARMY DESERVES GOOD GOVERNMENT AND SOCIETY

If we wish to be certain that we can depend upon the loyalty and unswerving devotion of our army to their government and the society in which they live, we must make this government and society of ours deal fairly with every man regardless of his station in life. 30

MASSSES MUST BE CONVINCED GOVERNMENT READY TO HELP THEM

Presidents (addressing the municipal presidents, the old designation for municipal mayors), I want you to treat the poor as you treat the rich, Show the men of the barrios that you, as town presidents are interested in their welfare and that you are willing to help them. Be frank with them, and make them understand that there are things the government cannot do because it does not have the means. 31

NEITHER WEALTH NOR KNOWLEDGE BUT GOOD, HONEST GOVERNMENT

The government of the Philippines cannot give you wealth even if it wants to. The government cannot give you knowledge even if it wants to. But the government of the Philippines, if it wants to, and if its officials are honest, sincere,

27/ Speech at a press conference, November 3, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

28/ Ibid.

29/ Speech on social justice, 1937. n.d.m. Ibid.

30/ Speech on the essence of democracy at the University of the Philippines, 1937, n.d.m. QP, MR#40, TNL.

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and patriotic, can give you justice and a good and decent government. 32

WIN PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE BY GOOD DEEDS - QUEZON

We shall never win the confidence of our people in our government until we prove to them, by deeds, that we are interested in safeguarding their interest and in protecting their rights. 33

GOVERNMENT READY TO IMPOSE ITS AUTHORITY AGAINST ANYBODY

The worst thing that can happen to our people, once given the right to choose their own officials, is to be incapable of giving them due respect and consideration. If there is any man who believes that the government we now have is a joke, he had better think it over again. This is a government duly constituted by the votes of our own people, a government that will impose its authority against everybody - and against the world if necessary. 34

GOVERNORS URGED TO GIVE PEOPLE A GOOD GOVERNMENT

One of the things that give me the greatest pleasure in life is when I find myself in a heart-to-heart talk with the people. Good governors can be reelected if they do justice to the people; and a good party man could do more for the party by carrying out its policies than by playing cheap politics. Give the people a good government and they will acclaim our party as the best. 35

PUBLIC OFFICERS SHOULD SET GOOD EXAMPLE FOR COMMUNITY

Public officers, whether appointive or elective, are expected to set the example in according due respect to the constituted authority. If those in the service of the government were the first to undermine it by reckless and groundless charges, it would be useless to expect others to show proper respect for law and the constituted authority. Consequently, we would have not order but chaos, not liberty but license; and democracy, instead of being a blessing, would degenerate into lawlessness and anarchy. 36

GOVERNMENT MERE INSTRUMENTALITY TO ADMINISTER PUBLIC AFFAIRS

There are people who seem to feel that it is the duty of the government

32/ Speech in Maasin, Leyte, June 10, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 93.

33/ Speech in Virac, Catanduanes, June 18, 1938. QP, 104/40, TNL.

34/ Speech in Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, November 3, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 246-247.

35/ Speech on the new policy of handling provincial affairs, January 19, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 6.

36/ Letter to the Secretary of the Interior on the decision in the administrative investigation of Miss Carmen Planas, member of the Manila Municipal Board, March 9, 1939. Ibid., p. 389.

to give them every benefit and that the government has no right to demand from them anything. In a democracy, the government is only the instrumentality through which the people administer its affairs. The government is not an entity different from the people. What the government owns is the property of the people, what the government has belongs to the people, because the government cannot have anything that does not come from the people themselves. ³⁷

LAY DOWN FOUNDATIONS OF STABLE GOVERNMENT, ENDURING NATION

Fortunately for us, we have succeeded in setting aside partisanship and selfish motives, and the whole people are inspired by the single purpose of laying the foundations of a stable government and an enduring nation. We are devoting our energies mainly to the two most pressing problems we have to face; namely, the building of our national defense and the strengthening and improvement of our national economy. ³⁸

GOOD GOVERNMENT IS ONE RUN BY OFFICIALS WITH SINGLE PURPOSE

The government is simply an organization of the people. A government the members of whose board of directors are in complete accord, will do much good for the country. But a government wherein the officers do nothing but criticize each other in order to take over one another's power is bound to collapse. This is my answer to those who say that a division is necessary in this country. ³⁹

GOVERNMENT MUST CONSTANTLY PROMOTE CONFIDENCE IN DEFENSE PLAN

If eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, let us then be ceaselessly vigilant. Our defense system requires no unusual sacrifice by any individual, but its success depends primarily and almost exclusively upon a unification of the efforts of all toward this common and vital purpose. To attain such unification in our democracy, the military plan must be supported by popular intelligence, confidence and enthusiasm. It is a special function of government to see that this confidence is fairly earned and assiduously sustained. To this end let us be vigilant that every law we pass and every military measure we adopt shall reflect an unselfish and national purpose, that it shall impose injustice on none, and that it shall promote the security and defend the peace, the possessions and the liberty of all. ⁴⁰

MUST PROTECT INTEREST OF GOVERNMENT IN ANY CONTRACT

I do not want to assume that the Standard Oil Company of New York would

- 37/ Speech at the cornerstone laying of Barrio Obrero, June 28, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.
- 38/ Press statement on the appointment of Assistant Secretary of State Francis B. Sayre as U.S. High Commissioner to the Philippines, July 27, 1939. Quezon Messages, supra, p. 458.
- 39/ Speech at the convention of the Palihan ng Bayan, Manila Opera House, August 20, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVEF, p. 182.
- 40/ Message to the Second National Assembly, January 24, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

enter into a contract with me in bad faith, but it is my duty here as head of this government to make sure that the interests of the government are protected in any contract that I enter into. And supposing that the Standard Oil Company did enter in good faith into this contract, there was still the possibility that a third party, which is not composed of angels and having some ulterior purpose, would initiate trouble. This third party, bent on making trouble, could easily find one of these skillful lawyers. So, even if the Standard Oil Company entered into this contract in good faith, and was not willing to make trouble, some other party might do it. 41

QUEZON WANTS GOVERNMENT THAT WILL DO JUSTICE TO FILIPINO PEOPLE

I am not interested in personalities or in parties to the extent of considering them of great importance. I do not, of course, deny that I possess the natural preferences of a human being for this associates. I have my natural affection for my own political party, but I have a much broader affection for all. My interest is to have a government in the Philippines that will do justice to all - a government that will win the confidence and faith of our people. I am interested in having the support of the people, for once the people lose their faith in the government, they will destroy that government. On the hand, if they lose faith in one individual, they can simply change him. But they must have faith in our political institutions so that they will support them. Of course, they will have faith in the government if they see it doing justice to all. 42

47. HARE - HAWES - CUTTING CONTROVERSY

QUEZON PLEDGES TO FIGHT FOR PEOPLE'S INTEREST TO THE LAST

What possible incentive could I have to strive for more power? I have reached what I consider is the peak of my career. I cannot go any higher. I have given the people all of my life, and I have served them with all I have got. Let them judge me by what I have done.

There is no place, no honor that I have to fight for now. All that remains for me to strive for is what there has always been - the people's interest.

And I ^{that} intend to fight for ^{to} the last; the best interests of the people as I see them - if I have to fight a lone battle to the end. 1

I AM MOTIVATED NOT BY AMBITION BUT SERVICE TO PEOPLE - QUEZON

Some people are hinting that my opposition (to the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act - ABS) is due to envy and to jealousy of the achievement of the (Osmeña-Roxas)

41/ Speech at a press conference, February 2, 1939. QP, MR#43, TNL.

42/ Speech on the fourth anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 237.

43/ Exclusive interview with the Sunday Tribune, January 22, 1933, explaining Quezon's opposition the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act secured by the Osmeña-Roxas mission. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 980.

mission. Now, such a statement, is not only unfair but also absolutely groundless.

All I have to say is that if it were only political ambition that inspired me, there would not have been anything easier for me than to remain silent, acquiesce to the mission, and say that the bill is patterned after my Formula No. 2 (immediate establishment of an autonomous government [like the Commonwealth] and the grant of complete independence after a transition period - ABS), and all would have been well. If political ambition had been my urge, nothing would have been better for me than to accept the bill (the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act - ABS) as it is, have the Commonwealth of the Philippines organized, and work to be elected its first Chief Executive.

But in all earnestness I must say that I am not actuated by any such motive. My career is about to close and I want it closed in such a way that in all honesty I can say to the people, "I have done my best to serve our country well."

This is not the time for me to compromise with that which I am firmly convinced is against my people's interest.²

PRESIDENT EXPLAINS THREE ALTERNATIVES AFTER HHC REJECTION

If we reject it (the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act), one of three things may happen.

The first is that the U.S. Congress may ignore us entirely. This, I contend, Congress cannot do. The pressure of labor and farm interests, the force of organized minorities who are anxious to get rid of us at all costs, all these will keep the pot boiling until Congress does something.

The second is that Congress may re-enact the bill, omitting the (objectionable) provision, and submitting it to the Filipinos for their acceptance or rejection. Well and good. We will have no say on the matter. We will have a law imposed on us, whether we like it or not. In that case, I or anyone else can go to the United States and ask for its amendment. Congress, in that case, would very likely listen to us.

The third alternative, and this has been brought up before, is that Congress might give us a worse bill, with more unfair provisions. I hold that Congress cannot do worse than give us this Hare-Hawes-Cutting bill. Unlike this last Congress, in the new administration, there will be a President (Franklin D. Roosevelt, 1933-1945 - ABS) and a Congress of the same party (Democratic Party) with full control of the executive and legislative branches of the government. They don't have to compromise to enact legislation but will have the power to pass the measure which will do honor to their nation and justice to the Filipino people.

If they gave us immediate independence, with an immediate closing of the American markets, it would still be better than the Hare-Hawes-Cutting bill. We are better prepared for independence right now than we would be after ten or twelve years, when under the unfair provisions of this bill we would be so crippled, so strangled, so maimed, that we shall never be able to stand alone.

2/ Ibid.

- ~~SECRET~~ -

as an independent nation. ³

[Note: Actually, it was no longer a bill but an Act because the U.S. Congress overrode President Hoover's veto by 274-94 in the House and 62-26 in the Senate in January 1933. But the Philippine Legislature, under Quezon's leadership, "declined to accept" the Law. Thereafter Quezon went to Washington and, almost singlehandedly, secured the approval of the Tydings-McDuffie Act which eliminated some of the objectionable features of the rejected HHC Act. - ABS.]

QUEZON ATTACKS HHC ACT AS DECEITFUL COMPROMISE

It is a fact that this law (Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act - ABS), as finally adopted, is the result of a compromise between advocates and opponents of Philippine independence such as Senators Bingham, Robinson of Indiana, Fees and Smooth, Governor Forbes and many others.

And it is also true, and painfully so, that American capitalists interested in Cuban sugar have brought to bear all the pressure they could exert, enlisting the aid of beet sugar producers and dairy farm interests in the United States, to secure the passage of this Act for their own purposes.

Our people are divided as to whether the law should be accepted or rejected. But both those who oppose, and those who would accept this Act, are inspired by the same motive; they seek the independence of their country - independence with the least hardship to the people, if this is attainable - but independence primarily, at any cost, if necessary. ⁴

CHIEF EXECUTIVE CLARIFIES HIS MAIN OBJECTION TO HHC LAW

Some morning papers quoted me as having said last night (at the Olympic Stadium, Sta. Cruz - ABS) that I am not against military and naval reservations. My speech was not written and I want to correct that impression at once.

I have always maintained that the most objectionable feature of the law (Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act) is the provisions which gives the President of the United States the right to reserve for the United States, after independence shall have been granted, military, naval and other reservations, at the discretion of the President.

I have stated and I reiterate it now, that this clause, as it stands, keeps in the hands of the government of the United States the power to deprive the Filipino people of their national liberty and independence, at the end of the transition period.

This does not mean that I am absolutely and unqualifiedly opposed to all kinds of United States reservations in the Philippine Islands, after independence shall have been granted. But it does mean that I will never give my consent to

^{3/} Ibid.

^{4/} Radio speech over Radio Manila and re-broadcast over the United States by the Columbia network, January 30, 1933. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 981-985.

the law that gives this discretionary power to the President of the United States.

So that there may not be any question as to my stand regarding military and naval reservations, I want to say that in discussing the law in the United States with Senators Pittman, Robinson, Cutting, Metcalfe, Hawes, and other prominent Americans, I have practically confined my discussion to this question. ⁵

I WON'T BE FOOLED A SECOND TIME - QUEZON

I have learned my lesson and I can't be fooled for the second time. I was duped by the Jones Act when, dazzled by the glitter of the preamble, I failed to see that the autonomy promised me by Congressman William Atkinson Jones was not in the law.

So that is the difference between the (Osmeña-Roxas) mission and myself now. I have been fooled once and I have profited by that experience. The mission is now dazzled by the fixed date of independence and it does not see the other provisions of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law. They are holding on to it as I held tightly to my preamble.

* * *

I want to limit myself to painting for you the situation of the country after the so-called autonomous government has been established under the (HAC) Act and comparing it with other so-called independent countries.

India, of course, is not an independent country, but you all know how some of its princes and maharajahs are represented as ruling their respective realms. Apparently they really are, but the fact is that they are mere figure-heads and that it is the representatives of the British sovereignty that dictate to them what to do and not to do.

Such a situation may be acceptable to other countries but certainly it will be repudiated by the Filipino people. At least, as for me, I can say that I will never countenance any such humiliation. ⁶

QUEZON DISTURBED BY U.P. DEAN'S SERVILE ATTITUDE

One of the things I regret in this controversy (over the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act - ABS) is a statement made by one of the deans of the University of the Philippines who said that we should accept everything the U.S. Congress decided to give us because "we are beggars and beggars are no choosers."

This statement is more unfortunate coming as it does from a man who is supposed to mold the character of our youth. If I had a house and somebody wrested it from me by force, would I consider myself a beggar seeking alms if I asked him to return the whole house to me and not only the kitchen?

I must say that I felt this statement most keenly and I am still smarting

^{5/} Press statement, date inadvertently omitted, clarifying erroneous report on Quezon's stand on the question of U.S. military and naval reservations in the Philippines after the grant of independence. *Ibid.*, p. 1033.

^{6/} Speech in Iloilo, February 4, 1933. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 896-898.

under it, because what future has this country of ours if the education of our youth is entrusted to individuals who have a distorted notion of national dignity? ⁷

NO THINKING OF COUNTRY'S FUTURE WHEN HE OPPOSED HHC ACT

You know my stand on the question (referring to the Hare-Hawes-Cutting controversy - ABS). I am against the Act. I took my stand after a careful deliberation.

I am looking into the future. I am thinking of you, of the rising generation of today. I am thinking of us, we who are passing away, we who know that we do not have many years ahead of us.

To us, what are five or ten years more or less of American rule here? We have stood it these many years and we can stand it yet. But I am thinking of the rising generation, of my children, and when I think of you, you who are the ones who will reap the effects of the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act, I realize the tremendous responsibility that I owe you, and it is then that my opposition to the law is strengthened and intensified. ⁸

UNDER HHC ACT, IT'S HUMILIATING NOT TO PUT UP A FIGHT - QUEZON

If somebody meets me in the dead of the night in an alley and with a gun, compels me to give him my wallet with PISO, I don't think it is humiliating though this should happen to anyone.

But if somebody scares me and, without any coercion, I willingly give my money and I refuse to fight, then that is humiliating. There is no humiliation in being licked. It is humiliating when you refuse to put up a fight.

That is what obtains with the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act. If it is imposed upon us, well and good. But knowing it to be onerous and unjust and we accept it meekly, therein lies what may be termed adding insult to injury. ⁹

REJECT HHC ACT TO BE WORTHY OF BLESSINGS OF FREEDOM, SAYS QUEZON

Let us not be afraid that if we do not accept this law (Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act - ABS), the U.S. Congress may enact a measure restricting our products and yet giving us no independence. When the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act is submitted to the Legislature, conscious of my responsibility to my people, I shall vote against it. If Congress approves a law restricting our exports and offering us no hope of freedom, let it do so. It will be an act of tyranny and let it shoulder the responsibility.

But if the U.S. Congress does that, nothing can have more salutary effects for our nation. It will galvanize us into action, it will show us the utter helplessness of our situation as a subject people, it will revolutionize our national

^{7/} Ibid., p. 983.

^{8/} Speech at the inter-university (U.P. vs. U.S.T.) debate on the HHC Act at the Metropolitan Theatre, February 28, 1933. Ibid., p. 996.

^{9/} Speech at the Philippine Columbian Club, March 11, 1933. In: The Monday Mail, March 13, 1933. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 997-1004.

character, and it will make us realize that if we want to be free we must make ourselves worthy of the blessings of freedom. ¹⁰

QUEZON TO OSMENA: DON'T MORTGAGE OUR CHILDREN'S FUTURE

QUEZON: Sergio, you and I are growing old. We shall soon pass away. Do you realize the tremendous responsibility you and I are shouldering in accepting a bill (Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act), the effect of which will tie the hands of our posterity? It is mortgaging the future of our children! We are deciding their fate, knowing that when we are gone, we shall be unable to help them!

OSMENA: Do you realize, Chico, the tremendous responsibility we will be assuming in rejecting the bill, as a result of which America may stay in the Philippines forever?

QUEZON: I realize that, but don't forget that if America is in the Philippines today it is by force, and against our will. With her sovereignty she has assumed responsibilities, both legal and moral, to the Filipino people. But if we accept the bill she will remain in the Islands with our consent - exercise authority without any responsibility; and I for one am unwilling to give my sanction to it. ¹¹

PEOPLE WILL UPHOLD LEGISLATURE AGAINST OS-ROX, SAYS QUEZON

I agree (with the Osmena-Roxas mission -ABS) that the issue before our country is independence, that is to say, whether the law (HHC Act) brought by the mission redeems the solemn pledge obtained in the Jones Act or not.

Opponents of the law rightly assert that it does not, and, if accepted by our people, ^{it} releases the United States from the solemn pledge, and limits our importation (exports?) into the United States, closes the door of America to our compatriots, gives us for ten years very limited autonomy and, therefore, if then, a questionable independence.

Our people will not be cajoled by words, hence the majority of the members of the Legislature are ready to repudiate, as it is their duty to do, the acts of the mission in endorsing unconditionally the law.

I am confident the country will stand by its constitutional spokesman, the Legislature, as against a mission created only by the said Legislature to act for it, and which ignored its instruction. ¹²

QUEZON FLAYS OSMENA'S SECTIONALISM, IS SARCASTIC ABOUT ROXAS

The appeal made by Senator Osmena to sectionalism in his tour of the

^{10/} Ibid., p. 1004.

^{11/} Radio dispatch to the Tribune by Carlos P. Romulo, managing editor, TWT Publications, April 20, 1933, on board the s.s. Ile de France, en route to New York, Ibid., pp. 1008-1009.

^{12/} By long-distance telephone from Baguio, date inadvertently omitted. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 1021.

Visayan Islands should be denounced in vigorous terms and condemned by every Filipino as a doctrine more destructive to our national unity..

When the split of the Nacionalista Party took place (in 1922 -ABS), Senator Osmeña also tried to secure the support of the Visayan islands by appealing to sectionalism. But he failed then, as the majority of the senators and representatives from the Visayas were Collectivistas. He will also fail now for the majority of the senators and representatives from said region are against the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law.

Senator Osmeña should never forget that the whole country supported him during all the years that he was the national leader (1907-1916 - ABS). He was elected speaker of the first Philippine Assembly by unanimous vote, and we who initiated the campaign for his election were all from Luzon.

It was I who made possible for Speaker Roxas of Capiz to succeed Senator Osmeña as speaker of the House of Representatives (also in 1922 - ABS). And I suppose it is for this reason that Speaker Roxas has coined the phrase "Quezonian justice."

I am sure no Filipino can rise to power or remain in power by appealing to sectionalism. Our people are ONE people, and they will be united against anybody who wants to divide them into Visayans, Tagalogs, Ilocanos, etc. Sectionalism is dead forever. ¹³

IT WOULD BE A VAIN SACRIFICE UNDER HHC ACT, SAYS QUEZON

My friends, I know that you and I and all of us are ready to sacrifice for our country, but unless he be a fool, no man is ready to make a vain sacrifice, and the sacrifice that is demanded from you here is a vain sacrifice; it is not a sacrifice in the interest of your country but in the interest of other people; it is not a sacrifice that is for the interest and the freedom of your Fatherland, but it is a sacrifice that will finally mean the death of the very freedom for which you have fought. ¹⁴

MY MQ OPPOSES HARE-HAWES-CUTTING LAW

I am against the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law because, in my honest opinion, it does not safeguard the welfare of our people and it will not insure the achievement of our national freedom.

* * *

If that law is bad, reject it regardless of the consequences, because it is your duty to reject that which you think and know is bad for you and for your country. ¹⁵

^{13/} Ibid., p. 1022.

^{14/} Speech before the U.P. student body, September 24, 1933. OP, MR#34, THL.

^{15/} Ibid.

ple to our responsibility toward childhood. The high rate of infant mortality is one of the most serious problems confronting this nation. Though we are making valiant efforts to reduce the sickness and death rate of the babies and mothers, a tremendous task still confronts us. ²

MUST GIVE IMPORTANCE TO HEALTH AND PUBLIC WELFARE

The country has attained some improvement in public health and welfare... There should be provided additional measure to further reduce the incidence of illness and deaths due to these and other preventive diseases.

There is an urgent need to improve the water supply and the system of waste disposal of our communities. And additional facilities should be provided for the care of the insane and of the aged and invalid as well as for the education and training of orphaned, defective, neglected and delinquent children.

Finally, we should provide for the relief of the needy and unemployed.

All these are urgent necessities which should receive careful consideration in order to further improve the general welfare of the masses. ³

SIGNIFICANCE OF PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT OF YOUTH

Modern countries have adopted definite measures to insure the development of the physical vigor of the youth.

The office of the national physical director, Bureau of Education, and the private schools have carried on systematically a program of physical training, but the work has been handicapped by the lack of properly trained instructors.

Games and athletics develop in the youth not only physical endurance but also resourcefulness and initiative. These are qualities which are as useful to the individual in times of war as they are in times of peace.

I therefore submit for your consideration the plan of establishing a National Assembly of Physical Education for the training of physical directors, athletic coaches and recreation supervisors. ⁴

HEALTH DRIVES INEFFECTIVE UNLESS SOCIETY PERFORMS ITS ROLE

The problem of health is a direct responsibility of the government and of society. But the government will be impotent unless society does its part. All the millions of pesos spent in sanitation, hospitals, and other means of prevention or treatment of diseases will accomplish little unless the living conditions of the masses are greatly improved. No one knows better than you that the most important factor in the fight against diseases is nature itself and the constitution of the individual. A weak constitution cannot resist diseases. ⁵

Message on the celebration of Child Health Day, August 19, 1935. Ibid.

Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

Ibid.

Speech at the annual convention of the Philippine Medical Association, May 2, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVEFF, p. 118.

49. HEROES // HEROISM

BONIFACIO IDEAL HERO AGAINST INJUSTICE AND TYRANNY

If we want to put forth our own efforts and evoke our own dignity because we find that the doors of opportunity and improvement are closed to us; if seeing around us nothing but injustice and oppression, and we want to work out our salvation by concerted and united action; if we see that the law is not obeyed and right is trampled upon and the fundamental principles of liberty, equality, and fraternity have ceased to impel human actions, then the apostle, the guide, the fitting hero is Andres Bonifacio.¹

REVOLUTION OF '96 OUR MOST SUBLIME ADVENTURE

The Revolution of 1896 is the most sublime adventure ever embarked upon by the Filipino people, the most glorious achievement of the whole race, giving emphatic proof that ours is a strong and heroic nation worthy of its aspirations for freedom.²

QUEZON ASKS PEOPLE TO PAY TRIBUTE TO OUR HEROES

As we enter upon the threshold of independent nationhood, let us pause for a moment to pay tribute to the memory of Rizal and Bonifacio, and all the heroes of our sacred cause, in grateful acknowledgment of their patriotic devotion and supreme sacrifice.³

BONIFACIO'S SELF-SACRIFICE ANTIDOTE TO SPIRITUAL POVERTY

At present, when the measure of service seems to be, with most people, the yardstick of personal gain, a dose of the fine qualities of Andres Bonifacio would ameliorate the current widespread spiritual poverty. The story of his life and death should re-impress upon us more deeply the fact that no sacrifice is too dear that we cannot afford to make for the sake of our motherland. Bonifacio made a lasting one, the ultimate sacrifice. Those of us who are forever appalled at the idea of personal loss will find new courage in the life of the Great Plebeian.⁴

NEVER YIELD A FOOT OF GROUND TO JAPS, QUEZON TELLS FILIPINO TROOPS

We are fighting that the Filipino people may be the master of their own destinies and that every Filipino not only of this generation but of the generations to come may be able to live in peace and tranquility in the full enjoyment of liberty and freedom.

1/ Speech at the cornerstone laying of the Bonifacio monument in Caloocan, November 30, 1929. QP, MR#31, TNL.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Inaugural address, November 15, 1935, Legislative Building, Quezon Messages. Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 12.

4/ Press statement on the celebration of Bonifacio Day, November 30, 1938. Ibid., Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 721.

Your duty - our duty - is to fight and resist until the invader is driven from our land. You must not give up a foot of ground when the battle joins. You must hold in place - and hold, and hold! ⁵

FILIPINO WAR RECORD - A MESSAGE TO WHOLE HUMAN RACE, SAYS QUEZON

(The record of the Philippines in this war) has proven that the doctrines of democracy are practical and hard-headed. They (the Filipinos) have met the most crucial of all test/s war! When the Japanese invaded the Philippines, they found a nation standing together in defense of its country - not the small army of the United States fighting alone in defense of their own flag. They found the bulk of MacArthur's forces predominantly Filipino. They found a people who know they had a future worth fighting for unto death.

The battle record of the Filipino people in this war bears glorious testimony to the difference between freedom and oppression, between the principle of human equality and the exploded idea of race superiority.

That is why our Commonwealth Day this year is more than a Philippine anniversary. It is an anniversary pregnant with a message for the whole human race.

EVERY BATAAN SOLDIER A NATIONAL HERO, SAYS QUEZON

The fall of Bataan closes a chapter in the history of the Filipino people's struggle for freedom as heroic, if not the most heroic, that we have ever fought. Side by side with their American comrades, our forces fought without air support against a foe that had, at all times, absolute command of the air and the seas, and an overwhelming superiority in land forces. This fight lasted as long as resistance was humanly possible, for our forces gave up only after they had become exhausted from lack of food and continuous battle.

I am proud of the part that the Filipino forces have taken in this epic battle, and I am profoundly grateful to the whole army which has thus vindicated the honor and right of the Filipino people to become an independent nation. Their country and their countrymen will consider every man who took part in this battle as a national hero and will feel undying gratitude for the service they have rendered

FILIPINOS SHOW HERITAGE OF HEROISM IN BATAAN - QUEZON

In Bataan we showed the world once more our heritage of heroism. We took up arms and fought the invader. No self-respecting nation could have shirked the challenge of that treacherous attack that started in Baguio on December 8, 1941. To have avoided that challenge or to have covered before it would have been to lose all pride and dignity, to have suffered a bottomless humiliation.

5/ Proclamation to Filipino soldiers in the field, Corregidor, January 3, 1942. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2364.

6/ Message at the 7th Commonwealth Day celebration in Washington, D. C., November 15, 1942. Ibid., p. 2402.

7/ Press statement issued in Melbourne, Australia, April 11, 1942. Ibid., p. 2327.

We Filipinos are not a people accustomed to crooking the knee to any power that may purpose to invade our contry and to hold us in thrall. We have been overcome by superior forces, but we have never been outfought; our country has been conquered, but we have never been vanquished. Every power that has ever dared to overrun our country has known the avenging anger of Filipino arms. ⁸

50. HISTORY

EDITOR QUEZON TEACHES AMERICANS A LESSON IN HISTORY

What became of the two great Republics of the ancient world? Greece and Rome remained republics so long as they did not listen to the voice which spoke of conquest, of extension of powers, of extension of territory. But as soon as the Greeks and the Romans alike sought to deprive weaker people of their liberty, they themselves lost their greatest privilege, their citizenship, and bowed their necks to imperialist power.

This is not a matter of theory. No nation can permanently maintain two systems of government based on conflicting principles. Sooner or later, one system will prevail over the other. Either the autocratic government of the Philippines will invade American democracy at home, or the beneficent theories which govern them at home will have to be applied to these Islands.

The American people cannot, without being untrue to themselves, continue to celebrate year after year the Declaration of Independence, thus reaffirming its doctrines, and at the same time assent to a policy in the Philippines which is in flagrant contradiction with these doctrines. They have either to confess that their forefathers were wrong when they revolted against England and King George was right, or else give to the Philippines that same independence, and to my people that same privilege to pursue happiness in their own way, which the Declaration contemplated as being among the inalienable rights of every people. ¹

PHILIPPINES IS "EXHIBIT A" BEFORE BAR OF HISTORY

The Filipino people have demonstrated conclusively their capacity for self-government, not only to their own satisfaction, but to the satisfaction of outsiders as well. We stand before the bar of history as "Exhibit A" to prove that an Oriental race, deprived for centuries of the God-given right of self-government, may safely be entrusted with governmental powers. ²

8/ Quezon address on the eighth anniversary of the Commonwealth, included in the U.S. Congressional Record, Vol. 89, App. Part 12, pp. A4907-08, by request of Representative John D. Dingell of Michigan, November 16, 1943. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2470-2471.

1/ Article, "The Declaration of Independence," The Filipino People, Vol. 1, No. 5, January 1913. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 118.

2/ Article, "The Jones Law: Its Effect on the United States, the Philippines, and Other Subject Peoples," The Philippine Review, Vol. II, No. 12, November 1917. Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, p. 447.

MLQ EXPLAINS WHY HE OPPOSED HHC ACT; IS VINDICATED BY HISTORY

I am going to oppose the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Act not upon the ground that it gives independence to the Philippines, but upon the ground that it does not give complete independence... If America is to retain those naval and military stations without adequate fortifications and garrisons, and a superior navy, it would only serve as an invitation to war with Japan. 'The United States should get entirely out... because Japan would then have one excuse less in attacking, that of protecting herself against the menace of your (American) military presence in the Islands. ³

SENATE CHIEF ACCURATELY FORESEES VERDICT OF HISTORY

When the historian passes upon what we have all said and done at this momentous period in our history - a period in which we either build or destroy our nation's well-being - how petty and how small must our dissensions and disputes seem to him! How insignificant to him our cherished slogans by the side of the nation's future safety and welfare! ⁴

LET'S CONSERVE OUR RICH HISTORICAL HERITAGE - QUEZON

In our onward march to our national emancipation, we should not fail to look back to our past as a people so that we may be guided by its tested experience. It is, therefore, our duty not only to teach our children, and to point to the present as well as to the future generations, the heroic achievements of our forebears, the adventures they had lived as well as the mistakes they had committed, and the ideals for which they had cheerfully sacrificed their lives, but it is likewise our duty to preserve, to repair, to conserve and appropriately mark our historic antiquities and spots that abound in our country from Batanes to Mindanao. These historic antiquities are the heritage of ancestral traditions which greatly enhances the supreme worth of our people. ⁵

TO LOVE THEIR COUNTRY, FILIPINOS MUST KNOW ITS HISTORY

We ought to give our people here the background of the race and the nation so that they may love their country and keep their tradition. ⁶

QUEZON CREATES PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL COMMITTEE

Pursuant to CA No. 169, and by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and by the said Act, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the

3/ Quezon to Roy Howard, June 26, 1933. Quoted in Theodore Friend, Between Two Empires. Manila: Solidaridad Publishing House, 1969, p. 123.

4/ Undated Quezon holograph (1934 or 1935) addressed to a youth group. Quoted in Theodore Friend, op. cit., p. 148.

5/ Message to the First National Assembly on the appropriation of P50,000 for identifying and marking historic antiquities in the Philippines, October 27, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 359-360.

6/ Speech at a press conference, January 22, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

Philippines, do hereby constitute and create a committee to be composed of nine members, three of whom shall be appointed for a term of three years, three for two years, and three for one year. Hereafter, three members shall be appointed each year for a term of three years. The members appointed shall elect from among themselves the chairman of the Committee and his secretary.

The Committee shall meet at least twice a month or as often as may be necessary to perform the duties imposed upon it by law, to wit;

(a) To identify, designate, and appropriately mark the historical antiquities abounding in the Philippines;

(b) To preserve or repair important antiquities owned by the government of the Philippines or any of its political subdivisions; and

(c) To acquire by purchase or otherwise antiquities owned by private persons. ⁷

DIRECTS ALL HISTORICAL DOCUMENTS BE TURNED OVER TO TNL

Pursuant to the provisions of section 1699 of the Revised Administrative Code, I, Manuel L. Quezon, do hereby direct each and every office, bureau, or branch of the Government to turn over to the Director of the National Library all such public records, papers, and documents as are considered to be of historical importance for safekeeping in the National Library. Duplicate copies of such records, papers, or documents to be turned over to the National Library shall, however, be retained and kept in the office or bureau concerned for ready reference. In case of difference of opinion as to whether a paper, document, or public record is of historical importance, the matter shall be submitted to the Board on Documents whose decision thereon shall be final.

APPOINTS MEMBERS OF PHILIPPINE HISTORICAL COMMITTEE

The President today authorized the appointment of the following as members of the Philippine Historical Committee, created under Executive Order No. 91, in accordance with Commonwealth Act. No. 169, appropriating P50,000 for the identification, marking, and preservation of historical monuments and places:

Walter Robb, of the American Chamber of Commerce, for a term of 3 years; Prof. Jaime C. de Veyra, chairman of the National Language Institute, 3 years; Fr. Miguel Selga, director of the Weather Bureau, 3 years; Dean Edward R. Hyde, U.P. college of engineering, 2 years; Acting Director Eulogio B. Rodriguez, of the National Library, 2 years; Dr. H. Otley Beyer, archeologist, UP, 2 years; Dean Leandro H. Fernandez, college of liberal arts, UP, 1 year; Dr. Jose P. Bantug, of Bureau of Health, 1 year; and Luis Serrano, chief, education and

7/ Executive Order No. 91, "Creating the Philippine Historical Committee," January 23, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 11, p. 611.

8/ Executive Order No. 103, "Directing All Bureaus, Offices, and Branches of the Government to Turn Over to the National Library All Public Records, Papers, or Documents of Historical Importance," City of New York (for the City of Manila), June 14, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part II, JBVEFF, p. 629.

press relations division, Malacañan, 1 year. ⁹

COMMITTEE CREATED TO DECIDE ON ARCHIVES AND MUSEUM BUILDING

In order to determine upon the advisability of constructing a building to house both the National Museum and Archives as contemplated by plans prepared by the bureau of public works as separate buildings for those purposes and the advisability of transferring the Aquarium from its present location to Fort San Antonio de Abad in Harrison Park, there is hereby created and constituted a Committee to be composed of the following members:

Mr. Arthur F. Fisher, Adviser to the President on Natural Resources, Chairman; Mr. Eulogio B. Rodriguez, assistant director of the National Library; Dr. H. Otley Beyer, professor of anthropology, U.P.; Dr. Eduardo Quisumbing, chief of the National Museum Division, Bureau of Science, and Mr. Antonio Toledo, supervising architect, Bureau of Public Works, members.

The Committee shall study and submit its recommendations on the following propositions:

1. The advisability of housing the art and historical exhibits with the archives as contemplated by preliminary plans prepared by the Bureau of Public Works for a building to be erected at Plaza McKinley, or of constructing separate buildings for the Archives and National Museum, and in the latter case, as to whether the building intended for the National Museum should house not only the art and historical exhibits but also the natural history exhibits which are now a part of the Bureau of Science.

2. In case it is found advisable to construct separate buildings for the National Museum and Archives, recommendations are desired as to whether the site which would utilize the old foundations in Plaza McKinley may be considered a suitable location for the proposed Archives Building and as to whether it is considered necessary to construct such a building in the near future, taking into consideration that valuable records of the Government are now being stored in the Ice Plant Building which is a fire-proof structure.

3. The desirability of transferring the Aquarium from its proposed location to Fort San Antonio de Abad in Harrison Park with an estimate of cost of such transfer. ¹⁰

51. H O U S I N G

DECENT HOME ESSENTIAL TO CIVILIZED LIFE - QUEZON

The proper housing of the laborers and of the people of meager income is

/ Press statement on the membership of the Philippine Historical Committee, September 15, 1937. Quezon Messages. Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVEF, p. 331.

/ Administrative Order No. 54, "Creating a Committee to Select Sites and Study Plans for the Proposed Archives and Museum Buildings and the Transfer of the Aquarium to a New Site," December 23, 1937. Quezon Messages. Vol. 3, Part II, JBVEF, pp. 1187-1188.

a problem which governments all over civilized world are squarely meeting with all their resources, and it is high time that we started something towards the solution of our own.

The government's intervention in this problem is predicated on the proposition that citizens are entitled to certain essentials of civilized life; that a decent home is one of these essentials, and that low-salaried individuals, not able to build adequate homes or to rent them on current commercial rates out of their own resources, can do so, if they are helped by the government. ^{1(a)}

SLUMS BREEDING PLACE FOR GERMS AND HOODLUMS

Slums everywhere are considered to be the breeding place of germs, causing physical, moral and social diseases. Thriving on filth, slums provide the atmosphere for the formation of that type of hoodlums who are not born criminals, but merely grow up to be so because of the environment in which they live. ^{2(a)}

52. HUMAN RIGHTS

QUEZON, NO RED, UPHOLDS PRIMACY OF HUMAN OVER PROPERTY RIGHTS

I am against communism. I am a firm believer in the institution of private property. I contend, however, that whenever property rights come in conflict with human rights, the former should yield to the latter. ^{1(b)}

PROFIT MUST GIVE WAY TO SUPREMACY OF HUMAN LIFE - QUEZON

If we would preserve the institution of private property, we must hold fast to this principle, in the determination of conflicting rights between man and man. . It is thus that we may draw the line between the rights of labor and capital, and erect an economic structure based on the principle that human life is the measure of all other values, that considerations of possession and profit must give way to the supremacy of human existence. ^{2(b)}

RIGHT PMA CADETS DISCHARGED FOR HAZING

"Whereas, the following named cadets of the Philippine Military Academy - P. R. Molina, E. B. Villaluz, V. N. Ayaay, J. Victoria, G. L. Manikan, J. A. Sanchez, J. Q. Arce, G. H. de Castro - have been found guilty of maltreating and abusing first year members of the cadet corps, in flagrant violation of the standing orders of the Academy and in utter disregard of personal admonitions of the faculty with regard to the offense of hazing;

"Whereas, drastic punishment is necessary to be imposed in order to emphasize

^{1(a)/} Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

^{2(a)/} Ibid.

^{1(b)/} Speech on accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVTT, p. 241.

^{2(b)/} Ibid.

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the government's determination to stamp out and destroy the contemptible practice of maltreating subordinates at the Military Academy, for any military superior taking advantage of his position to humiliate or to inflict personal injury upon his subordinate who may not resent the act, is not only guilty of gross misconduct in a military sense, but he also violates the true standards of a gentleman;

Whereas, the mission of the Military Academy is to produce an officer corps of efficiency, imbued with patriotism, pride, and self-respect and that while disciplinary methods in that institution must teach subordination of the individual but must not produce or permit surliness;

"Whereas, in the further development of its military academy, the Philippine Army is privileged to take advantage of the better practices and experiences in similar schools throughout the world, with West Point and Annapolis as the best models;

"Whereas, the defense alleged in favor of the above-mentioned cadets that the faults committed by them have become almost customary and have been tacitly condoned in the Philippine Military Academy;

"Whereas, if this is true, there is the greater reason for taking the most drastic action, if it is desired to correct instantly and completely that state of things and that it might serve in the future as a warning to any upperclassman who may be so disposed to humiliate and demean his subordinates and lowerclassmen; and

"Whereas, far more important than mere academic and technical training of the cadets in the Academy is their development into a body distinguished by personal integrity, gentlemanly habits, professional efficiency, and high patriotism - a cadet corps capable of producing the men who must lead the future Philippine Army in its high mission of defending our country;

"Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon... hereby discharge the cadets above-named, effective immediately."³

QUEZON CITES PRIMACY OF HUMAN RIGHTS OVER PROPERTY RIGHT

The problem of our age is how to harmonize property right with the right to live - and the right to live is paramount and above every other right. ⁴

COMPLY WITH YOUR DUTIES, THEN DEMAND YOUR RIGHTS

Life is not all pleasure, life means duties; and when a man has learned his duties and knows how to comply with them, he will then know how to demand his rights. ⁵

2/ Administrative Order No. 1, "Discharging From Military Service Certain Cadets at the Philippine Military Academy," January 29, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 741-742.

4/ Speech on the first anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1936. Ibid., p. 144.

5/ Address before the Military Order of the Carabao, February 27, 1937. QP, NR#39, TNL.

- ~~SECRET~~ -

PRIMACY OF RIGHT TO LIFE OVER PROPERTY RIGHT

While I believe that the right to life is a fundamental right, nobody can deprive another of anything without due process of law. I believe that property right is also a fundamental right, that nobody can be denied it without due process of law; although, in a conflict between the right to live and the right to own, I must say that the right to live is the more fundamental right. ⁶

PROTECT EQUALLY RIGHTS OF GOVERNMENT AND OF PEOPLE

You (referring to the public prosecutors) are just as much in duty bound to protect the government from any encroachment upon its rights as you are in duty bound to prevent the government from encroaching upon the rights of an individual or a third party.

I do not want the government to employ any means, even if they are technically proper, to deprive anybody of rights that he has acquired. ⁷

GOVERNMENT STANDS FOURSQUARE ON PROPERTY RIGHTS

I enjoin you (referring to the farmers) to maintain peace. I wish you to be peaceful, because a troubled country will never be progressive and its people cannot enjoy prosperity. Besides, the government cannot allow you to be always in chaos. Our government is not a joke. The government will not allow any citizen to unlawfully cultivate land which is not his, or grab the property of another. ⁸

RIGHT TO SELF-DEFENSE RECOGNIZED IN ALL LAWS

There is one law which is a natural law, and also recognized in criminal law, that everybody has the right to self-defense. ⁹

PEOPLE MUST ALSO THINK OF OTHERS' RIGHTS AND NEEDS - QUEZON

Think not only of your rights but of the rights of others. Bear in mind not only your needs but ^{also} the needs of others. With these sentiments, I have no doubt that the day will come when we shall see a Philippines happy and free, which is the ambition of my life. ¹⁰

53. I M M I G R A T I O N

QUEZON JUSTIFIES PHILIPPINE IMMIGRATION LAWS

Conditions obtaining in the Philippines and the position of the Philippines

- 6/ Speech at a conference with the Solicitor General and other public prosecutors, September 10, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.
- 7/ Ibid.
- 8/ Speech on respect for property rights and government plans for Buenavista Estate, at Barrio Cruz na Daan, San Rafael, Bulacan, January 31, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 15.
- 9/ Speech at a press conference, February 2, 1939. QP, MR#43, TNL.
- 10/ Speech before the National Commission of Labor, June 5, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

In relation to Asiatic countries should impel us to eliminate the discrimination against Asiatics now contained in our immigration laws. The Philippines can ill-afford to discriminate against her own neighbors.

On the other hand, full protection to Filipino labor demands that laborers of all classes and of all races be denied admission into the Philippines, with the exception of skilled labor, when such is not available here. ¹

UNRESTRICTED IMMIGRATION HARMFUL TO PHILIPPINE LABOR

There is a great deal of unemployment in my country and abundance of labor both in the factories and on the farms, and unrestricted immigration would inevitably cause hardship, if not starvation, to our working people. ²

EXCLUSION POLICY ON ORIENTALS DEPLORED BY QUEZON

We are of the Oriental race and we are in the Orient, and the exclusion of Orientals from our country seems to be wholly unjustified. ³

IMMIGRATION: A BLESSING OR A CURSE?

Immigration speaks highly not only of the opportunities offered here for individual betterment, but also - and this is really flattering - of conditions that stand for peace and order and insure justice and fair treatment to all, nationals and foreigners alike.

There is ample justification to establish a system for the checking up of foreigners living in our midst, not only to ascertain, from time to time, their right to reside in this country, but possibly also from the standpoint of public safety and national security.

It is better to adopt this measure now, rather than wait for the time when the problem shall have reached its worst stage, and an attempt in this direction may then encounter serious difficulties. ⁴

54. I N D E P E N D E N C E

INALIENABLE RIGHT OF FILIPINOS TO INDEPENDENCE STRESSED BY MLQ

... Let us suppose, for the sake of argument, that there is such a privileged class in the Philippines. But is this any reason for denying us our inalienable right of independence? The form of government that the nation should establish is a matter of no concern to anybody except the nation itself. No peculiar form of government has been admitted as the one ideal government for

1/ Message to the First National Assembly on the regulation of the entry and residence of aliens in the Philippines, September 30, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 278-279.

2/ Speech on Sino-Philippine Friendship at Canton, China, December 12, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, pp. 151-152.

3/ Ibid.

4/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

all kinds of people. ¹

U.S. COLONIAL EXPERIMENT UNIQUE IN WORLD'S HISTORY

The main difference between the record of America and the Philippines and that of any other nation and its colonies lies in the fact that America from the very moment she implanted her flag in the Islands told my people that the Stars and Stripes, the symbol of liberty and freedom, was brought to the Philippines not to subjugate them but rather to bring to them the blessings of individual liberty and political independence.

Such a solemn and alluring promise acted as the most powerful incentive to make the Filipinos, already a liberty-loving, progressive people, strive more and more to be equipped with all the instrumentalities necessary for an independent national life. And today they are a full-grown nation, anxious to give expression to their own genius, so as to contribute, in their own way, to the progress of mankind. ²

SOLVE PHILIPPINE QUESTION WITHOUT CONSULTING FILIPINOS?

The first difficulty and serious obstacle to a fair solution of the Philippine question and problem lies in the fact that most of those Americans who, in private or official capacity, have come to the Philippines for the purpose of finding out the situation and the solution of this problem seem to have, as the background or the starting point of their investigation, the idea that the Filipinos need not be heard in the solution of this problem, because we do not know what is best for our country, and if we know, it, it is not the good of the country that we are seeking but only our own private and individual interests. They will listen, it is true, to what we may have to say, but few of them will take seriously what we say unless we belong to those few that will deny the capacity of our people for self-government or their right to be free. ³

U.S. NO LONGER RESPONSIBLE AFTER P.I. INDEPENDENCE

I think that if and when the United States grants the Philippines their independence because of the repeated requests of the Filipino people, no further responsibility will lie at the doors of the United States, even should the Philippines get into trouble with any other nation.

In any event, the question of Philippine independence is one of fundamental right, and as long as the Filipino people insist on the recognition of that right the possible consequences to them are their own look out and the United States would have done its duty toward the people of these Islands by giving

1/ Speech at the U.S. House of Representatives, 1912, n.d.m. QP, MR#22, TNL.

2/ Radio address from Washington, D.C., "Philippine Night" program, September 20, 1924. The Philippine Republic, November 1924. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 763.

3/ Speech at Senate, 1926, n.d.m. QP, MR#29, TNL.

then what they want. ⁴

NOTHING WORSE FOR PEOPLE THAN UNCERTAINTY OF OWN DESTINY

If you don't intend to give the Filipinos their independence it is better to say so, And, if you intend to give it, it is better to give it (without much ado - ABS). Nothing is worse for a people than uncertainty. There are people, for instance, who are afraid to die. Why? because they have no idea of what it is to die. I have never seen a man or woman yet who has not been afraid to die. Uncertainty is worse than realization because imagination presents things in such terrific clearness that we can see much more in the imagination than there is in actual reality. ⁵

FILIPINOS ARE FILIPINOS: THEY WANT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT

It is a question of sentiment. Filipinos are Filipinos. Their country is the Philippines. They cannot turn their back to the Philippine Islands. There is this national sentiment among them, and while they realize the benefits conferred upon them by the government of the United States, still they would like to have their own government, and Americans who believe in self-government cannot misunderstand that feeling and desire on the part of the Filipino people. ⁶

FILIPINOS CANNOT BE HAPPY WITHOUT INDEPENDENCE

Under an independent Philippine government, the United States can keep the commercial advantages that she now enjoys as well as the strategical advantages because it will be in the interest of the Filipino people to let them have these commercial and strategic advantages, You will have everything that you need in the Philippines, without the responsibility of governing the Filipinos, which is the one thing that the Filipinos do not feel happy about in the present relationship between the United States and the Philippines. ⁷

MLQ INSISTS ON FILIPINOS' RIGHT TO GOVERN THEMSELVES

What the Filipino people want to have is immediate and absolute independence; but if they cannot have immediate and absolute independence, I think they will be satisfied to have full control of their own affairs. In other words, while it is our ambition and desire to have our own government, just as free and independent as every other absolutely independent government on earth, if in your opinion this is not to the interest of the United States, or in the interest of the Philippine Islands, or both, then something less than that might be acceptable, provided our right to govern ourselves is recognized and granted. ⁸

4/ Press interview, 1926, n.d.m. Ibid.

5/ Speech requested by a prominent American, Mr. Brown, 1927, n.d.m. Ibid.

6/ Speech, "Plea for Philippine Independence," before the Economic Club, USA, November 25, 1927. Ibid.

7/ Ibid.

8/ Speech at the Hamilton Club, Chicago, Illinois, November 29, 1927. QP, MR#29, TML.

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE AND PRIDE OF U.S. MOTHERHOOD

The strategic or commercial importance of the Philippines, instead of being a source of danger to her is, on the contrary, what makes for her safety. Mutual jealousies among the powers will be her very protection against any nation attempting to conquer her. It is the old game of diplomacy.

Just picture to yourselves, if you will, a Philippines raising her head as mistress of her own destinies in the midst of the West Pacific, holding the torch of democracy and freedom and pointing the way to the teeming millions of Africa and Asia now suffering under alien rule; a Philippines, heir in the Orient to the teachings of Christianity, a fair daughter Republic upon which the sun has ever shone, and tell me whether such a picture does not make you thrill with the pride of motherhood. ⁹

FILIPINO CONSENSUS: IMMEDIATE INDEPENDENCE!

It is the consensus of opinion of the Filipinos with whom I have consulted, and they come from all walks of life, as to what the attitude of our people would be, if they were to choose between the present status with free trade with America, on the one hand, and immediate independence, on the other, without free trade, that the answer would be immediate independence. ¹⁰

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE OUR SUPREME ASPIRATION - QUEZON

Independence is and has ever been the supreme aspiration of the Filipino people. It is a longing chastened and hallowed by sacrifices and strengthened by the conviction that through freedom alone can the higher destinies of our people be achieved. The struggles for independence have met with many disappointments, but the national spirit has never been broken. On the contrary, our people's faith has been renewed at every seeming disillusion. Whenever the circumstances demanded national unity, our people have laid down the arms of partisanship to rally under the banner of our paramount cause. ¹¹

HEQ WILL DO BEST, BUT PROSPECTS IN AMERICA NOT BRIGHT

My people who are already aware of the real situation which confronts the country, should not expect much from my trip. The coming session of Congress being a short one, it is a human impossibility that any legislation affecting the Filipino problem would be finally acted upon, and it is extremely hard to predict what might be the outcome of certain administrative difficulties which have arisen at the last hour. But I am going, heartened by the hope that in time

^{9/} Speech before the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, November 30, 1927.
Ibid.

^{10/} Press statement, 1929, n.d.m. OP, MR#31, TNL.

^{11/} Message to the Filipino people, 1929, n.d.m. Ibid.

our steadfastness will bear fruits. ¹²

UNCERTAINTY DELETERIOUS TO PHILIPPINE INTEREST

Regardless of nationality, it is the consensus of opinion in the Philippines that the uncertainty as to the future relations, both politically and economically, between the United States and the Philippine Islands is causing serious injury to the interest of those Islands. ¹³

FILIPINOS WANT IMMEDIATE END OF FOREIGN RULE

The Filipino feels that he is entitled to rule in his own country and to the extent that foreign rule is odious and obtrusive he is desirous of a prompt cessation of foreign rule. ¹⁴

QUEZON TELLS SECRETARY HURLEY FILIPINOS WANT THEIR OWN GOVERNMENT

The Filipino people are and have been dissatisfied with the present political status of the Islands, because they want to be free; that is, they want to have a government of their own making with officials of their own choosing. ¹⁵

THREE DANGERS CONFRONTING PHILIPPINE MISSION TO AMERICA

The first danger which threatens us is that we may not get anything, and that we may not take any forward step whatever.

The second danger against which we should be warned is that independence, if granted us, might be given under burdensome conditions.

The third danger - the most unjust to us - is that no independence bill in any form may be passed, but the entry of our products into the United States may be restricted and Filipino immigration prohibited. ¹⁶

FILIPINOS WANT INDEPENDENCE IN WHATEVER FORM

Viewpoint of the Filipino People:

First, immediate establishment of a free and independent government;

Second, if this is not acceptable, immediate establishment of an autonomous government with all the consequent powers; and

Third, in the event that this is not acceptable, immediate establishment of an independent government in the Philippines in whatever form the United States may decide to grant it. ¹⁷

PHILIPPINE UNCERTAINTY MUST END - QUEZON

I emphasized that the most pressing need of the Islands was a definite

- 12/ Message to the Filipino people, August 2, 1930. QP, IR#31, TNL.
- 13/ Statement on Philippine independence, 1931, n.d.m. QP, IR#32, TNL.
- 14/ Article, "Philippine Labor in the United States," 1931, n.d.m. Ibid.
- 15/ Statement at conference with U.S. Secretary of War Patrick T. Hurley, 1931, n.d.m. Ibid.
- 16/ Report on his trip to the United States, November 9, 1931. Ibid.
- 17/ Press statement, October 28, 1931. QP, IR#32, TNL.

understanding as to the political and economic relationship between the United States and the Philippines on a basis satisfactory to both peoples, and I assured him (the President of the U.S.) that even the Americans and foreigners here agree with the Filipinos that the insecurity of the present relations should terminate. ¹

FILIPINOS WANT INDEPENDENCE EVEN WITHOUT FREE TRADE

The masses of the Filipino people, jointly with a great majority of farmers, merchants and professionals, are in favor of immediate, absolute and complete independence of the Philippines, with free trade for sometime if this were possible, and without free trade, if need be. ¹⁹

INDEPENDENCE EVEN WITHOUT ECONOMIC READJUSTMENT

If we cannot secure some arrangement whereby we shall be given time for the economic readjustment of our country, we should unhesitatingly accept independence no matter how burdensome the conditions may be from the economic standpoint. ²

FILIPINOS WON'T REVOLT, THEY JUST WANT TO BE FREE

There is no cause, nor intention on the part of the people of the Philippines to rebel against the U.S.

But there is no question that the people of the Philippines desire independence and the majority of them want immediate independence. ²¹

PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE FIRST - QUEZON

This sudden termination of free trade relations between the United States and the Philippine Islands would cause very serious hardships upon our people, and would, to some extent, affect the finances of our government.

Every serious minded Filipino, everyone who has regard for the present and future of his people, will naturally make every endeavor to save his country from such hardships if he can, in securing its independence, which he must. ²²

QUEZON'S VIEW ON THE TRANSITION PERIOD

With reference to the transition period, the government of the Commonwealth would have the right to ask the granting of independence at any time prior to the expiration of the said transition period whenever, in the opinion of the government of the Commonwealth, the economic provisions of the law proved to be destructive rather than constructive of the economic structure of the islands;

18/ Report on his trip to the United States, November 9, 1931. Ibid.

19/ Ibid.

20/ Press statement, November 28, 1931. Ibid.

21/ Statement at a press conference, December 14, 1931. Ibid.

22/ Speech at a luncheon in honor of Congressman Butler Hare, October 8, 1932. Ibid.

and the government of the United States would have the duty of either granting Philippine independence forthwith, upon the receipt of the petition from the Commonwealth, or else provide for such trade relations between the United States and the Philippines as will accomplish the purpose of strengthening the economic structure of the Philippines for which the transition period was established. 23

FILIPINOS WANT FREEDOM TO REALIZE THEIR OWN DESTINY

Independence has ever been the supreme aspiration of the Filipino people. It is a longing strengthened by the conviction that through freedom alone can the higher destinies of our people be achieved. So far, our peaceful struggle for a separate nationhood have met with many disappointments, but the national spirit has not been shaken. On the contrary, our people's faith has been refreshed at every seeming setback, knowing as we do that America will not fail us. 24

INDEPENDENCE CROWNING GLORY OF QUEZON'S YEARS OF SACRIFICE

I am anxious to see our independence established at the earliest possible date. I look upon it as the most precious reward for the many years of ceaseless efforts that I have spent in its quest. I pledge myself anew, resolutely, to take all the necessary steps leading to the advent of independence, and to do everything in my power to make the Philippine Republic strong and enduring, and the blessings of liberty not only the cherished possession of this generation but the priceless heritage of the Filipino people for all time. 25

BIRTH OF NEW NATION: AMERICA'S NOBLEST UNDERTAKING

We are bringing into being a new nation. We are inaugurating its government. We are seeing the fruition of our age-old striving for liberty. We are witnessing the final stage in the fulfillment of the noblest undertaking ever attempted by any nation in its dealing with a subject people. And how well this task has been performed is attested to by the blessings which from fourteen million people go to America in this solemn hour. 26

QUEZON ASKS QUESTIONS, BUT BIRD IN GOLDEN CAGE HAS THE ANSWER: FREEDOM!

What, I ask, would be the use of seeing our country free one day, with its own flag standing alone and flying against the sky, only to see ourselves the subjects of another power the following day, with its flag the sovereign in and of our country? What would be the purpose of educating our young men and women

2/ Speech at the Senate, October 13, 1933. QP, MR#34, TNL.

4/ Memorial to the U.S. President, December, n.d. 1933. Ibid.

5/ Speech on accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVTF, p. 245.

6/ Inaugural address, November 15, 1935, Legislative Building. Ibid., p. 11.

concerning their rights and privileges as free citizens, if tomorrow they are to be subjects of a foreign foe? Why build up the wealth of the nation only to swell up the coffers of another? If that be our preordained fate, why seek a new master when the Stars and Stripes has given us not only justice and fair treatment, welfare and prosperity, but also ever increasing political liberties including independence. 27

BE READY TO GRASP TORCH OF FREEDOM - AND DEFEND IT!

National freedom now stands before us as a shining light - the freedom that for many years gleamed only as a fitful candle in the distant dark. We shall make ourselves ready to grasp the torch, so that no predatory force may ever strike it from our hands. 28

QUEZON SPEAKS OF EARLY INDEPENDENCE, ECONOMIC READJUSTMENTS

It was agreed that a joint committee of experts (would make) recommendations to consider the bearing which an advancement in the date of independence would have on facilitating or retarding action on the program of economic adjustment of the Philippines.

It was further agreed that preferential trade relations between the United States and the Philippines are to be terminated at the earliest practicable date consistent with affording the Philippines a reasonable opportunity to adjust her national economy (through) a reciprocal agreement on a non-preferential basis. 29

MLQ PROPOSES TO FDR INDEPENDENCE IN 1938 OR 1939

After reporting to the President (Franklin D. Roosevelt - ABS) on general conditions prevailing in the Commonwealth, and to remedy the uncertainty of our future trade relations with America, I proposed to him that the date for the recognition of the independence of the Philippines be set for the 30th of December, 1938, or the 4th of July, 1939. You understand, I suppose, the reason for the choice of either date. The thirtieth of December is our national holiday, and the fourth of July is America's. I gave the President my reasons for the proposal, and after listening to me with close attention and great interest, he suggested, without himself expressing any opinion on the subject, that I discuss the question with both the Secretary of State and the Secretary of War... 30

QUEZON EXPLAINS WHY HE PROPOSED EARLIER INDEPENDENCE

You must be interested in knowing why I proposed that independence be

27/ Message to the First National Assembly on national defense, November 25, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, pp. 34-35.

28/ Ibid.

29/ Press statement on Philippine independence and economic adjustments, March 18, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 320.

30/ Speech on the purpose of his trip to the United States and relations with the High Commissioner, at the Rizal Memorial Stadium, August 20, 1937. Ibid., p. 107.

granted earlier than contemplated under the Independence Act. The main reason is this: If, as long as the Philippines is under the American flag, Congress should feel at liberty to make such changes in the trade relations between the two countries as in its judgment may be necessary, then the only remedy to the situation would be to place the trade relations between the Philippines and the United States on the basis of a treaty between the United States and an independent Philippines. ³¹

PRESIDENT QUEZON BELIES "PROS" CHARGE HE WAS AFRAID OF INDEPENDENCE

There is a provision in the Tydings-McDuffie Law which establishes a substantial difference between the two laws. In the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law that provision was there, but I am interested only in the substance of the thing. That was not an independence bill. I cannot, for historical reasons, let the statement in your memorial lie unchallenged - that the Tydings-McDuffie Law and the Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law are the same - because that is not true. That provision alone constitutes such a difference as to make one an independence bill and the other not. I was willing to accept the law (Hare-Hawes-Cutting Law) when the provision for military and naval reservations was removed. I am not afraid of independence. It was nonsense what the "PRO" leaders said - that I did not want independence. ³²

INDEPENDENCE NOT LATER THAN 1939 OR ELSE...

Let us be honest with ourselves and with the rest of the world; if we want independence and are ready to take its consequences, let us all join and ask for independence not later than 1939.

If we are afraid of independence now, let us say so, and let us leave the question of Philippine independence for future generations - those that may have more moral and physical courage than we have, or those that may be in a much stronger position to fight for the independence of their country than we are. ³³

GREAT THINGS AHEAD AS AFTERMATH OF INDEPENDENCE

Human ingenuity has not yet devised a means whereby we may pierce the veil that hides the future from our view, but if it is true that forthcoming events cast their shadows before, then present indications give us reason to hope that the country is inexorably headed for greater and grander things which are inseparable concomitants to that eternal boon of God - independence. ³⁴

^{31/} Ibid., p. 109

^{32/} Conference with a delegation of the Young Philipinos, September 29, 1937. Ibid., p. 133.

^{33/} Speech urging independence not later than 1939, October 11, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

^{34/} Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. Ibid.

DELAY IN GRANT OF INDEPENDENCE DISADVANTAGEOUS TO FILIPINOS

In my recent trip abroad I proposed to the President of the United States that he recommend to the Congress the granting of complete independence to the Philippines on either the 30th of December, 1938, or the 4th of July, 1939.

I can see no valid reason why, if the Philippines can be given independence in 1946, she may not have it in 1938 or in 1939. In the short span of seven years the Filipino people can hardly do anything that would substantially change their present situation. Any obstacles which would vitally affect the chances of a successful and lasting independent nationhood in 1939 cannot be overcome by 1946. The best interest, indeed, the very life of the nation is at stake. If it is our resolve to be an independent nation, this is the time, for every year lost is to our evident disadvantage. ³⁵

WHY PUT OFF INDEPENDENCE FOR BENEFIT OF FOREIGNERS?

It is true that from the point of view of a foreigner, who does not intend to remain in the Philippines after independence shall have been granted and who is contemplating to liquidate his interests in this country, the remaining seven years (1939-1946) may, perhaps, give him the opportunity to withdraw his investments. But, is this a sufficient reason to postpone the grant of independence if, on the other hand, it would be to the interests of the Filipino people to accelerate its grant? Is the future well-being of a whole nation to be sacrificed for the benefit of a few foreigners? Do these foreigners have any right to a special consideration? ³⁶

INDEPENDENCE GRANT DURING FDR'S TERM MOST ADVANTAGEOUS

My main reason for asking that Philippine independence be granted not later than the 4th of July, 1939, is that I am sincerely of the opinion that it will be to our best interests to secure independence during and under the Administration of President Roosevelt. I know the President, his progressive and liberal ideas, his very deep sense of justice, and his friendship for and good will towards the Filipino people. I have no doubt that under his leadership we will receive from the government of the United States the fairest treatment that we may ever expect to receive under the leadership of his successors. And if the Philippines were to become independent not later than the fourth of July, 1939, President Roosevelt would still have more than one full year to extend his helping hand to the new Philippine Republic in the early stages of its dealings, as an independent nation, both with the United States and the rest of the world. We could, indeed, find no better sponsor than President Roosevelt to usher the Philippines into the family of free nations. ³⁷

^{35/} Message to the First National Assembly, October 18, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 212.

^{36/} Ibid., p. 213.

^{37/} Ibid., pp. 214-215.

INDEPENDENCE ONLY SOLUTION TO FIL-AMERICAN PREDICAMENT

It must be recognized, on the one hand, that America cannot, in fairness to herself, concede more governmental powers to the Commonwealth than she has granted without endangering her own interest and peace, nor, on the other hand, can the Filipino people assume responsibility for their due preparation for independence with only such limited powers as have been vested in the Commonwealth government. In this predicament, it were better for America and the Philippines to be independent of each other so that each may be free to act in the furtherance of her own national objectives and interests. 38

U.S. WITHDRAWAL FROM P.I. BEACON LIGHT TO HUMANITY

In an age when defenseless or powerless nations are in constant dread of their very existence lest some powerful nation attempt to subjugate them, America's voluntary withdrawal from a country already under its lawful domain, so rich in natural resources and so promising in material returns, stands as the beacon light pointing the way to a distressed humanity out of the threatening universal danger which that great advocate of national rights, Woodrow Wilson, appropriately called self-determination.

Here is the admirable example of two peoples thrown together by the hands of destiny and agreeing between themselves in goodwill and with best wishes for one another to sever their political union that each may go its own way as God has willed that every people should. 39

WE WANT INDEPENDENCE UNDER ANY AND ALL CIRCUMSTANCES - QUEZON

The economic policy of America affecting the Philippines which she promulgated upon her own initiative and responsibility has created an economic situation here that makes imperative the granting of sufficient time for the economic readjustment of this country before the present trade relations are completely terminated, unless the granting of independence is to be made with utter disregard of the economic and financial consequences with all its implications to the Philippines.

However, both as the authorized spokesman for our people and as a Filipino, I shall not place myself in the position of refusing independence under any and all circumstances if and when it be so decided by the Congress. No self-respecting people would do otherwise. 40

PHILIPPINES MUST BE FAIR, JUST AND NEUTRAL, SAYS QUEZON

We should not feel perfectly free to do as we please in our relations with

38/ Ibid., p. 217.

39/ Speech on the second anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1937.
Ibid., p. 173.

40/ Press statement on the attitude of Filipino/people toward Congressman O'Malley's proposed resolution on immediate freedom, Washington, D.C., January 27, 1938.
Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 624.

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foreign nations without regard to their rights and the rights of their nationals living in or trading with the Philippines. The time is past when any nation can enclose itself behind forbidding walls. We are in the world and must live with the world. We must conceive and devise, adopt and execute our national policies with a clear vision and a full consciousness of the realities of the present state of international relationship. We must, above all, be fair and just, tolerant and neutral, so as not to give an excuse on the part of any foreign power to interfere with our affairs or to charge us with jeopardizing the rights of other nations. 41

QUEZON CITES AMERICA'S ROLE AFTER GRANT OF INDEPENDENCE TO P.I

I am persuaded that America, in granting us independence, does it upon the assumption that she has stayed in the Philippines long enough and has given the Filipinos sufficient training to permit them to assume full responsibility for their national affairs, in accordance with the rules and dictates of international justice and equity. America, once she has granted us independence, will not attempt to continue guiding our destiny, nor will she assume responsibility for our mistakes or misdeeds. Every sign points to the conclusion that when America leave the Philippines she will do it, feeling that she has discharged her duties fully and satisfactorily towards the Filipinos. 42

FILIPINO MASSES FOR INDEPENDENCE AT ANY COST

The masses of our people are for independence at any cost and under any circumstances. I am under the impression that many of them have gotten the idea that independence will automatically or miraculously improve their living conditions, and that they would not be willing to listen to any discussion of the difficulties that would confront the Filipino people if our trade relations with the United States, which have been helpful to the Philippines in the past economically, are cut immediately, and therefore, I cannot give any answer as to what would happen or what should be done because I am not certain what the majority of the people would say because they have so absorbed the belief that independence will be the sure solution of our evils. But it would certainly create a very serious situation to the Philippines if all advantages that we are getting now in the American market for which I am convinced the United States is receiving compensation, too, in having this market, were terminated before we have succeeded in bringing into a successful culmination the program that we have to do. 43

WHEN REEXAMINATION OF PHILIPPINE QUESTION IS TREASON

I have no objection to the realistic reexamination of the Philippine

41/ Press statement on the alleged negotiations with the Japanese Government for the neutralization of the Philippines, July 19, 1938. Ibid., pp. 675-676.

42/ Ibid.

43/ Remarks in interview with Ford Wilkins of the Manila Daily Bulletin, February 9, 1939. QP, NR#45, TWL.

political question if the reexamination is based upon the fear that we may not be economically self-sufficient or that we may not be sufficiently strong to defend ourselves against foreign aggression. But when a reexamination is premised upon the assumption that we will not know how to establish or maintain a democracy in the Philippines; when the reexamination is predicated upon the belief, theory or assumption that we will be more free under Americans than we will ever be under Filipinos, then I will say that it is almost committing treason. ⁴⁴

QUEZON SAYS INDEPENDENCE COMING IN 1946 - DESPITE MCNUTT, ROMERO

I want you to know that independence is coming in 1946, despite Paul V. McNutt and Jose E. Romero. That is settled, so make up your minds. There is nobody who knows what will happen to the Philippines better than Manuel L. Quezon. And I am telling you what I know is a fact; independence will come in 1946, reexamination or no reexamination. Many of our people do not take this seriously, because they believe that something may happen yet. I know that many do not want to have independence in 1946, precisely because of these responsibilities which I am discussing today. But it is coming, whether they like it or not - independence in 1946 - even if the Philippines goes to the rats. So, what we have to do now is to bear in mind what will follow after independence is granted, for the situation will not be as safe as it is now. ⁴⁵

PHILIPPINE STAKE IN WORLD WAR II IS INDEPENDENCE

Our stake in this war is more than the continued existence of democracy and individual freedom in the world. It is more than the maintenance of a free economy and free commercial intercourse among nations, and an unregimented social life. Our stake in this war is our own future independence and the assurance that the independence may endure. ⁴⁶

55. INDEPENDENCE PRAYER

God, father of all nations, fountain of all strength and mercy, Thy people, come unto Thee in this hour of danger and distress. Hide not Thy face from this nation, we beseech Thee. Do Thou outpour Thy holy comfort upon our afflicted souls. We are a weak people, but Thou art our refuge and our deliverer. Of Thy loving kindness there is no end. We entreat Thee, O Most Gracious Father, stay Thou the hand that would smite our liberties. Send forth Thy spirit unto our rulers across the sea and so touch their hearts and quicken their sense of justice that they may in honor keep their plighted word to us. Let not the covetous designs of a few interests prevail in the councils of a sovereign nation, nor sway its noble

^{44/} Speech at the inter-university oratorical contest sponsored by the Civil Liberties Union, Ateneo auditorium, December 9, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF p. 224.

^{45/} Speech at the luncheon for division superintendents of the Bureau of Education, at Malacañan Park, December 10, 1939. Ibid., pp. 237-238.

^{46/} Message on Loyalty Day, June 19, 1941. QP, MR#44, TNL.

purposes toward our country.

We pray Thee, O Lord, grant us grace to forgive those who seek to destroy our freedom. We thank Thee, O Heavenly Father, that we can thus pray to Thee. We thank Thee that Thou hast inspired us with a renewed spirit of national unity. Do Thou bless and sanctify our aspirations as a people. Guide us in our endeavors for our emancipation to the end that our every thought and deed may be acceptable in Thy sight. And to Thee be all honor and glory forever and ever. Amen. ^{1(a)}

56. I N D U S T R Y

SMALL LOCAL INDUSTRIES PROMOTE NATION'S PROSPERITY

We should always endeavor to encourage the growth of local industries, especially the small units in order to diversify the sources of income of our people.

* * *

In all this, our objective should be the building up in this country of a citizenship that finds its strength and vigor on an equitable and fair distribution of wealth. As a means to achieve that end, we should encourage the development of small manufacturing units and small plants and, at the same, assist them to market effectively their products and merchandise. This done, we shall have built here a real and strong democratic nation supported and sustained by a happy and prosperous people. ^{1(b)}

SOUND TARIFF POLICY TO FOSTER INDUSTRIALIZATION

We must adopt a tariff policy of some form to insure the growth of our industrialization. ²

STRESS GOVERNMENT POLICY OF ENCOURAGING HOME INDUSTRIES

It is the policy of the government to promote the establishment of new industries, especially those that may be called home industries. Buntal hat weaving in the Philippines is one of the generally known home industries in the Islands, and it is a very serious matter for this industry to permit the continuation of the exportation of the fibers from which these hats are made. Previous legislatures attempted to prohibit the exportation of this fiber without success, and it is my opinion that the time has come when the government should stop this exportation. ³

PHILIPPINES NEEDS MINING EXPERTS, NOT SPECULATORS

The Philippine/Sneeds mining experts to dig the gold that is flying in the imagination of the organizers of some corporations.

1(a)/ Written on February 22, 1926. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 786.

1(b)/ Speech on the inauguration of the Trading Center and Exchange, August 17, 1933. OP, MR#34, TNL.

2/ Campaign speech, 1935, n.d.n. OP, MR#38, TNL.

3/ Message to the First National Assembly on the prohibition of exportation of buntal fibers, September 30, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 276.

I am going to prosecute in any form or manner I know of, any corporation that makes money out of nothing. ⁴

MINING INDUSTRY NEEDS GREATER SUPERVISION

The mining industry which is fast becoming our great source of revenue should receive greater supervision.

The Bureau of Mines, organized to stop and prevent profiteering perpetrated by unscrupulous owners or holders of mining claims, is handicapped in this difficult and delicate work on account of lack of technical personnel.

In order, therefore, that this bureau may be able to accomplish the object for which it has been created and to foster better the development of the mining industry, it is recommended that a greater appropriation be allotted for the year 1938.

In this connection, I wish to bring to your attention the urgent need of amending our Mining Law to facilitate the collection of rentals and royalties by the Collector of Internal Revenue by vesting in him the same powers and remedies to enforce their collection as those applied in the collection of other internal revenue taxes. ⁵

DEVELOPMENT OF OIL FIELDS ON BASIS OF ROYALTY

I wish to invite your attention to the need also of developing our oil fields for the benefit of the nation.

For the benefit of this project, it is advisable that we divide the country into oil districts so that we may be able, with great facility, to determine which districts should be leased and which districts should be reserved.

And as we do not intend to invest any money in this project, it is necessary to adopt measures to encourage capitalists to develop these oil fields on the basis of royalty. ⁶

GOVERNMENT SOLUTION TO PROBLEMS OF HEMP INDUSTRY

The government will do everything within its power to bring to producers the assistance of scientific agriculture and scientific research, as well as credit facilities, which will permit them to improve the quality and yield of their products.

I have refrained from authorizing the organization of the National Abaca and Other Fibers Corporation until the studies and investigations now being made should reveal the practical steps that ought to be taken not only to remedy some of these problems facing the hemp industry but also to lay out a specific program of activities for the corporation. The experience of other countries that have attempted to manipulate world prices through monopolies or cartels, should teach

⁴ Speech at a press conference, August 27, 1937. QP, IR#40, TNL.

⁵ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, IR#39, TNL.

⁶ Ibid.

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us to be cautious and extremely careful in attempting to solve the problems involving these two industries through direct government intervention.

I wish to assure the members of the convention, however, that no effort will be spared by the government to give these two industries every assistance they deserve. ⁷

57. INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ALL THINGS EQUAL, COLORED PEOPLE WILL NOT RETALIATE AGAINST WHITES

Q. - What do you expect to see if and when the Asiatic peoples shall have power commensurate with their numbers?

A. - I expect to see the states of the world living together harmoniously on the basis of universal respect for their several political and territorial rights.

Q. - You do not expect that the colored races, by way of retaliation, will attempt to dominate the white peoples?

A. - I do not. International education is advancing. We are wise today in at least some things in which we were foolish yesterday. Our wisdom will increase with the years. Both practical knowledge and the humanities, in my judgment, are on the march against the ignorance and inhumanity of which we have seen so much in history. It will be a century, if not much more, before Asia can stand erect in the full majesty of a strength now only potential. By that time, let us hope, the moralities of the world, not armies and navies, will be the sheet anchor of its national liberties. ¹

SET NEW STANDARD IN STRONG-WEAK NATIONS RELATIONS

Thirty two years ago the United States assumed sovereignty over the Philippines and assured the Filipino people that it was not its purpose to subjugate them or exploit their country but to help them stand on their feet and establish their own free and independent government. Thus, America set a new standard in international dealings of the strong nations with weaker peoples, based upon freedom and justice. ²

SENATE PRESIDENT PREDICTS CHINA'S GLORIOUS DESTINY

The road to a glorious destiny is not strewn with roses. It is beset here and there with the thorns and tumbles of disappointment, and at times, desperation. But happen what may, I believe that China will make good her goal, either soon or late. ³

^{7/} Speech at the convention of coconut and hemp producers, February 18, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 35.

^{1/} Exclusive interview with Edward Price Bell for the Chicago Daily News, 1925. In: The Philippine Republic, published monthly in Washington, D.C., and edited by Clyde H. Tavenner. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 767-768.

^{2/} Message to American people on the Philippine question, 1929, n.d.m. QP, MR#31, TNL.

^{3/} Message on 18th anniversary of Chinese Republic, October 10, 1929. Ibid.

STRESS ON COMMERCIAL RELATIONS WITH ORIENTAL COUNTRIES

We shall endeavor under the Commonwealth to pay greater attention to our commercial relations with foreign countries, especially our Oriental neighbors. These relations must be based on natural economic laws, and founded on the principles of fairness and equity. We should not be expected to buy from nations which do not buy from us. We should not purchase goods from a country in amounts considerably greater than those which that country purchases from us. In our desire to build a nation that will stand the assaults of time and events, we cannot but manifest our appreciation for any show of friendship that may come from any nation. We realize the necessity of cultivating and preserving, at the same time cognizant of our national dignity, the friendly attitude of all the nations of the world. ⁴

QUEZON NOT SURE IF EGYPT IS REALLY INDEPENDENT

I never believe that Egypt was really independent. So I do not know how far will self-government go, and when I speak of self-government I do not necessarily mean in the Anglo-Saxon sense. I mean real independence which may or may not be coupled with self-government. I do not know how much real independence is given to Egypt. ⁵

SENATE CHIEF WISHES CHINA SUCCESS IN FIGHT FOR INDEPENDENCE

We in the Philippines rejoice over your success. We want to see China occupy her rightful place in the concert of nations, not only because we believe in the right of every people to be independent, but also because we know that the independence of China means the triumph of the principles of democracy and equality - the principles and ideals for which your own Dr. Sun Yat Sen fought and died. ⁶

PHILIPPINE-JAPAN RELATIONS TRACED BACK TO PRE-SPANISH TIMES

Our association with Japan dates prior to the Spanish discovery of the Islands. Some Japanese historians and ethnologists say that the founders of this nation are of the Malayan stock, the race to which my people belong. But regardless of any racial kinship, it is a historical fact that there has been friendly intercourse between Japan and the Philippines running through centuries past. ⁷

JAPAN AND PHILIPPINES: NEIGHBORS MUST BE GOOD FRIENDS

Japan and Philippines are neighbors and it is to their mutual interest that they be friends; and friendship can only be promoted thru fair dealing and justice on both sides. ⁸

^{4/} Statement on commercial relations of the Commonwealth with foreign countries, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

^{5/} Press conference at Malacañan, September 4, 1936. Ibid.

^{6/} Speech at the Canton Military Academy, Canton, China, December 13, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 154.

^{7/} Speech at a banquet in his honor in Tokyo, February 5, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 41.

^{8/} Speech before the Philippine Society of Japan, 1937, n.d.m. QP, MR#39, TNL.

PRESIDENT QUEZON ENCHANTED BY MEXICAN HOSPITALITY

It is not easy to leave Mexico. Not only because we have been enchanted by the beauty of its panorama and by the magic charm of its women as well as by the gorgeous profusion of nature's gifts that make Mexico a chosen spot of the world, but because we have found the Mexican heart is beating in unison with ours. Mexican hospitality in all its spontaneous sincerity is extended not as a mere gesture of courtesy to strangers but as a warm embrace from a long lost brother. ⁹

QUEZON LAUDS PRESIDENT CARDENAS OF MEXICO

President Cardenas is one of the greatest men that Mexico has ever produced, and under his honest and efficient administration, his wise and strong leadership, and with his great human heart, the common people of Mexico will have the opportunity, as they never had before, of improving themselves economically, culturally and politically. ¹⁰

AGE OF RESTLESSNESS AND REIGN OF FORCE

This ^{is} an age of restlessness and dissatisfaction. The restraints of law are weakening for men are beginning to lose faith in its justice and validity. The reign of force is fast taking the place of law both in international relationship and in the government of men. ¹¹

WE LIVE IN THE WORLD, MUST LIVE WITH THE WORLD - QUEZON

Never before could it have been said as truly as it can be said nowadays that every country is in the world and has to live with the world. The radio and the aeroplane have made all nations neighbors, and finance, commerce and trade have made them interdependent in their economic life. The prevailing economic system has resulted in the concentration of wealth in the hands of small minorities at the cost of the well-being, and with the consequent impoverishment of the great masses of the people. This has created discontent everywhere and forced even the most conservative governments to revolutionize their systems of taxation to direct and control or, at least, to regulate production and distribution in industry and agriculture, so as to effect a wider diffusion or redistribution of wealth and to provide protection to labor against exploitation by capital. ¹²

FUTURE OF SMALL NATIONS IN BALANCE, SAYS PRESIDENT

No one can feel more keenly than I do the responsibility for the future of our people. The sacred duty of leading our government through these first years of

9/ Press statement on his trip to Mexico, 1937, n.d.m. QP, MR#40, TNL.

10/ Radio speech upon his return from a trip to Mexico, August 1937, n.d. QP, MR#39, TNL.

11/ Address at the University of Sto. Tomas, October 2, 1937. Ibid.

12/ Speech at the University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

preparation for an independent national existence has fallen to my lot, and I have tried to discover by every means at my disposal if there be any compelling reason why ^{the} plan, as decreed by the Congress of the United States and accepted by us, should not be pushed through. I am of the opinion that the international situation has not developed to a point where anyone can predict what the fate of small nations will be in the years to come. }¹³

SPENS TASK OF CREATING WORLD WITHOUT FEAR AND WANT

When we achieve victory, when we reach the end of war's long and tragic road, we shall have an even graver responsibility. For then the test will come. Then we shall be faced with the task of making good on our promise to ourselves. We shall be called upon to make the postwar sacrifices that will take the principles of freedom out of a charter and translate them into our everyday lives. We shall embark on the gigantic task of creating a world without fear and without want, a world where all of us can live in freedom to speak and think and worship, a world where evil men can no longer break the peace. ¹⁴

QUINZON EXPLAINS SIGNIFICANCE OF FOUR-POWER PACT IN MOSCOW

The Four-Power Pact signed in Moscow is significant in that it not only shows the determination of the United Nations to fight the Axis until total victory is achieved, but also it recognizes the right of small nations to have their voice heard when peace is declared, a peace America, Great Britain, Russia, and China have committed themselves in the treaty to maintain with an international organization. The Four-Power Pact, therefore, is more than a pledge to win the war and win in a total way. It is a formal commitment of the leader-nations in the fight for freedom and democracy to see to it that after the war shall have been won, their strength and power will not be used for their own aggrandizement but to give security to a peace in which the large nations as well as the small will respect the principles of sovereign equality. ¹⁵

PRESIDENT QUINZON SEES WORLD FAMILY OF DEMOCRATIC NATIONS

The peace that will follow will be enduring. The new world will be constituted by a world family of democratic nations - large and small alike - where tyranny and slavery, oppression and intolerance will have no place. For such a world the sacrifices of all liberty-loving peoples will not have been in vain. ¹⁶

- 13/ Message to the Second National Assembly, January 22, 1940. QP, MR#43, TNL.
- 14/ Address during the intermission of the CBS Summer Symphony, August 9, 1942. QP, MR#45, TNL.
- 15/ Statement on the Four-Power Pact signed in Moscow, November 9, 1943. QP, MR#46, TNL.
- 16/ Statement on the Teheran Conference, December 6, 1943. Ibid.

58. I N V A S I O N

IN CASE OF INVASION, WE'D FIGHT WITH ALL THAT WE'VE GOT - HLQ

Mr. MADDEN: Suppose the Filipinos were given freedom now, but before they had time to build up an army and navy some European or Oriental country should undertake to take them away. To what civilized country would they look for protection?

Mr. QUEZON: Mr. Chairman, I was just saying when I was interrupted by the gentleman from Illinois (Mr. Madden) that, in my opinion, the hypothesis of the gentleman is not likely to become real; but if it should, let me assure the gentleman that we would look to no country for protection; we would fight as best as we could with whatever means we had; we would unhesitatingly consecrate once more to our love for freedom the best blood there is in our land. (Applause.) ¹

PHILIPPINES AS A COLONY IS SOURCE OF DANGER TO JAPAN

I have no more confidence in the nations of the world now than had those patriotic Americans who in 1776 dared to establish a republic in this continent with but 3,000,000 people; but my people are just as willing, in fact, as desirous of taking their chance, as the founders of this nation were, and I hope in God's mercy, we shall be as successful.

The Philippines as an independent nation would not be a source of danger to Japan, but the Philippines under American sovereignty might well be a menace to Japan's interest in the Far East. ²

QUEZON BELIEVES FREE PHILIPPINES FACES NO DANGER FROM INVASION

The Philippine Islands will be in no danger from foreign military or naval aggression, once they are granted independence. ³

OUR WEAKNESS IS OUR STRENGTH, SAYS QUEZON

World conditions no longer permit an act of wanton aggression such as an attack on the defenseless Philippines. Our very weakness is our strength. Besides, it will be in the interest of every nation that the Philippines remain free from the control of another nation, once they have been given their independence by the United States. ⁴

BIG POWER JEALOUSIES RULE OUT INVASION?

The safety of an independent Philippines lies not upon the fact that the Filipinos can defend themselves against a foreign invasion; it lies upon the fact that the Philippines are occupying a very strategic position in the Far East,

1/ Interpellation while delivering^a speech on the "Japanese Menace", in the U.S. House of Representatives, May 1, 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, pp. 357-361.

2/ Ibid.

3/ Press interview, 1926, n.d.m. *QP*, MR#29, TNL.

4/ Ibid.

and the jealousies of these great powers will prevent any one of them from being allowed to take the Philippines. ⁵

PHILIPPINES CAN'T REPEL INVASION BY FIRST CLASS POWER

For many years to come the Filipino people will not be able to maintain their independence and territorial integrity by force of arms against aggression by a first class power. ⁶

WE'LL NOT VOLUNTARILY RENOUNCE OUR BIRTHRIGHT TO BE FREE

Admitting that the Philippines cannot protect herself even with our defense program, and that sooner or later our country is destined to fall into the hands of a first-class military power, I would still go ahead and spend the money and time and energy we are now spending to give our youth military training. I would go ahead with our present program because I would not renounce, voluntarily, our birthright to be free and independent. This right I deem the greatest, the most sacred right of every people, and would not abjectly surrender it. I would fight a desperate, losing fight to defend it. We might be vanquished but we would keep our self-respect; we would at least show that our people deserve to be free because they love freedom and love it enough to accept the supreme sacrifice for it. The history of our country has taught us this lesson. ⁷

QUEZON "PROPHECY" ON JAPANESE AGGRESSION, CONQUEST OF PHILIPPINES

It is true that the Philippines can't defend themselves against the aggression of Japan. I believe that the Philippines can be conquered, of course, by a first-class power, but when a conquering nation attempts to conquer a weaker one, it is not doing it for the pleasure of conquest in the days that we live; it is doing it for profit, and therefore it is going to count the cost of that conquest as against the profit. The conquest of the Philippines will mean a lot of money and lives to the conquering nation. ⁸

FILIPINOS WILL FIGHT VALIANTLY REGARDLESS OF ODDS

That is the only thing that the Filipinos can do now (i.e., prepare against foreign aggression), and even if the Filipinos could be conquered I would feel proud of being a Filipino if the Filipino people fought valiantly before they were conquered, and not just submitted themselves meekly to that conquest. If the Filipinos don't love their country well enough to fight for it, I don't want to belong to that race. ⁹

5/ Speech entitled "Plea for Philippine Independence," November 25, 1927. Ibid.

6/ Speech over the Columbia Broadcasting Station, January 26, 1934. CP, MR#36, TNL.

7/ Address before ROTC Units, University of the Philippines, January 18, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVTF, p. 23.

8/ Speech before the Foreign Policy Association, Hotel Astor, New York City, April 3, 1937. Ibid., p. 79.

9/ Ibid.

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QUEZON PUT A QUESTION WHICH MAY WELL BE ASKED TODAY

What would be the use of developing the Philippines and developing the Filipinos, teaching them democracy, love of freedom, of peace, trying to so organize themselves so the wealth of the country will be properly divided - what would be the use of doing all that if at any moment a stronger power would come, take hold and exploit the Philippines for its benefits and not of the Filipinos? ¹

IT'S OUR DUTY TO BE READY NOT TO BE KILLED SO EASILY - MLQ

It is alright to speak of teaching our people how to live peacefully and happily. That should be our aim and it is our aim, but we are living in a world where people are thinking of killing one another; then it is our duty to be ready not to be killed so easily, and that is what I am trying to do with my people. ¹¹

FILIPINOS HAVE TASTED FREEDOM UNKNOWN TO JAPS

For the information of the world, I may add that I am certain that the Filipino people are longing for the early redemption of the Philippines from Japanese rule. This is the logical conclusion from the report of General Tanaka that peace and order are by no means perfect, which is one way of saying that the Filipino are still fighting them with the same determination with which they fought in the past. It cannot be otherwise, for the Filipinos have tasted freedom under the American flag, freedom incomparably greater than the Japanese have ever enjoyed under their own government. When Japan invaded the Islands, the Filipinos were only awaiting the day of the establishment of the Philippine Republic. The Filipino people love freedom more than life; and they know that under Japanese rule they cannot have that freedom, since the Japanese themselves do not have it and do not seem to understand it. ¹²

QUEZON MESSAGE TO LUZON GUERRILLAS RESISTING JAP INVADERS

I have watched the heroic and unrelenting struggle that you and your fellow patriots are waging to maintain aloft the torch of liberty, with a profound sense of gratification and pride. In it I see being written a brilliant chapter in Philippine history that will challenge the most gallant efforts of other liberty-loving patriots throughout a distraught world, who are similarly resisting the shackles of enemy oppression. ¹³

FILIPINOS NEED ALL MORAL SUPPORT IN RESISTING JAPS

Subjected to the hardships of enemy occupation, and far from the scene

10/ Speech before the Foreign Policy Association at Hotel Astor, April 3, 1937.
Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 80.

11/ Ibid.

12/ Statement on Japanese reports of Filipino acceptance of Japanese rule, January 11, 1943. Q, MR#46, TNL.

13/ Message for civilians in Luzon fighting the Japanese enemy, transmitted by MacArthur to Lt. Col. Peralta on Panay Island, July 14, 1943. Ibid.

of active battle, the Filipino people will need all the moral support they can receive in resisting the blandishments of Japanese duplicity. 14

FILIPINOS RESISTING JAPS IN HILLS AND TOWNS

As our country lies prostrate under the invader's heel, new heroes are arising. They are those who in the hills and in the mountains are continuing the fight for our country's redemption. They are those who refuse to crook their knees to the Japanese aggressor and, whether on the battlefield or in the towns and barrios, are bravely doing their share to keep the spirit of resistance alive in every Filipino heart. 15

RENEW PLEDGE TO DRIVE JAP INVADERS FROM OUR SHORES

As we honor our immortal heroes let us renew our pledge that the invader who dared trample our shores will be driven away by the avenging anger of our arms. Our honored dead will not rest easy while the soil in which they lie is desecrated by goose-stepping Japanese soldiers. 16

JAP INVASION OF CHINA AMPLIFIED WARNING TO FILIPINOS

The Japanese aggression against China has revealed to the Filipino people the true character of Japan's policy of so-called co-prosperity sphere, namely, to enslave politically and economically all Asia and the West Pacific; hence our determination to fight her unto death. Hence, too, the utter failure of Japan's propaganda to win over the Filipino people. The granting of the so-called Philippine independence has been a complete failure. The Filipino people are fighting today their conqueror as they fought the enemy in the beginning of the war. Your heroic resistance, alone and unaided for so many years, was a great inspiration to us when we in turn became victims of the same aggressor. 17

59. JONES LAW

JONESON ANSWERS, CORRECTS U.S. PRESIDENT TAFT

The President (William Howard Taft), in his message to the U.S. Congress on 6th December 1912, characterizes the Jones bill for Philippine independence as a revolutionary measure. There is nothing revolutionary in this bill. It meets frankly and loyally the Philippine problem according to American ideals and in consonance with the aspirations of the Filipino people. It grants independence not upon the passage of the bill, but within a certain future time.

Independence as a final outcome of the American policy in the Islands is not a new or revolutionary proposition, but the expectation of the American people ever since you took possession of the Islands. The Jones bill in reality

14/ Press statement on President Roosevelt's radio speech beamed to the Philippines, August 13, 1943. Ibid.

15/ Press statement on National Heroes Day, November 29, 1943. OP, MR#46, TNL.

16/ Ibid.

17/ Message to Generalissimo Chiang Kai-Shek of China on the occasion of the Second Anniversary of the Outbreak of the Pacific War, December 11, 1943. Ibid.

introduces at once only one change in the present government of the Philippines, to wit: the election of the upper house (Senate) by the people which is now (Philippine Commission) appointed by the President of the United States. ¹

MLQ LAUDS JONES BILL, BUT ADDS IT ISN'T FINAL

The Jones bill represents far less than ought to have been conceded, but I strongly favor its enactment because it is a step in the right direction granting as it does more autonomy to the Filipino people, and pledging the people of the United States to recognize the independence of the Philippines as soon as a stable government shall have been established in the Islands.

I do not, of course, profess to regard this bill as a finality. Did it bar us from continued agitation and effort to secure the enactment of final independence legislation, I should oppose it to the uttermost. But such is not the case. The issue now presented is that of securing some forward step while a party (Democratic Party - ABS) friendly to the aspiration of the Filipino people is still in power. ²

PASSAGE OF JONES LAW ADVOCATED BY QUEZON SINCE 1914

Opponents of this rule (Filipino autonomy) say that this is not the time to consider the Philippine (Jones) bill because of the European war. Were this bill to grant Philippine independence, such an argument might have great weight, since troublesome days - days when the passions of men seem to run beyond control - are not the opportune time for the launching of a feeble nation upon its earliest career.

But the Philippine bill simply establishes a more autonomous government for the Islands and informs the whole world that the Filipino people are not to be forever under the control of the United States. I say, Mr. Speaker, that precisely because the bill does this that it should now be passed.

The present, owing to the war, is the psychological time to enact such a measure. I have already stated why the Philippine government must have at this juncture a nearer approach to autonomy than ever before. It needs powers to save itself from a threatening disaster. And for a declaration to the world regarding the future severance of the political relationship between the United States and the Islands, what better time than this, when other nations, though at war, ^{are} making similar declarations? (Applause.) ³

JONES ACT PENULTIMATE STEP TOWARD FREEDOM OR AUTONOMY

The Jones Bill (Act) is a step toward the final solution of the Philippine

- 1/ Speech at the annual meeting of the Anti-Imperialist League in Boston, January 13, 1913. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 119.
- 2/ Press statement on the Jones bill pending in the U.S. Congress. In: The Filipino People, Vol. II, No. 11, July 1914. Ibid., p. 193.
- 3/ Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, September 26, 1914. Ibid., pp. 201-204.

problem, but at the same time it is a definite achievement in many respects.

There will be one more piece of legislation on the Philippine question -- and only one. At some date in the future -- how soon I would not care to predict -- the Congress of the United States will grant to the Islands either complete independence or autonomy. By independence I mean a complete withdrawal of the United States from the Islands, while by autonomy, I mean a government in which the Filipino people will be given full powers to manage their own affairs of government so far as the Islands themselves are concerned, but left without authority to take any action on affairs which would involve international relations. ⁴

JONES ACT HAS DEFECTS BUT IS OF TRANSCENDENTAL IMPORTANCE

The Jones Bill (Act) doubtless has its defects: no human labor is perfect. It is true, also, that it falls far short of satisfying our aspirations. No legislation has ever been written exactly in accord with the opinion and desires of even those who have fostered or requested it, because the laws, especially in countries with a democratic government, are the result of a series of compromises and mutual opinions. Despite all this, the Jones Bill has substantial merits. I will say more: it is of international transcendancy. It marks out a new course for the colored people subject to foreign domination.

* * *

We must not forget that if the policy of the United States with respect to the Philippine Islands (under the Jones Act -- ABS) turns out to be a complete success, sooner or later other governments possessing colonies will find themselves constrained to adopt the same policy. ⁵

UNION EMPHASIZES SIGNIFICANCE OF JONES ACT

The preamble of this (Jones) Act tells us that it is the purpose of the American people to grant the Philippine Islands independence as soon as a stable government can be established here.

What does this declaration signify? It signifies that America explicitly and solemnly recognizes that we are a people entitled, like any other, to our liberty and national independence. It signifies, further, that America has determined to allow us to exercise this right as soon as the elements required for a stable government are at hand. It also signifies that America has waived her right, sanctioned by international practice, though contrary to all principles of ethics, to alienate these Islands by sale or transfer to some other foreign nation. This removes any possibility of America's abandoning the Philippines before a duly constituted Filipino government has been inaugurated, while a war is pending or imminent in which we may or might become involved, or during a period

^{4/} Press statement given to a reporter of the Manila Daily Bulletin on board the Empress of Asia, September 27, 1916. Ibid., p. 403.

^{5/} Address at a public banquet in Quezon's honor at the Hotel de France, Sta. Cruz, upon his triumphal return from the United States, September 28, 1916. Ibid., pp. 420-424.

of serious disturbance of the public order. ⁶

JONES ACT TO LAY FOUNDATIONS OF FILIPINO NATIONALITY

The primordial purpose of all government is that of procuring the greatest good for the greatest number of its citizens. Our first efforts should tend towards the improvement of the condition⁸ of the masses.

We now enter fully upon the grand labor of laying the foundations upon which the edifice of Filipino nationality is to stand until time shall be no more. ⁷

DEFINITION OF U.S. POLICY IN P.I. IS ITSELF A GREAT VICTORY

So long, however, as we persist in our purpose to be completely independent someday, as sure as there is a sun in the firmament, America will redeem her promise. Our mistrust of the past should therefore make way to confidence, and our incertitude and anxiety to certitude and peace of mind. To tell you the truth, if the Jones Act had done nothing but define the American policy in the Philippine Islands, that mere definition would already have bettered the condition of the Filipino people, for several reasons. As you know, however, the Jones Law has done more. It has granted to the Philippine government greater powers than those which it had under the Act of July 1st, 1902, and has placed that government almost entirely in the hands of the people. ⁸

QUEZON EXPRESSES FILIPINO GRATITUDE TO WILLIAM ATKINSON JONES

Mr. Jones, I have witnessed your untiring work on this bill (later the Jones Law); I have seen your unselfish devotion to the cause of Philippine independence, honestly believing that it was demanded not only by God's own law but also by the interests of both your country and mine. As the chairman of the Committee on Insular Affairs, which is in charge of legislation affecting the Philippines, you have considered it to be your paramount duty to write into law the covenant of your fathers and the spirit of America's freedom for all. By this bill, which is the result of your hard labor - labor you have carried out at the risk of your own life, for you have been working in spite of ill-health - you are entitled, in my estimation, to a prominent place in the list of the advocates of human liberty. Surely your name will be written in letters of gold in the history of the Philippine Islands. You have earned not only the eternal gratitude but the love of every individual Filipino. God bless you! (Loud applause.) ⁹

HE SECURED JONES LAW AFTER SEVEN YEARS IN U.S. CONGRESS

Seven years ago next December, I first entered the hall of the U.S. House of Representatives as the spokesman of the Filipino people. I came with a mandate

6/ Ibid., p. 422.

7/ Ibid., p. 424

8/ Ibid., p. 423

9/ Speech, "Solemn Pledge of a Great People," in the U.S. House of Representatives, August 18, 1916. Ibid., p. 364.

to work for the immediate independence of the Philippine Islands. Ever since that day, to the best of my ability, I have done everything I could to carry out that mandate. To my knowledge I have been loyal to the will of my people, and no opportunity have I let go by unused that could be employed to promote their welfare as I saw it. True, I have not secured their independence, but I shall feel, once this legislation (Jones bill) is enacted, that I have not come to this country in vain. No one advocating certain legislation ever gets all he wants in the first attempt. Considering the time I have been here, the character of the subject, and the influence I had to fight, I feel inclined to say that I am almost surprised that I have secured as much. 10

JONES ACT ENABLES U.S. TO REDUCE FORCES IN PHILIPPINES

I have very serious doubts whether the government of the United States would have felt it easy, or considered it safe, to reduce its forces in this country at a time when she was engaged in war with a powerful nation, prior to the enactment of the Jones Bill. As it is, thanks to the Jones Act, the Governor-General was in a position to cable the President of the United States in the incipency of the war that every American soldier could be taken away from the Islands, since the loyalty of the Filipinos to the United States could be absolutely relied upon. 11

QUEZON EXHIBITS EXPERT KNOWLEDGE OF AMERICAN PSYCHOLOGY

We know the American people. We are familiar with their traditions, their history and the principles which give life to their body politic. We should heed the statement made by those who affirm that what has been done by a Democratic Congress can be easily undone by a Republican Congress, and that, consequently, the present Congress has the right to repeal the Jones Law.

* * *

America, the champion of liberty and justice, cannot act thus and will not act thus. This does not mean that its pro-independence policy may not be changed tomorrow for a policy of annexation or an autonomist policy. But I firmly believe that such change will never happen unless it be with the express consent of the Filipino people. Therefore, we may rest assured that if the Filipino people want to be free, they will become free. 12

FILIPINO HOPES UNDER JONES LAW BETRAYED

Our hopes which were raised by the enactment of the Jones Law have been

10/ Ibid., pp. 362-366.

11/ Article, "The Jones Law: Its Effect on the United States, the Philippines, and Other Subject Peoples," The Philippine Review, Vol. II, No. 12, November 1917. Ibid., p. 447.

12/ Speech at the Hotel de France, Sta. Cruz, before his departure for the United States to head the Second Philippine Independence Mission, July 10, 1921. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 563.

betrayed. This is a severe but salutary lesson for our people. It proves that the liberty of a country is not assured under alien sovereignty. People are not free, if liberties are secured to them by laws enacted by another people which may be altered or repealed. A people are only free if their liberties are secured to them by a law and a Constitution formed and adopted by themselves and cannot be revoked or repealed by any people other than they themselves or their chosen constitutional representatives. ¹³

JONES LAW A PLAYTHING IN REPUBLICAN HANDS

Ten years ago this day I was filled with joy to overflowing. A legislative measure for the approval of which I have long labored, helping and encouraging the author, speaking personally with senators and representatives and requesting now and then the strong intervention of President Wilson, at last became a part of the statute books of America.

Who would have said that, ten years afterwards, what proved so hard to secure from Congress, what we accepted in good faith as an act of justice, nay, of generosity, on the part of the American people, was to be a plaything in the hands of those who were to represent here the sovereignty of the same people.

It is useless to wreck one's brain looking for motives or determining or making inquiries as to who was to blame for the present situation. Nobody is at fault. The underlying causes are simply that the responsible administration, having returned to power, decided to recommend its old policy temporarily changed by the Wilson administration. It was their intention to amend the Jones Law, and meantime they re-established the system they have adopted in governing the Philippines, stretching the meaning of the law when it was necessary or striking it when it suited their purpose. ¹⁴

GIVE FILIPINOS FULL RESPONSIBILITY FOR INDEPENDENT EXISTENCE

The Jones Act, which gave to the Philippine people the full control of their legislature, was meant to be of a temporary character. In the preamble of this Act it is stated that it is the purpose of the people of the United States to grant the Filipino people their independence as soon as a stable government may be established therein, and that for the speedy accomplishment of this purpose the people of the Philippine Islands were to be given as much control of their affairs as could be given them without in the meantime impairing the exercise of the right of sovereignty by the people of the United States.

If the Filipinos have all the branches of the Philippine government in their hands, the success or failure of the government will be theirs. If the Americans have all the powers of the government in their hands, the success or failure of the government will be yours. Let us not have this divided responsibility

^{13/} Article, "Ten Years Under the Jones Law: A Retrospective View," August 29, 1926. *OP*, NY#29, TNL.

^{14/} *Ibid.*

which gets us nowhere. 15

60. J U D I C I A R Y

QUEZON SAYS POLITICS NOT FOR MAGISTRATES

We, the people of the Philippine Islands, expect the members of our highest court to be wise and prudent; we expect them to be men who will not only interpret the law, but the first ones to obey it. We expect them to have nothing to do with politics, not only because it is a dangerous game for a member of any court to be engaged in, but because in the Philippine it is prohibited by law and the civil service rules.

* * *

Any justice of the peace who would dare accept a designation to be a delegate to a political convention in the Philippines and participate in it would at once be fired from his office; yet a member of the Supreme Court (referring to Associate^{Justice}/Johns - ABS) has done this and no one ever said a word criticizing his act. 1

APPOINTMENT TO BENCH TO BE BASED ON MERIT ALONE

I give my pledge to the country that I shall make no appointment to the judiciary except after personal investigation of the character and ability of the men to be appointed. I shall allow no political consideration, in fact no consideration of any sort, except that of merit, in the case of appointments to the bench. 2

JUSTICES OF PEACE WITH GOOD RECORD WILL BE RETAINED

Under the Commonwealth, ^{on} no man can be appointed justice of the peace unless he be a lawyer. The Constitution, however, gives the President of the Philippines the discretion as to whether he should keep in his place a justice of the peace already in the service even if he be not a lawyer. If elected, I propose to keep in the service every justice of the peace who has a good record regardless of whether he is a lawyer or not. I know justices of the peace who are not lawyers but who are doing as well, if not better, than some justices of the peace that are lawyers. These are men who know enough law to perform their duties and whose sense of justice is so high and whose character, integrity and independence so well recognized that they are real assets to the judiciary. 3

INDEPENDENT, FAIR, FEARLESS JUDICIARY BULWARK OF HUMAN RIGHTS

An independent judiciary administering justice without fear or favor,

15/ Speech before the Chicago Council of Foreign Relations, November 30, 1927.
QP, MR#29, TNL.

1/ Press statement on an American magistrate engaging in politics, 1926, n.d.m.
Ibid.

2/ Press statement on the lower courts, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

3/ Ibid.

promptly and impartially to rich and poor alike, is the strongest bulwark of individual rights and the best guaranty against oppression and usurpation from any source. ⁴

JUDGE PEDRO CONCEPCION OFFERED PRESIDENCY OF COURT OF APPEALS

My first intention was to appoint you to the Supreme Court, because for a long time now I have been of the opinion that you would constitute a valuable element in said Court: but upon finding myself confronted with the necessity of appointing a person to preside over the Court of Appeals that would not give rise to discussion on the wisdom of the designation, I have thought that I should select you.

The duties of the president of the Court of Appeals have, during the initial period, at least more importance than those of a mere justice of the Supreme Court, and for that reason I think you will be able to render a service of greater transcendence to the administration of justice as president of the Court of Appeals than if you formed part of the Supreme Court as one of its members.

This is the reason why I have thought of you for this post, and I would be grateful if you should consider the acceptance a duty. I understand that you are making a sacrifice by returning to the judiciary, but knowing your public spirit, I do not hesitate in thus calling upon you. ⁵

QUEZON LAUDS ENAGE'S HIGH SENSE OF DUTY, INTEGRITY OF CHARACTER

You are fully justified in declining at present the appointment which I offered and which you accepted previously.

Your refusal to accept the appointment, for the noble and the high motives you have stated in your letter, is further confirmation of the high conception that I have always held of your sense of duty, the integrity of your character and the firmness of your convictions. You already showed these when you refused the post of Speaker under the circumstances in which it was offered to you, and your stand then was what induced me to consider your name for the Court of Appeals. ⁶

EXPLAINS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PHILIPPINE, AMERICAN CONSTITUTIONS

According to the Constitution of the Philippines, the post to which an assemblyman cannot legally be appointed is that which was created or whose emolument was increased when he was a member of the said Assembly, whereas under the American Constitution, or the Jones Law it is enough that the post should have been created or its emoluments increased during the term for which the senator

4/ Speech on accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVF, p. 238.

5/ Letter offering Judge Pedro Concepcion the presidency of the Court of Appeals, January 30, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part 1, pp. 417-418.

6/ Letter to Judge Francisco Enage, on the latter's declining an appointment to the Court of Appeals, February 5, 1936. Ibid., p. 421.

or representative was elected for him to be banned from occupying it, without taking into consideration whether at the time the post was created or its emolument increased he was or had ceased to be a member of the legislature. ⁷

QUAZON GIVEN FREE HAND TO APPOINT BEST MEN TO JUDICIARY

Constitutional Convention President Recto (agreed) that in order to give the Chief Executive a free hand in the reorganization of the government so that he might get the best men available, although they might be members of the National Assembly, the language used in the American constitution would be modified into the text that now appears in the Constitution of the Philippines. So that if, in the opinion of the Chief Executive, a member of the National Assembly should be named, he could beforehand ask this member of the Assembly to tender his resignation before the legislation creating the post to which he could be appointed would be approved by the National Assembly. ⁸

SECRETARY TEOFILO SISON APPOINTED TO COURT OF APPEALS

I have come to the conclusion that it is necessary to have in the Court of Appeals a man who, besides being a good lawyer and of unimpeachable integrity, is closely familiar with the Administrative Code and all the machinery of government, for there will be cases presented to the Court of Appeals which will require a thorough and expert knowledge of governmental affairs. Secretary Sison fully measures up to these requirements and I, therefore, felt that we have to dispense with the services of Secretary Sison in the department of the interior in the interest of the administration of justice. ⁹

JUSTICES OF PEACE SUBSERVIENT TO LOCAL POLITICIANS?

There is no use talking of improving the administration of justice if the justices of the peace are to be appointed through political patronage. For ninety per cent of our population, the justice of the peace court is the only court to which they can appeal for the protection of their rights and the redress of their grievances. So long as the justice of the peace knows that his appointment and retention in the service depends upon the good graces of some influential politicians, so long will he be subservient to the will of these politicians. ¹⁰

POOR ARE VICTIMS OF INJUSTICE UNDER INCOMPETENT JUDGES

If they (the rich) suffer from the incompetence or dishonesty of a judge of the Court of First Instance, they can get redress from the higher courts; but

7/ Ibid., p. 422.

8/ Ibid., pp. 423-424.

9/ Press statement on the appointment of Secretary Teofilo Sison as^a member of the Court of Appeals, February 8, 1936. Ibid., p. 426.

10/ Letter to Hon. Jose Romero, floor leader of the National Assembly, March 16, 1936. Ibid., p. 156.

the poor man who is the victim of an incompetent or dishonest justice of the peace has usually no other recourse but to suffer the injustice or abuse of which he is a victim. ¹¹

PEOPLE HELPLESS IN HANDS OF CORRUPT INCOMPETENT JUDICIARY

Given a corrupt and incompetent judiciary, the average citizen will live in constant danger of financial loss, moral outrage, and physical harm at the hands of those who are thus enabled to violate the law with impunity. He will feel helpless and insecure even against the agencies devised by law for his very protection. ¹²

EASY ACCESS TO COURTS, UNBOUGHT JUSTICE

We shall assure all poor litigants an easy access to the courts so that justice shall be free and unbought. ¹³

MEMBERS OF BENCH MUST BE FREE FROM POLITICS

To strengthen the faith of the common people in our courts, it is necessary that the utmost care be exerted in the selection of justices of the peace.

I pledge myself to do everything in my power to maintain these courts free from political or other extraneous influence and to appoint thereto only men of proven ability and integrity and of the broadest human sympathies. ¹⁴

JUDICIARY IS A PROGRESSIVE, LIVING ORGANISM

The judiciary is a living organism and the judiciary of a country is only useful to that country if it meets the requirements of society. ¹⁵

QUEZON TELLS HAUSSERMANN TO LET COURT DECIDE MINING CASE

Indeed, I must tell you (addressing Judge Haussermann - ABS) that the evidence in the possession of the government places the Balatoc Mining Company in a light that, I feel sure, you would not wish the company to appear and that you yourself will be interested in having the facts thoroughly presented to the courts for adjudication. Under the circumstances, I have authorized the Secretary of Justice to go ahead and conduct this case in a manner that will compel the presentation of the facts in controversy to the court and its decision as to what the facts are, as verified from the evidence of either side.

This particular case which we have at hand does not appear to me the right case for an amicable settlement. The government must protect its rights and must

11/ Ibid., pp. 156-157.

12/ Address before faculty and students of the University of Sto. Tomas, March 28, 1936. Ibid., pp. 71-72.

13/ Ibid.

14/ Ibid.

15/ Ibid.

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not be placed in a position where it would seem to tolerate an open defiance or violation of the law, done with the full knowledge that the law is being defied or violated. ¹⁶

JUDGE MUST HAVE JUST DECISION AND COURAGE TO ENFORCE IT

If the law is but the essence of common sense, the protest of many average men may evidence a defect in a judicial conclusion, although based on the nicest legal reasoning and profoundest learning. The two important elements of moral character in a judge are an earnest desire to reach a just conclusion and courage to enforce it. ¹⁷

NOT FIRST TIME JUDGES PLACED ON CARPET

This is not the first time that I have criticized a judge for doing what, in my opinion, is wrong. When a judge of the Court of First Instance, on technical grounds, absolved a man who caused the death of his servant - an old woman - by inflicting upon her cruel punishment all night long, I denounced the judge on the floor of the Senate and succeeded later in getting him out of the service.

It will also be recalled that I have dismissed a judge from office despite the fact that the Supreme Court only recommended that he be allowed to resign, when I found out that said recommendation was predicated upon the findings of the Supreme Court that he was guilty of the charges preferred against him, including acts of abuse in the treatment of litigants and witnesses, especially the poor and the ignorant. ¹⁸

JUDGES MUST THINK IN TERMS OF REALITIES, NOT THEORIES

Judges must be living organisms^s to serve justice in terms of realities and not theories. ¹⁹

QUEZON MUCH CONCERNED WITH ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE

It has been the deepest concern of my administration to improve as much as is humanly possible this branch of the service. Based upon a systematic investigation conducted by my office and upon the record of each justice of the peace in the service, complete reorganization of these courts was effected through the elimination of undeserving incumbents, the appointment of lawyers meeting the qualifications prescribed by the department of justice to take their places, and, wherever possible, the consolidation of two or more courts into one circuit court

^{16/} Letter to Judge John W. Haussermann, president, Benguet Consolidated Mining Company, on the Balatoc Mining Company test case, September 25, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVTF, pp. 289-290.

^{17/} Speech on the principles of law and justice, at the University of Sto. Tomas, October 2, 1937. Ibid., p. 146.

^{18/} Ibid., pp. 149-150.

^{19/} Speech at a Press conference, October 6, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

in order to justify and permit the appointment thereto of lawyers of higher qualifications and broader experience.

I am vitally interested in the government extending all the facilities it can to so expedite the business of the courts that, if possible, no case, unless exceptionally voluminous, should be pending for more than one year from the time it is filed in any court until the time it is finally disposed of on appeal. In other words, we should aim at a consummation whereby a case started, either in the justice of the peace court or in the court of first instance, can be finally disposed of by the Court of Appeals and, if possible, also by the Supreme Court in appropriate cases, during a period of, at the most, twelve months. ²⁰

JUSTICE OF THE PEACE: SYMBOL AND GUARDIAN

Justice of the peace courts constitute the symbol of law and justice in our far off communities, and should also be regarded as the effective guardian of the citizen against oppression and abuses. ²¹

JUDGES, UNLIKE ELECTIVE OFFICIALS, HOLD OFFICE FOR LIFE

It is not true that the executive power is the greatest and the judicial power the weakest. In a democratic form of government, the three powers are co-equal. If any of them is more powerful than the others, I would say that it is the judicial power, because the members of the judiciary hold office for life, and because that power can, if it wishes, place itself above the people, in spite of the theory that the people are sovereign, by rendering decisions that run counter to public opinion. And there is no way of counteracting or annulling its decisions. The executive power and the legislative power, on the other hand, are at all times subject to the rule and dominion of the people, because they do not hold office for life. ²²

JUDGE SHOULDN'T PLACE HIMSELF UNDER OBLIGATION TO ANYBODY

Officials of the government must be made to realize that whenever they have a case to present or defense to make of themselves they should assert their right through methods recognized by law - never through outside influence.

In the case of a judge, this is much more important. A judge should never place himself under personal obligations to anybody. The dignity of the office, no less than the independence of the judiciary, is involved. ²³

GOOD, HONEST JUSTICES OF PEACE DON'T NEED POLITICAL FRIENDS

The justice of the peace who does his duties impartially, does not need

^{20/} Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, NR#39, TNL.

^{21/} Ibid.

^{22/} Address at San Juan de Letran College, November 7, 1937. Quezon Messages. Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 156-157.

^{23/} Message to the First National Assembly on the withdrawal of Judge Zanducta's appointment, May 18, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 408.

to have political friends. His own protection will be the performance of his duties. But the justice of the peace who mixes in politics and decides questions in favor of his relatives or friends regardless of the merits of the cases at bar, cannot be saved even by the biggest man in the Philippines. ²⁴

ROLE OF JUSTICE OF PEACE, MOST IMPORTANT TO PEOPLE

While the justice of the peace is the lowest official in the judicial branch of the government, his job is nevertheless the most important of all, for it is before his court that the immense majority of the people - the poor appear for redress of their grievances. ²⁵

QUEZON EXPRESSES FAITH IN DECISIONS OF PHILIPPINE SUPREME COURT

As long as I am President and can help it, no decision of the Supreme Court against the government of the Commonwealth will be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. Let private individuals or private interests, if they so desire, take advantage of their right to appeal their cases to the Supreme Court of the United States; let others follow the same course but not the government. ²⁶

61. J U S T I C E

PRESIDENT DENIES PARDON TO CONVICT WHO IS A MENACE TO SOCIETY

It is the duty of the Chief Executive, in granting pardons, to consider details and circumstances attending the commission of a crime which courts cannot consider under the law. The pardoning power is conferred upon the Chief Executive in order that the supreme interests of justice may be served when, in the concrete case, the law has not been able to serve them. How could the pardon of Rafael Suayan be justified in the present case?

The record of the case shows that Rafael Suayan, who assaulted the deceased on the day of the crime, is a citizen who is a menace to society, and that it is necessary that he be made to feel the full weight of the law in order that he may mend his ways and become a peaceable and orderly citizen. ¹

QUEZON ADOPTS POLICY OF TEMPERING FIRMNESS WITH FAIRNESS

It is my belief that a wise policy for any government to adopt is that of tempering firmness with reasonable regard for the sentiments and views of those affected by a given legislation, whenever it may do so without detriment to public interest. It is not only the right but also it is the duty of the government

^{24/} Speech in Tacloban Leyte, June 10, 1938. Ibid., p. 74.

^{25/} Press statement on President's speech in Virac, Catanduanes, August 29, 1938. Ibid., p. 695.

^{26/} Letter to Hon. Roman Ozaeta, Solicitor General, Manila, November 28, 1938. Ibid., p. 612.

^{1/} Letter to an unidentified provincial governor refusing to grant pardon to an insular prisoner, July 30, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVF, p. 443.

of the Commonwealth to make sure that its laws are obeyed and the taxes that it imposes are paid by those who under the law have to pay them. ²

PRINCIPLE OF EQUAL ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE MUST BE UPHOLD

The paramount consideration that should be borne in mind whenever a new governmental institution is to be inaugurated is whether, in practice, more good than evil is to be accomplished. In the establishment of the probation system, we must see to it that the principle of equal administration of justice is maintained in all its purity and integrity - a principle that is the basic foundation of organized and civilized humanity. ³

REASON IS SOURCE OF LAW, JUSTICE ITS OBJECTIVE

Laws differ because the ideas, habits, customs and needs of people differ. But the laws of a civilized and progressive community can have but one source - reason, and but one objective - justice. And it must be so, for human laws are but the application to human relationships of the eternal principles of divine justice. ⁴

CHIEF EXECUTIVE MUST BE ABOVE PITY IN PUNISHING LAW OFFENDERS

What exalts a man is the purity of his soul, and if he resists any tendency to do wrong because his soul is pure, he thereby becomes sublime. And because my soul will never permit me to do anything which is not just, whenever my official duty demands that I enforce the law, even though I may deeply regret having to punish the violator, yet I will do so, be he my relative, town-mate or intimate friend, so that my conscience and my soul will not reproach me. That is why I told you that there is no more burdensome post than that of the President of the Philippines. ⁵

62. L A B O R

ECONOMIC STABILITY OF NATION RESTS ON FAIR TREATMENT OF LABOR

For the stability of our national life, both economic and political, it is much more important that labor be convinced that capital will treat the workers justly and fairly than for labor to feel that the government alone can do them justice. ¹

QUEZON TO LABOR: MY HEART IS FOR YOU, BUT MY MIND IS OPEN, IMPARTIAL

This is what I mean when I said that "my heart is with you but my mind is

- 2/ Letter to the Speaker, National Assembly, on the effectivity of the Chinese Bookkeeping Law, September 14, 1936. *Ibid.*, p. 244.
- 3/ Message to the First National Assembly on the repeal of the Probation Law, September 1, 1937. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 191.
- 4/ Speech on the principles of law and justice, at the University of Sto. Tomas, October 2, 1937. *Ibid.*, p. 141.
- 5/ Speech on the enforcement of the Eight-Hour Labor Law, etc., February 23, 1938. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 54.
- 1/ Speech at a press conference, October 6, 1937. 2P, MR#40, TNL.

open and impartial." In the first place, in the conflict of interests between the different elements constituting the community, including capital and labor, the government will have to take into consideration every side of each question as it affects the public as well as the parties whose rights and interests have to be adjusted. I also mean that I realize, as all must realize, that every important task, especially those that have varied and far-reaching consequences and besieged with obstacles and difficulties in their accomplishment, require time to attain fruition. In such kind of enterprises, what is important is that every forward step should be so taken that no unforeseen event may force its retracement. ²

CAPITAL, MERE PRODUCT OF LABOR, SHOULD GIVE LATTER ITS DUE

I want to take this opportunity to make it known to capital that even if it has a right to look for profit, it also has a corresponding duty to give labor its due. I say this because I believe in the truth of what economic experts say that capital must first respect labor. That is why if capital sinks periodically and disappears, the sincere cooperation of labor makes capital spring out again to be used once more as a tool of progress for the benefit of mankind. And because capital is a mere product of labor, capital should never maltreat labor. ³

LABOR SHOULD USE ONLY LEGAL MEANS TO REDRESS GRIEVANCES

I bespeak the cooperation of the labor leaders who are honestly interested in the welfare of the laboring class and are not seeking their own selfish ends. They should counsel patience to their followers and to use only legal means to secure redress for their grievances. The strike is, of course, lawful, but there would seem to be no occasion for employing it now in the Philippines. ⁴

STRIKE IS LABOR'S WEAPON, BUT IT'S MOST DESTRUCTIVE

A strike is a weapon which laborers can employ within the bounds of law. It is not prohibited here; but a strike is a weapon that not only hurts or may hurt whomsoever it is used upon, but also may hurt those who are actually using it. And you should specially consider that although one could plan a strike, yet, from its effects the sufferers would be not only labor and capital but also the public at large; more so if a strike were to be staged against public utilities, such as transportation or electricity or against an estate, as when rice tenants declare a strike, such a strike making the townspeople suffer most. Hence, as much as possible, I request you all not to resort to such method. ⁵

QUEZON ASSERTS LABOR MORE IMPORTANT THAN CAPITAL

Remember that no one has the right to make profit by exploiting labor. Labor

2/ Press statement on labor conflicts and their settlement, April 30, 1938. Quezon Messages, supra. p. 641.

3/ Speech at the inauguration of the Government Tenement House, Barrio Vitas, Tondo, October 17, 1938. Ibid., p. 227.

4/ Speech on industrial and agrarian conflicts, March 11, 1939. Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 58.

5/ Speech before labor leaders at Malacanan, May 1, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

is more important than capital. However, capital may disappear, but as long as there is labor, capital will appear again. Whereas, if labor should disappear capital would be useless.

Millions of years had passed before man came upon this earth. Hundreds of thousands of years had to elapse before man has learned and be able to provide not only for his daily sustenance but for the morrow. This was the beginning of capital.

Again, the rights of labor are human rights whereas the rights of capital are only property rights. Of course, property rights must be respected not only in the interest of capital but also in the interest of labor itself, for unless property rights are recognized the workingman himself will not have the rights except to what he gains for his daily maintenance. Anything beyond that would not belong to him. He could not provide for his future or for the future of his children. In dealing with labor, the capitalist should try to know the feelings of the men who are working for him. The capitalist works and accumulates riches generally not so much for the pleasure of increasing his wealth as for his ability to satisfy his wants and his desires through his wealth, and accumulates riches not alone for him but for his children. Let him remember that the man who is working for him feels the same needs and has the same ambition, and therefore let him see that the laborer is entitled to receive not only what he needs to live as a human being but also to provide for his future. ⁶

NOBODY HAS A RIGHT TO GET RICH AT EXPENSE OF LABOR

Nobody has the right to get rich at the expense of labor. Labor is more valuable than capital. Capital may be wasted, ruined, or lost, but as long as there is labor, time will come when capital will appear again. But if labor is lost, capital cannot do anything. He is blind who does not see this truism. ⁷

LABOR HISTORY FILLED WITH BLOODY STRUGGLE FOR ITS RIGHTS

It has been the history of labor all over the world that in order to gain its rights, it must struggle and fight even to the extent of shedding blood. Only through sacrifices, labor has been able to gain recognition of its rights so that today, in every democratic country, the rights of labor have not only been recognized but are also being enforced. ⁸

MLQ CREATES COMMITTEE TO STUDY EIGHT-HOUR LABOR LAW SUSPENSION

For the purpose of making a study and report on the advisability of suspending the Eight-Hour Labor Law, either wholly or partially, as well as the terms and conditions of such suspension, until the date of the adjournment of the next regular session of the National Assembly, a committee is hereby created to submit

^{6/} Speech before the National Commission of Labor, June 5, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

^{7/} Speech at the Labor Unity Parade, Luneta, June 5, 1939. Quezon Messages. Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 139.

^{8/} Speech before the National Commission of Labor, supra.

its report and recommendations to the President of the said law. ⁹

63. LABOR - CAPITAL RELATIONS

CIR ARBITRATES INDUSTRY-LABOR, LANDLORD-TENANT DIFFERENCES

In the field of social justice, there has been created a Court of Industrial Relations designed to arbitrate differences not only between industry and labor, but also landlord and tenant. ¹

GOVERNMENT SET TO REGULATE LABOR AND CAPITAL RELATIONS

There may be some who believe that the government should not interfere with capital, should have nothing to say as to what wages capital should pay, under what conditions capital should treat laborers, etc. The fact, however, is that under the Constitution this government is empowered to regulate the relations between capital and labor, and therefore this is one of the duties of the government whenever in its opinion it has to issue such regulations regarding relations between labor and capital. ²

LABOR-CAPITAL COOPERATION TO PRODUCE MORE COMFORTS OF LIFE

But you laborers should never think that because you are indispensable, you can ask for whatever you want. No! Exaggeration can never be an instrument of peace and harmony, but in many cases it brings about disorder. What is necessary is the cooperation of labor and capital so as to continuously bring about and enjoy the comforts which life offers. ³

QUEZON URGES LABOR-CAPITAL, TENANT-LANDLORD COOPERATION

I wish to impress in your minds and implant in your hearts that the capitalist or the landowner cannot live if there are no laborers; and, likewise, that the laborers cannot exist without the landowner or capitalist. This is our land and all of us have equal rights to live on it. We cannot remain in peace if some live in prosperity while others suffer hunger and misery. Hence we need to cooperate together... It should be remembered by the landowner that the man who works on his farm is a Filipino like himself. It should also be remembered by the laborer that our economic situation will not improve unless we can agree among ourselves. But our agreement should not be based on the might of a few and the weakness of others. It should be founded on the welfare of everyone. Our agreement should never be based on the idea of grabbing the property of another. ⁴

- 2/ Administrative Order No. 106, "Creating a Committee to Study and Recommend to the President of the Philippines the Suspension, Either Wholly or Partially, of the Eight-Hour Labor Law," October 2, 1939. Quezon Messages, supra, p. 1327.
- 1/ Report to the Congress of the United States, 1937, n.d.m. QP, IR#40, TNL.
- 2/ Speech before the U.P. Alumni Association, 1938, n.d.m. QP, MR#41, TNL.
- 3/ Speech at the inauguration of the Government Tenement House, Barrio Vitas, Tondo, October 17, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 227-228.
- 4/ Speech before tenants and landowners in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, July 16, 1939. Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 155.

64. LABOR UNIONS

RLQ TELLS LABORERS TO BEWARE OF IRRESPONSIBLE UNION LEADERS

The lack of union among you is detrimental; as it is, you have a president for each group and it is probable that you will be used to your disadvantage and for the selfish ends ^{of said} presidents, as tools for strikes. Beware of the labor president who, taking pride in his power that attracts the backing of strikers, changes without reflection into any labor fra., knowing that while what he asks for is impossible of fulfillment for the group yet it serves to foster his own selfish interests. ¹

CAN'T TOLERATE VIOLATORS OF CIR ORDERS ON LABOR-CAPITAL CASES

No person who fails or refuses to support the policy of the Constitution in regard to the relations between labor and capital or to abide by the orders of the competent courts issued in furtherance of that policy and authorized by a statute approved for the advancement of the public welfare, has the right to continue enjoying special concessions from the State. ²

GOVERNMENT WILL NOT ALLOW STRIKE OR LOCKOUT TO JEOPARDIZE COMMON WEAL

The State should not allow any strike or lockout to jeopardize the common weal. The service of that same interest, likewise, demands that some expedient be found to the end of preventing the occurrence of strikes in the business while under the control of the government or to the end of recalling to the service of such business those who, prior to the assumption by the government of the control thereof, have abandoned their work, either individually or collectively, on account of any dispute or disagreement between their employers and themselves. ³

PRESIDENT WARNS LABOR UNIONS AGAINST SELF-SEEKING LEADERS

Sometimes the dangers in labor organization come when self-appointed persons lead a labor movement not because they are interested in the workingmen and women, nor because their hearts go out to those who have to work in order to make their living, but because they are interested in securing something for themselves through the organization they have formed. ⁴

RLQ FAVORS CONSOLIDATION OF ALL LABOR UNIONS

I am in favor of labor unions because not only have the laborers a right to organize themselves, but also a union is a means whereby they can collectively press their petition and express their grievances. In fact, I have advised the different labor organizations in the Philippines to unite into one great labor organization. That shows that I am in favor of labor because if all the labor

- 1/ Speech on the enforcement of the Eight-Hour Labor Law, etc., February 23, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVTF, pp. 51-52.
- 2/ Message to the First National Assembly on the ambiguities and defects in the charter creating the Court of Industrial Relations, May 11, 1938. Ibid., p. 396.
- 3/ Message to the First National Assembly on taking over by the government of public utilities or businesses coupled with a public interest, May 14, 1938. Ibid., p. 405.
- 4/ Speech on social justice and labor unions, in Virac, Catanduanes, June 8, 1938. Ibid., pp. 69-70.

unions were organized into a great labor organization, they would make that labor organization a powerful force. ⁵

CHIEF EXECUTIVE LAUDS LABOR'S OPPORTUNITY FOR COLLECTIVE EXPRESSION

I thoroughly sympathize with the movement to give the laboring class of the Philippines opportunities for collective expression and organization so that it may be able effectively to present its petitions and make valuable suggestions to the government. But you must, at all times, be careful not to be led astray by irresponsible or selfish leaders who are interested more in their egotistical aims than in your welfare. Please bear in mind that social justice does not mean justice to some and injustice to others. ⁶

CHIEF EXECUTIVE RECOGNIZES IMPORTANCE OF LABOR UNITY IN COUNTRY

In my long public experience and appreciation of the feelings and thoughts of the people in our country, especially the poor, my belief is firm that the Filipino does not only aspire to have his rights - which are beneficial to him - respected, but also he is, if properly enlightened, ready to recognize the rights of others. That is why I am hopeful that this union of labor organizations in the Philippines will not only be the cause of their complete integration in their demands, but will also be instrumental in helping us all, because through the representatives of these organizations, it will be easy to understand whatever is being contemplated by means of equity and to uphold the rights of all the workers. ⁷

65. LAND

WORLD LARGE ENOUGH FOR EVERYONE TO OWN LAND - QUEZON

I believe that God made the world for man. I believe that He intended that every man should have his own land. That is why He provided us with such a large world. ¹

ELQ EMPHASIZES PROPER LAND USE AND CONSERVATION

Each piece of land should be devoted to such use as will give the highest returns. Our prosperity cannot be maintained entirely by agricultural development for our land is not all suitable for agricultural purposes. If the suitability of the soil for cultivation is to be the basis of clearing lands for agricultural and other purposes, at least 46 per cent of the total land area of the Philippines should remain as virgin forest and the sooner such areas are reserved the sooner our prosperity will be assured by the conservation of our timber supply, of our water supply, both for irrigation and domestic use, and of our natural scenery, which is so essential for the normal development² of the aesthetic side of our nature, in all of which I am keenly interested.

5/ Speech at the public plaza of Ormoc, Leyte, June 15, 1938. QP, MR#41, TNL.
Also in Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 101.

6/ Speech before a large gathering of laborers in Angeles, Pampanga, September 26, 1938., Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 219.

7/ Speech at the Labor Unity Parade, Luneta, June 5, 1939. Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 138.

1/ Speech at the Columbia University, USA, November 27, 1927. QP, MR#31, TNL.

2/ Message on forestry development and conservation, 1929, n.d.m. QP, MR#31, TNL.

ROADS FACILITATE VOLUNTARY COLONIZATION OF NEW SETTLEMENT AREAS

Experience has shown that wherever roads and other means of communications have been introduced to open up rich areas to settlement by the public, voluntary colonization has invariably followed without the necessity of advancing considerable sums of money to the colonists. It is believed that if the sums already appropriated under the Act be spent in the opening up of roads through regions already selected for colonization and through others that may hereafter be found to be adapted for this purpose, the government can bring about a voluntary colonization of the adjoining areas. ³

INTERSPERSION POLICY PREVENTS ILLEGAL OCCUPATION OF PUBLIC LANDS

As a matter of policy, small landholdings be interspersed between large areas of public land which are applied for pasture purposes either under the Forest Law or the Public Land Law... The reason is to prevent the pasture permittees or lessees from extending their holdings, thereby avoiding the clandestine occupation of big areas of public land in violation of the area requirements of the Public Land Law and the Forest Law and also to provide available areas for small pasture landholders. ⁴

LAND DISTRIBUTION POLICY BENEFITS GREATEST NUMBER OF PEOPLE

The provisions of the Public Land Law which restrict public landholdings to areas of limited sizes are, in my opinion, wholesome, as the spirit animating the enactment of public land legislation has always been to encourage the distribution of the great portion of our public domain to the greatest number of our people, and to prevent the concentration of big landed estates in the hands of a few individuals. ⁵

LAND IS FOR HUMAN HABITATION, NOT FOR EXPLOITATION, SAYS QUEZON

God has made land for the habitation and maintenance of men, not for its exploitation and control by a few for their own profit in disregard of the public weal. The power of eminent domain which is vested in every state is only a recognition of the principle above enunciated for it derives from the fact that the State represents the nation as a whole, or the men, women, and children composing it. ⁶

LAND OWNERSHIP BEST WEAPON AGAINST COMMUNISM - MLQ

I am one of those who believe that no man has the right to own more land

- 3/ Message to the First National Assembly on agricultural colony roads, December 19, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, pp. 95-96.
- 4/ Memorandum for the Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce, July 29, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 441.
- 5/ Letter to the Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce on a pending bill amending the Public Land Law, September 8, 1936. Ibid., p. 447.
- 6/ Ibid., Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 197. Also in QP, NR#40, TNL.

than he can work. Of course, I am not going to apply that literally for, if I did, I suppose many of the Filipinos would be running away from the Philippines, but there is a happy medium. In this medium the purpose of the government should be to have as many people owning their land as possible. No better weapon can be placed in the hands of a country against Communism than the ownership of land in the hands of the small man in the district. ⁷

POOR PEOPLE NO BETTER OFF THAN DURING SPANISH REGIME

The Philippines has undoubtedly made great strides both in the fields of politics and of economics during the last three decades. We have accomplished, too, considerable progress in sanitation, in education, in the construction of roads and all kinds of communications. But the main beneficiaries of this most remarkable progress are the rich and the middle class.

The rich can live in extravagant luxury. Some of their offspring grow up in an atmosphere of ease, with an outlook on life which gives paramount importance to society affairs, vanities, trivialities and material possessions, devoid of discipline, love for work or human sympathy. The middle class have attained a higher standard of living as compared with that prevailing during the Spanish regime. The comforts of present-day civilization are within their reach and they are enjoying them. Their sons and daughters are better fed, better clothed, better educated - thousands upon thousands of them are now receiving the benefits of higher education.

Sad to tell, but it is none the less true, the same cannot be said of our laboring population. The men and women who till the soil or work in the factories are hardly better off now than they were during the Spanish regime. ⁸

EXPROPRIATION OF LANDS AT ASSESSED VALUE

My idea is that when the government is expropriating a property, the government ought to pay only the assessed value of the property. In other words, the value as declared by the owner for assessment is the price that the government ought to pay. ⁹

RIGHT OF EMINENT DOMAIN BUT ON BASIS OF FAIR COMPENSATION

The government, in exercising the right of eminent domain, has the power to expropriate a private property because it is intended for the public good but the government cannot expropriate property without pay. ¹⁰

QUEZON ENJOINS AGGIE STUDENTS TO MAKE LAND PRODUCTIVE

While small nations in our day are not safe from foreign invasion, while

7/ Speech at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, February 20, 1937.
Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVEF, p. 52.

8/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 18, 1937. Ibid., pp. 221-222.

9/ Speech at a press conference, October 20, 1937. QP, MR/40, TNL.

10/ Ibid.

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international/ has to have lost all its force, there is still something that conquering nations respect, and that is private property. A country may be invaded and its people conquered, but the victor does not dispose of the property of the people who are subjugated. So if we cannot or, at least, if we are not sure that we can defend the Philippines from invasion of a first class military power, we can at least make certain that our land and our natural resources are to be left in the hands of Filipinos.

It is the aim of the government to develop our public domain and place it in the hands of our people who are willing to work. Only in this way can we hold our right to this wonderful land which God has given us. So, I repeat that it is the kind of education and training being given to you here which will make certain that the Philippines will be for the Filipinos. This is the time for the government to emphasize vocational education and the time for the Filipinos to get busy and work hard if they want to keep their country for themselves and their prosperity. "Cultivate the land and make it produce" is the gospel of the day. ¹¹

66. LANDED ESTATES

PURCHASE OF PRIAR LANDS IN SIX PROVINCES ORIGINALLY CONTEMPLATED

Pursuant to the provisions of Joint Resolution No. 2 of the Tenth Philippine Legislature authorizing the Governor-General to enter into negotiations with the owners of the estates in Manila, Batangas, Laguna, Bulacan, Bataan and Rizal, the Secretary of Agriculture and Commerce was authorized to conduct preliminary negotiations. A report on said negotiations was transmitted to the Philippine Legislature on September 24, 1935, but so far no definite agreement has been reached relative to the price at which said estates may be purchased. I would have desired to have positive legislation enacted at this season which would permit affirmative action... to bring about the acquisition of these large estates and the resale thereof to the tenants. ¹

BIG LANDED ESTATES SCENARIO OF BLOODY HUMAN TRAGEDY

When a class, family, or group has monopolized vast domains and the people thereby converted into mere serfs, history is replete with instances when in their wrath the people have revolted and by force deprived the landlords of their possessions. The Philippines is not the first country which has faced the land problem caused by the ownership of big estates. France during the French Revolution, Mexico upon the downfall of the Diaz regime, and Russia under the leadership of Lenin, to mention only a few cases, are witnesses to the human tragedy arising out of the big landed ownership that has covered the pages of human progress with tears and blood, ruin and destruction. ²

11/ Speech before the faculty and student body of the Central Luzon Agricultural School, Muñoz, Nueva Ecija, July 24, 1940. QP, MRG/44, THL.

1/ Message to the First National Assembly on the friar land purchase, December 19, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, pp. 93-94.

2/ Message to the First National Assembly on expropriation proceedings for acquisition of large haciendas, September 3, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 197-198.

MY ACQUISITION AND RESALE OF HACIENDAS WON'T WORK

The Coalition platform is committed to the policy of acquiring estates at a fair and just price and reselling these lots to those tenants occupying them. However, in view of our experience with friar lands, I am convinced that the purchase and resale of these haciendas would not solve the agrarian and social problems existing therein; that it would not prevent the concentration in the future of these lands in the hands of a few people; and that the benefits, if any, that might accrue to the tenants would not justify the large outlay of public funds required to cover the purchase price, which funds did not exist in the public treasury. ³

QUEZON FOR LEASING HACIENDAS FOR 25 YEARS WITH OPTION TO BUY

I am not prepared to embark the government upon such a costly undertaking and with such uncertain results. Moreover, we cannot make these large expenditures without neglecting entirely the just claims of a vast number of our population for government assistance. There should be a relative balance in our appropriation of public funds in relation to the furtherance of our social objectives, so that the welfare of the nation at large may be promoted and the people may be benefited in proper proportion.

I cannot, on the other hand, resign to a policy of inaction and defeatism in the face of the problems created by these landed estates. Without the need of very large expenditures, I believe we can effect a gradual but more real and lasting improvement in the conditions of the tenants in these haciendas. I recommend that the Chief Executive be authorized to lease these lands from their present owners for a period not exceeding twenty five years with an option to purchase them during that period with a stated price. ⁴

67. LAND QUESTION

STABILITY OF SOCIETY RESTS ON HOME, FARM OWNERSHIP

We believe that a society is more stable where its membership own their homes and farms. The Constitution gives the government of the Commonwealth the right to authorize, upon payment of just compensation, the expropriation of large tracts of land to be subdivided into small lots and conveyed at cost to individuals. I am convinced that we shall have done away with one of the possible causes of public disturbance in the future if we make use of this power vested in the government. ¹

^{3/} Message to the First National Assembly on authorizing the President to lease haciendas for 25 years with option to purchase at a stated price, August 10, 1938. Quezon Messages. Vol. 4, Part I, JBVF, p. 531.

^{4/} Ibid., pp. 533-534.

^{1/} Press statement on the plan to expropriate haciendas, 1935. n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

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QUEZON FAVORS LAND TO LANDLESS, ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW INDUSTRIES

... In the first place, if we can get the people to own a piece of land, that is one way of solving it (the unemployment problem - ABS); in the second place, as soon as we organize the National Economic Council, we will establish industries; and, in the third place, I want you to know that unemployment is something that cannot be entirely eradicated in this or in any other country. ²

PROPERTY RIGHTS SUBORDINATED TO PUBLIC WELFARE

Property rights are necessarily subordinated to the paramount interest of public welfare. Without annihilating property rights, individual rights must be respected and protected. ³

RA TAKES STEPS TO GIVE LAND TO LANDLESS

Another pressing problem which in the past has caused recurrent troubles and even uprisings and has challenged the best efforts and intentions of the government to effect an equitable settlement under the circumstances, has been finally solved when the law, commonly known as the Homestead Act, passed by the National Assembly in its last session, was put into operation.

Definite steps are being taken by the government agencies concerned for the acquisition of lands within the large landed estates to be resold on easy terms to their present occupants in small home lots.

I am confident that we shall be able to work out a suitable plan which will insure a successful delivery to the people of the lands to which they are so dearly attached. ⁴

LAND OWNERSHIP: ROCK FOUNDATION OF DEMOCRACY

The disposition of public lands should henceforth be used mainly as an instrumentality to cure our agrarian problems of today, and to prevent the occurrence of still greater social evil in the future, and to lay down the rock foundation of a strong and genuine democracy composed of independent small property owners who can be depended upon to love and stand by their country which will then mean to them something more than an abstract proposition, something that belongs to them, something which they may truly call their own. ⁵

68. L A W S

QUEZON SEEKS REPEAL OF SWEEPS LAW AS IT DEVELOPS GAMBLING HABIT

It seems that the holding of sweepstakes has in a way given impetus to the

2/ Speech at a press conference, February 8, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

3/ Speech on the occasion of the first anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1936. Ibid.

4/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

5/ Ibid.

prevalence of games of chance all over the country, and developed a certain inclination on the part of the poor to borrow money with which to buy the sweepstakes tickets in the expectation of winning the prize which, as is logical in most cases, must and not only in disappointment but also in added financial embarrassment. ¹

LAW MUST BE SAME FOR RICH AND POOR ALIKE

The government must be just, must protect the people from abuses and wrong doings; and if anyone violates the law or commits abuses, it is the duty of government officials to go after such man, regardless of who he is.

The law must be the same for the powerful and for the weak, for the rich and for the poor. ²

OBJECTIVE OF CRIMINAL LAWS IS REFORM OF OFFENDERS

Every enlightened community should be guided in dealing with violators of the law, not by any desire to punish the offender in a spirit of revenge, but with a view to the protection of society and for the correction of the offender himself and the improvement of his own ways and outlook on life. In other words, I believe that the objective of criminal laws should be not only to impose respect for laws on the part of the citizen for fear of the consequences to his life or personal or personal freedom, if for no other reason, but also to make a useful and law-abiding man out of one who was once a harmful member of the community. ³

DISTINCTION BETWEEN CONVICTS JUSTIFIES PROBATION LAW REPEAL

The need for such a repeal (of the Probation Law) was clearly demonstrated by the fact that it conferred, in effect, privileges to convicts by the courts of first instance of Manila which it did not confer to convicts sentenced by the courts of first instance in the provinces. ⁴

HE'S WILLING TO HELP COCONUT MEN, BUT CAN'T VIOLATE LAW

I am willing to support you in your attempt to do away with the tax on coconut oil. I am willing to support you in your desire that the prohibition for the use of any part of this money, directly or indirectly, for the benefit of the coconut industry be lifted. ^{But} I have said that as long as the law functions, I am going to comply with the law honestly and strictly. I am not going to make any manipulation here whereby you may get the benefit from that money, even though it is prohibited by law. I wouldn't do it. It would be a violation of my oath

¹ Message to the First National Assembly on the repeal of the Sweepstakes Law, July 29, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 218-219.

² Untitled speech, 1937, n.d.m. QP, LR#40, TNL.

³ Message to the First National Assembly on the repeal of the Probation Law, September 1, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 190-191.

⁴ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 2417 revoking the Probation Law, September 13, 1937. Ibid., pp. 206-207.

as President of the Philippines. It would be a breach of our good faith; it would be an evidence of lack of honesty on the part of the Filipino people; and as long as I am the President, I am not going to violate my oath nor am I going to do anything that will discredit my people and my action in this respect. ⁵

LET'S ADOPT PROGRESSIVE LAWS INTELLIGENTLY - QUEZON

We have to change an archaic system which we have inherited from our ancestors and which has grown out of social conditions which cannot now be tolerated. But it is not merely a matter of enacting progressive laws which have proven successful in other countries; our task - and it is a difficult task - requires that we adapt them intelligently and constructively to our social and economic structure, lest we so disorganize our industries as to bring about a total economic collapse which, in the end, will do more harm to the laboring class itself than to other elements of our community. ⁶

LAWS MUST BE ENFORCED REGARDLESS OF WHO ARE AFFECTED

The human equation can never be eliminated in the affairs of man and that the saying "government of laws and not of men" has no merit unless interpreted in the sense that laws must be executed regardless of who are going to be affected by them. But, of course, governments are of men, and men enact and execute laws. Laws are neither self-enacting nor self-executing. ⁷

69. LAWYERS

WHEN COUNTRY'S LAWYERS WERE PILLARS OF RIGHT AND JUSTICE

Time there was in our country when the appellate lawyer was taken to mean a champion of human rights, a veritable soldier of truth and justice, an apostle of peace and general well-being. Isaac Fernando de los Rios, Cayetano Arellano, Victorino Mapa, Florentino Torres, Manuel Araullo, Marcelo H. del Pilar, Apolinario Mabini, Rafael del Pan, and many others raised the prestige of the legal profession to that height. They were not only shining lights of their calling but also commanding pillars of right and justice. One or two of them left some fortune, but most of them died poor; all of them embraced the profession of law, not so much as a means of livelihood, but because in their hearts there burned a consuming fire urging them to fight wrong and injustice. ¹

QUEZON BEHAILS LAW PROFESSION HAS BECOME MATERIALISTIC

As days went by, and as the spiritual and ideal things of life gave way

- 5/ Speech before coconut planters and municipal mayors, February 19, 1938. QP, MR#41, TNL.
- 6/ Speech before a large gathering of workers in Angeles, Pampanga, September 26, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 218-219.
- 7/ Speech on the proposal to amend the Constitution, July 7, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.
- 1/ Speech on the principles of law and justice, at the University of Sto. Tomas, October 2, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 139.

to the inroads of materialism, the legal professional outlook became more and more subjected to materialistic influences, to the extent that the worth of a lawyer nowadays is generally gauged by the amount of money that he earns from the profession, rather than by the moral value of his services to the community. ²

PROSPECTIVE LAWYERS WOULD TURN TAIL ON HEARING QUEZON'S ADVICE

To those of you who are now preparing yourselves to follow the call of the legal profession, let me say that only those who are willing to sacrifice themselves in the interest of justice should embrace that profession. Law is not a business calling. It is a vocation, an apostleship of justice and fair dealing. A lawyer's diploma should be a guaranty to the world that its holder is a living exponent of fair play, an impartial advocate of justice, a God-chosen instrument for the defeat of wrong and the triumph of right - rather than a technician skilled in the art of legal subtleties, for the benefit of a particular client. ³

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN LAWYER BY ROTE AND LEARNED JURIST

To know law is not merely to know by heart the civil and criminal codes or the codes of civil and criminal procedure. One may well recite from memory every line of every code that is in force, and yet not really know law. On the other hand, one may have but general ideas as to what the codes contain, and still be in fact a learned and profound jurist. ⁴

70. LEGISLATION

ANTI-TUBERCULOSIS BILL VETOED FOR BEING TOO IMPRACTICAL

I am constrained, however, to disapprove the bill under consideration for the reason that the means provided for carrying out its purpose is impractical, the amount of P20,000 it appropriates not being sufficient even for the expense of establishing a single treatment and prevention clinic, and were it enough, there would be no available fund for its operation and maintenance. It is believed that the plan of campaign against tuberculosis, to be practical and productive of results, must include measures for the care of the patients before and after their confinement in the sanatoria, and an adequate system of field work for case-finding, health-educational campaign, isolation or segregation, and follow-up work. ¹

UNWISE TO CURE COURT ERRORS BY SPECIAL LEGISLATION

It may be true that the defendant in the criminal cases mentioned therein

2/ Ibid., p. 140.

3/ Ibid.

4/ Ibid.

1/ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 2026 providing for the establishment of sanatoriums and clinics for the cure and prevention of tuberculosis, November 20, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEF, p. 386.

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had presented himself voluntarily to the corresponding authorities and suffered imprisonment for the crime committed by him until he was granted pardon. The procedure that should have been followed in these cases should have been the presentation of a motion in court to lift the forfeiture of the bonds in question and not to seek redress from the National Assembly. It is not believed to be a wise policy that errors committed in court cases be cured by the enactment of special legislation. ²

FIVE-FEET HEIGHT TOO LOW FOR COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

The proposed bill would fix the minimum height requirement for commissioned officers of the Philippine Army at five feet, and this height is too low as compared with the average height of Filipino today. The height of commissioned officers in the Army may be very well covered by interior regulation instead of by legislation. ³

PRESIDENT EXPLAINS WHY HE VETOED BIGOTED MEASURE

The approval of the bill would tend to prevent mechanical and electrical engineers duly qualified by the Board of Examiners from operating boilers of steam engines and other engines run by motor power unless they also qualify in another examination to be given by the new proposed Board of Examiners for "maquinistas terrestres." Its effect would be to deny the very type of men capable of designing, building and installing these new machines from operating them. ⁴

CONSTITUTIONALITY OF PROPOSED LAW IS HELD IN DOUBT

The requirement that as soon as an offer is received for the purchase of the property at a price higher than the loan, the said property should be disposed of without delay, may result in the nullification of the right of redemption granted to mortgagor by the statute governing building and loan associations, under which said mortgagor may redeem the property within one year after its sale and disposition... Furthermore, there is the question as to the constitutionality of this bill if applied to existing contracts. ⁵

71. LEGISLATURE

PHILIPPINE LEGISLATURE IN REALITY A DEBATING SOCIETY

We are not governing ourselves in the Philippines. It is true that we

- 1/ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 1180 condoning bonds of Luna, et al., November 29, 1936. Ibid., pp. 393-394.
- 2/ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 1584 fixing the minimum height requirement for commissioned officers in the Army, November 29, 1936. Ibid., p. 397.
- 3/ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 1965 regulating employment of technical personnel in care of boilers, etc., November 29, 1936. Ibid., pp. 396-399.
- 4/ Message to the First National Assembly on vetoing Bill No. 2397 relating to the final disposition of mortgaged real property, November 29, 1936. Ibid., p. 409.

have a part in the government. We have the Legislature in our hands. We elect the senators and representatives. But you know very well that the Legislature is not the government. It is only a branch of the government, and perhaps what you do not know is that the Legislature in the Philippine Islands is the least important branch of the government, and that when we have a Governor-General who is inclined to believe that he is the sole source of wisdom, the Legislature is converted into nothing more, nothing less, than a debating society. ¹

PRESIDENT ASSURES SOLONS HE WILL USE VETO POWER SPARINGLY

In my opinion, the main responsibility for legislative action is yours. It will be my policy as Chief Executive to give you, in every case, the benefit of doubt. You may, therefore, rest assured that, if ever, I shall exercise my veto power with reluctance, and only when I am strongly convinced that it is my plain and unavoidable duty to do so in the interest of the common weal. ²

CHIEF EXECUTIVE CITES IMPORTANCE OF LEGISLATURE IN A DEMOCRACY

If our people want democracy they must realize the importance of the legislative department. They must have confidence in the men whom they elect to represent them in the National Assembly until by their own acts they lose the right to their confidence and trust. It is to the interest of the people that the legislative department do its work properly. ³

SEPARATION OF POWERS DOES NOT MEAN COLLISION

The success of the Commonwealth depends on the ability of the executive and legislative departments to cooperate with each other. Separation of powers, which is basic in our form of government, does not mean collision. It only means the delimitation of the sphere of action of each and yet the inter-dependence of the three departments of the government (i.e., including the judiciary - ABS) is such that sometimes the powers of the executive branch reaches the scene of action of the legislative, and vice-versa. ⁴

MLQ SAYS DEMONSTRATION BEFORE LEGISLATURE NOT PROPER

I was not in favor of a demonstration in front of the Legislative building. I thought that if they (the people concerned - ABS) have some petition to make they could send it either through the mail or through a committee. The practice of having a demonstration in front of the Legislative building is not right, and is

- 1/ Speech at the Columbia University, USA, November 27, 1927. QP, MR#29, TNL.
- 2/ Message to the First National Assembly on national defense, November 25, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVEFF, p. 19.
- 3/ Letter to Assemblyman Serafin Marabut, chairman, Committee on Appropriations, National Assembly, January 3, 1936. Ibid., p. 74.
- 4/ Address at the opening of the National Assembly, June 16, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

not the proper way of doing it. ⁵

SOLONS TO BE JUDGED BY NET RESULT OF THEIR LABORS

You (referring to the members of the National Assembly -- ABS) are, in fact, laying down a policy for us all to observe, you are drawing an orientation which is the duty of all citizens, high and low, to follow faithfully.

As far as the people are concerned, the success of your labors, and the labors of the government as a whole, will be judged by the net results, and no amount of reasoning can make the people see that you mean justice, when under the authority of your enactment injustice is done. ⁶

SOME SOLONS CAN BE BLINDLY SUBSERVIENT TO CONSTITUENTS

We can be foolish sometimes... Some members of the National Assembly fight a thing only because they are subservient to their constituents and do not show that they can fight and must fight for their rights... Now, anything that goes against the fundamental principle of government, such as honesty and efficiency of the government, that I cannot tolerate. ⁷

LEGISLATURE SHOULD BE REPRESENTED IN COUNCIL OF STATE

The main purpose which animated the creation of the Council of State, when it was first established, was to give the Legislature a voice in the councils of government. This was done originally by an American Governor-General (Francis Burton Harrison - ABS) in an effort to give the representatives of the people in the Legislature an opportunity in the deliberations of the Executive affecting important public questions, before a final decision was taken. Were I to ^{create} or summon the Council of State without letting the members of the National Assembly know that I shall be glad to have them represented in the Council if they so desire, my administration would be branded as less democratic than the administration of the American Governor-General who first created the Council. ⁸

ENDURING ACHIEVEMENTS OF FIRST NATIONAL ASSEMBLY CITED

The First National Assembly set a record for constructive achievements which will be difficult to surpass. As the years go by, the nation will come to realize more and more the transcendental value of those achievements. It laid the institutional foundations of the Commonwealth. It established the system of national defense. It initiated social reforms and gave impetus to public services which minister to the health, education, and well-being of the people. It gave

5/ Speech at a press conference, July 10, 1936. Ibid.

6/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

7/ Speech at a press conference, November 17, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

8/ Letter to the Speaker of the National Assembly, March 8, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVEF, p. 305.

expression and realization to the basic political and social philosophies underlying the constitution of our government and made social justice the guiding ultimate objective of all its enactments. ⁹

PRESIDENT COMMENTS ON POWERS OF IMPEACHMENT COMMISSION

It is vesting in the National Assembly a most dangerous power when it is allowed to act as prosecutor and judge at the same time, as is given to a commission of the National Assembly, the commission on impeachment; and the fact that the power to try impeachment is left to that body itself, does not alter the situation, since the commission on impeachment is chosen by the National Assembly from amongst its own members. ¹⁰

BICAMERAL LEGISLATURE ESSENTIAL TO DEMOCRACY - QUEZON

The unicameral system in a democracy is an experiment. All the old ^{countries} of the world have bicameral legislatures. America, England, France - they all have bicameral legislative branches and democratic governments. But I do not know of any country which, after adopting a unicameral legislature, has succeeded in making that institution permanent. So, I think that we had better be a little more conservative and create a bicameral legislature.

The creation of a bicameral legislature is my main interest. I can leave the presidency without forebodings of the future if, by the time I step out of Malacañan, I already will have established a bicameral legislature. I would feel then that a democratic institution in this country had been established. ¹¹

PEOPLE'S HOUSE (LEGISLATURE) ATTESTS FAITH IN COUNTRY'S FUTURE

That we should start the construction of the People's House - the edifice that will be used by the law-making body of the Republic of the Philippines - at a time when the whole world is at war or being threatened by war because of conflicting political ideologies, is the most conclusive evidence of our unshakable faith in the ultimate triumph of liberty, democracy and justice. ¹²

72. M A C A R T H U R

MACARTHUR INSPIRES FILIPINOS TO RENEW FAITH IN THEIR OWN DESTINY

With clear vision he (General Douglas MacArthur) analyzed our defensive problems and in forthright and honest fashion enumerated the measures necessary to their successful solution. He inspired us to renew confidence in our own destiny

9/ Message to the Second National Assembly, January 24, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

10/ Message to the Second National Assembly, May 15, 1939. Ibid.

11/ Speech at the farewell banquet for Floor Leader Quintin Paredes, Malacañan Park, May 22, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 134.

12/ Speech on the fifth anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1940. QP, MR#44, TNL.

he gave us a plan of preparation that by its accurate adjustment to our peculiar needs makes attainment of national security a practical goal within the limit of our means. He has labored diligently and effectively to establish the machinery through which that plan will reach fruition. But, more important even than these, he has instilled in us the truth that attainment of security is not merely a function of money or wealth, but rather is a result of properly directed patriotism, of willingness to sacrifice self for the attainment of a spiritual ideal, and is a practical expression of a unified and unwavering determination to remain free and independent - a fearless member of the family of nations! ¹

MACARTHUR RETIRES FROM U.S. ARMY, IS RETAINED AS COMMONWEALTH MILITARY ADVISER

Up to the present time (December 31, 1937 - ABS) his (MacArthur's) connection with this transcendent and all-important matter (referring to our national defense - ABS), has been that of an agency of the American government detailed to such duty by the President of the United States upon the request of the President of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, under conditions stipulated in a special Act of the American Congress. With General MacArthur's retirement from the active list of the U.S. Army this condition changes. General MacArthur is now a free agent no longer acting under the orders of his government. ²

AIM OF PHILIPPINE DEFENSE PROGRAM: TO ACHIEVE PEACE WITHOUT BATTLE

In my discussion with General MacArthur, I outline the stupendous importance of carrying to fruition the peace and defense plan for the Philippines. The purpose of the plan is to prevent war. Its object is peace without battle. Its possibility of attainment is based upon a proper neutrality policy for the Philippines and an adequate defense establishment. This latter was to be of such strength as to impose such a cost of conquest upon a potential invader as would exceed any hope he might logically entertain of political or economic advantage to be gained by victory. By thus removing any possibility of conquest representing an economic short-cut, the chance of predatory attack would be greatly lessened, if not entirely eliminated. The prospect of peace for the Philippines is properly a hope and ideal for the world because it would constitute one of the strongest guarantees of tranquility in the Pacific. It is an ideal that can and should be supported by every civilized nation of the world. ³

MACARTHUR ANSWERS CALL OF DUTY, DECIDES TO STAY HERE

From the beginning General MacArthur's faith and confidence in the ability of the Filipino people to achieve success have never varied. They have matched

- 1/ Speech at a dinner for Field Marshal Douglas MacArthur in Malacañan, August 24, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 125.
- 2/ Press statement on MacArthur's retention as military adviser of the Commonwealth, December 31, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 351.
- 3/ Ibid., pp. 351-352.

even my own faith and confidence in my country and in my countrymen. I frankly told him that I would be at a loss to replace him and that I felt unfortunate consequences might result from his departure. I, therefore, requested him to remain and continue the great task for the Philippines, for America, and for the world, with which he has so completely identified himself. I am happy to say that the Marshal unhesitatingly yielded any personal predilection he may have entertained and agreed to continue and help me. ⁴

* * *

[Note: Commenting on this statement, General MacArthur said: "This is a call of duty I cannot fail." - ABS.]

QUEZON RELUCTANTLY JOINS MACARTHUR IN AUSTRALIA

At the request of General MacArthur, I have left the Philippines and joined him at his headquarters in Australia. On previous occasions, suggestions have been made to me that I leave the Philippines, but I have refused to do it, determined to carry on with the affairs of government in Philippine territory.

Having no other objective in mind than to free the Philippines, I did not hesitate to accept the suggestion of Gen. MacArthur despite the hazards that the trip involved. And so I am here (in Australia - ABS) where I expect to be able to be of assistance in the reconquest of every foot of territory of my beloved country.

I call upon every Filipino to keep his courage and fortitude, and to have faith in the ultimate victory of our cause. ⁵

QUEZON-MACARTHUR CONVERSATION ON NATIONAL DEFENSE

QUEZON: General, do you think that the Philippines, once independent, can defend itself?

MACARTHUR: I don't think that the Philippines can defend themselves, I know they can... We cannot just turn around and leave you alone. All these many years we have helped you in education, sanitation, road-building, and even in the practice of self-government. But we have done nothing in the way of preparing you to defend yourselves against a foreign foe. ⁶

73. M I L I T A R Y

A DOUBLE-EDGED SWORD, ARMY CAN BE USED TO SUBVERT LAWFUL GOVERNMENT

The army is a double-edged sword. It is the arm of the government which is the last resort for the enforcement of the laws and so compel obedience to

4/ Ibid., p. 352.

5/ Proclamation to the Filipino people issued upon Quezon's arrival in Melbourne, Australia, March 30, 1942. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2378.

6/ Autobiography, The Good Fight. New York: D. Appleton-Century, 1946, pp. 153-155.

constituted authority, for the maintenance of peace and order, and for the defense of the national integrity and liberty.

But as contemporary history proves to us, the army can also be a disturber of peace and enemy of law and established government, and in many instances it has been the instrument for the overthrow of constitutional regime. ^{1(a)}

LET'S BE VIGILANT AGAINST MISUSE OF ARMED FORCES, SAYS QUEZON

In building up our national defense and in organizing the regular armed forces of the Islands, these tragic lessons of history must be constantly borne in mind, and it behooves us, who are for the time being entrusted with responsibility of leadership over our nation, to be forever watchful and vigilant lest we sow the seeds of a possible future misuse of our armed forces. ²

UNTRUSTWORTHY OFFICERS A MENACE TO THE STATE - QUEZON

There is no crime in the military code, excepting treason and cowardice, that is as unpardonable. The foundation of every army is the honor and integrity of its corps of officers. Lacking these virtues, no army can accomplish its mission in peace or war. An armed force with untrustworthy officers becomes a menace to the State rather than a support. ³

74. M I N D A N A O A F F A I R S

MOROS VOLUNTARILY RECOGNIZE AGUINALDO GOVERNMENT

The Filipino Moros belong to the same race as the Christian Filipinos, namely, the Malay; they speak the same native language that is spoken by the Christian Filipinos living in the island of Mindanao or in the neighboring island, to wit: Visayan; and while the difference in religion between the Mohammedan and Christian of any race is a great handicap to a good understanding, the tie of kinship would put a Filipino government into better position to govern the Moros than the American government.

As a matter of fact, the Moros voluntarily recognized Aguinaldo's government, and there was then no bloodshed in the Moro country. The assertion that the Moros and Christian Filipinos hate each other is groundless, as is also the statement that there has always been war between them. Although it is true that early in the 19th century there were some pirates among the Moros who used to rob Christian towns, there was never any such warfare between Christian Filipinos and Moros as took place between Americans and Indians. ^{1(b)}

^{1(a)} Message to the First National Assembly on the country's condition and problems, June 16, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 167.

² Ibid., pp. 167-168.

³ Letter to the Chief of Staff, Philippine Army, on the dismissal from the service of 1st Lt. Tranquilino S. Cabrera, P.A., March 30, 1939. Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 391.

^{1(b)} Article, "The Right of the Philippines to Independence," The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 2, October 1912. Rivera Collection, Vol. 1, pp. 108-109.

SYSTEMATIC COLONIZATION, ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF MINDANAO

The time has come when we should systematically proceed with and bring about the colonization and economic development of Mindanao. A vast and rich territory with its untapped natural resources is a temptation to enterprising nations that are looking for an outlet for their excess population.²

QUEZON DEFINES POWERS OF COMMISSIONER FOR MINDANAO AND SULU

The purpose sought by the Administration in recommending the creation of the post of Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu was to have a responsible official stationed in Mindanao, who could act and carry out the program of development without unnecessary delay... I think the government of Mindanao and Sulu should continue under the Department of the Interior as every other government in the Islands is under the existing laws. But the Commissioner may be given powers through administrative policy to act without the necessity of constantly having to seek the approval of the authorities in Manila for everything that he does or of making previous consultation before taking any action at all.³

PRESIDENT GIVES BASIC INSTRUCTION TO PEACE OFFICERS IN MINDANAO

No member of the Constabulary or of the Army, from the Chief of Staff down to the last soldier, at any station in the Philippines, is vested with any power or right to enter into an agreement with any violator of the law whereby each offender is guaranteed or promised freedom from criminal prosecution. To do so is to assume, in effect, the right of granting pardons, a power that by constitutional provision is exclusively vested in the President. Where any officer believes that such pardon should be granted, his recommendations, with reasons therefor, will be forwarded through his military superiors to the President, after he has discharged his full official duty in assuring the prompt prosecution of the offender. The principle that in the court's alone, subject to the pardoning power of the President, resides the authority to determine the guilt or innocence of an accused, and to fix the degree of punishment for law violation, must be rigidly observed by every member of your command. Proven disregard of this principle by any individual will result in his immediate separation from the service.⁴

DESTROY ALL COTTAS EXCEPT THOSE WITH HISTORICAL VALUE - QUEZON

Every cotta now existing in the Moro region will be immediately destroyed, except such, if there be any, which, for its historical interest should be

- 2/ Message to the First National Assembly on the country's condition and problems, June 16, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEF, p. 177.
- 3/ Letter to Assemblyman Apolonio D. Curato on the powers of the Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu, July 28, 1936. Ibid., pp. 216-217.
- 4/ Letter to Maj. Gen. Paulino Santos, Chief of Staff, Philippine Army, on the suppression of lawlessness in Lanao, September 20, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVEF, p. 286.

preserved. In this case the cotta may be preserved under the supervision and control of the military authorities. With this exception, all cottas in every section of the territory inhabited by Moros will be promptly demolished. ⁵

QUERSON POINTS OUT WEAKNESS IN OLD POLICY ON MOROS

It has been, in my opinion, the weakness in the policy heretofore adopted by the government of the Philippines in dealing with the Mohammedan Filipinos or Moros in Mindanao and the Sulu Archipelago to give some sort of recognition to the datus, so that they have become in practice ex officio officials of the government. This must be stopped and changed radically. It gives the impression that there is a dual government for the Moros - one exercised by the appointed or elective officials of the governor and the other by the datus or sultans. It perpetuates the overlordship exercised through the ages by these datus and sultans over their sacup who, on this account, continue to be, in fact, slaves of their sultans and datus as they were under the Spanish regime. ⁶

TREAT DATUS, SULTANS AS EVERY OTHER CITIZEN

These datus and sultans should never be allowed to have anything to do with functions that are official. They should be heard exactly and precisely as every other citizen has the right to be heard on matters affecting the nation, his province, his municipality, or his district. Their help should be sought no more than the help of any other citizen in any other part of the Philippines is sought, if and when the services of such citizen may be needed. By this, I mean that nothing must be done by this government or its officials that would give the impression that men without official responsibilities and powers may exercise any authority or intervene with authority on governmental or administrative affairs of the nation, province, municipality or district. ⁷

IT'S TIME TO APPOINT CIVILIAN INSTEAD OF MILITARY GOVERNORS

I am inclined to believe now that the time has come for the appointment of civilian governors in every province largely or partly inhabited by Mohammedan Filipinos. As soon as we can find the right men from amongst civilians, we should appoint them as governors for these provinces... Let these governors speak to the people about the peaceful objectives of the government carried through peaceful means. Let (them) visit their respective provinces constantly and mingle with the common man, see him in his home, on his farm, talk to the masses and tell them in what way the government can be of help to them in improving their agriculture, their small trade, in ameliorating the hardships of their lives, in raising

5/ Ibid., pp. 286-287.

6/ Memorandum for the Secretary of the Interior on the administration of affairs in Mindanao, September 29, 1937. Ibid., p. 358.

7/ Ibid., p. 359.

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their standard of living, in combating disease, in creating sanitary conditions, and in protecting them against abuses from evil persons. In one word, let the inhabitants of these provinces to which I am referring, feel toward the government, by means of civilian officials that we will place at the head of these provinces, exactly as the average good citizens of other provinces of the Philippines feel toward the government of their country.

Please. . . get information from all sources as to who are the men who could do this work well in Mindanao, and submit to me a list from which I may pick the men I shall appoint. We may get men already in the government service, or outside the service, men who have shown executive and administrative ability, industry and, above all, unimpeachable honesty.⁸

VARGAS EXPLAINS QUEZON'S POLICY ON MUSLIM

His Excellency (President Quezon) does not seek to interfere with the use of titles by Moro sultans or datus so long as it is clearly understood that a title carries with it no official rights or privileges. What the President desires to emphasize is that there are no privileged classes under this government and no authority vested on any individual not occupying an official position. In other words, the President is determined to consider and to act towards the Mohammedan Filipinos as he considers and acts towards the Christians, precisely because he agrees with you that the so-called Moro problem is a myth.⁹

MINDANAO AND SULU DEVELOPMENT GETS DUE ATTENTION

Commonwealth Act No. 75, approved on October 24, 1936, abolished the Bureau of Non-Christian Tribes and merged its powers and duties with those of the Secretary of the Interior.

The same Act created the Office of Commissioner for Mindanao and Sulu to assist the Secretary of Interior in the development work of said region as well as to take charge directly of the affairs of the provincial and municipal governments therein.

Under conditions now obtaining the problem of development in Mindanao and Sulu involved principally the introduction of public improvements such as roads, bridges, ports, hospitals, public dispensaries, more schools, radio stations, aviation and landing fields, and the systematic colonization of vacant public lands.

AMILBANGSA APPOINTMENT PROOF OF EQUAL TREATMENT OF MOROS

We could not have given the Mohammedan people of Mindanao and Sulu a better evidence that we are treating them exactly like the Christians than by giving you a Moro governor. Following this step, every Moro province will be governed

8/ Ibid., p. 359.

9/ Letter of Secretary to the President Jorge B. Vargas, in behalf of President Quezon, acknowledging Sulu Assemblyman Ombra Amilbangsa's letter, on the government's three-point policy for Mindanao and Sulu. October 8, 1937.

Ibid., pp. 300-301.

10/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

exactly as the Christian provinces are being governed. We expect the Moros to feel that they constitute a very important element of the whole Filipino people. ¹¹

QUEZON EXPECTS AMILBANGSA TO BE A GOOD MORO GOVERNOR

I expect Governor Ombra Amilbangsa to be a good governor. I have told him that he can look to no greater compensation for his service than the recognition that he had been a good governor of his province. I want Governor Ombra to be, above all, impartial, just, and fair. I want him to devote himself unselfishly to the service of the people of Jolo. As long as he acts in this way, he will have all the backing, all the support, all the confidence of the national government. ¹²

MINDANAO NO LONGER MALARIA-INFESTED BUT LAND OF PROMISE

There is an island in the Philippines which we can bestow upon our children and descendants - Mindanao. It is no longer the boundless forest ravaged by malaria, but the land of promise where people actually reap immense benefit. ¹³

75. MINIMUM WAGE

MINIMUM WAGE TO SECURE DECENT LIVING FOR LABORERS

Many factors have to be taken into consideration in establishing the minimum wage, such as the cost of living in each locality, financial situation of each province, and the work which the laborer is doing. As to the rest, I am absolutely in favor of a minimum wage affording a decent living to the laborer. Since I have assumed the office of President I have considered it as one of the inescapable duties of this government to secure reasonable wages for the laborers. ¹

HIGHER WAGES FOR WORKERS MEAN MORE AND BETTER WORK

I have heard it said that if we pay higher wages to our workingmen, we are doomed in our competition with the countries in this part of the globe. This is fallacious because to pay good wages to our laborers is to give them proper nourishment, and proper nutrition means health. A healthy laborer can do more and better work than one who is sickly and underfed. ²

PHILIPPINES IN HALCYON DAYS: MINIMUM MONTHLY SALARY OF P30!

In line with the policy enunciated in Executive Order No. 49, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, by virtue of the powers in me vested by law, hereby fix as the minimum salary to be paid to employees of the national

11/ Speech at the provincial building in Jolo, Sulu, August 30, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVEF, p. 200.

12/ Ibid., p. 201.

13/ Speech at Atimonan, Tayabas, July 23, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I,

1/ Letter to Hon. Enrique Magalona, chairman of the Committee on Labor, National Assembly, August 5, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEF, pp. 220-221.

2/ Address on higher wages for Filipino laborers, broadcast over station KZRH, Manila, August 19, 1936. Ibid., p. 117.

government the sum of P30 per month, unless otherwise specifically provided by law, effective September 1, 1936. ³

* * *

In line with the policy of this Office and, in case existing laws and executive orders do not specifically compel the City to pay not less than P30 monthly in salaries and wages to the employees and laborers of the City of Baguio, you (the Municipal Council) are hereby directed to approve an ordinance providing that all employees and laborers of the City of Baguio will not receive less than P30 in salaries and wages per month. ⁴

QUEZON ORDERS MINIMUM LIVING WAGE FOR WORKERS, EMPLOYEES

After a careful study of the prevailing living conditions of the laboring elements of our people in the different parts of the archipelago, the fact has been impressed upon me that they are not being given wages that would enable them to adequately meet the bare necessities of life. To this state of affairs may be attributed, to a great extent, the present unsatisfactory living conditions of many of our people who, due to the lack of sufficient means to nourish themselves, are easily susceptible to the ravages of diseases. In order to lead the movement to give our working classes a living wage, I issued Executive Orders Nos. 49 and 50 on August 19 and 20, 1936, respectively, fixing the minimum daily wages to be paid to able-bodied common laborers employed by, or under the direct supervision of the different branches of the national government, and also the minimum salary for employees of the government, unless otherwise specifically provided by law. ⁵

CIR DIRECTED TO CONDUCT WAGE PROBE IN SUGAR INDUSTRY

"Whereas, the Secretary of Labor has received reliable information tending to show that the wages of laborers and shares of tenants in certain sugar-producing areas of the Philippines are inadequate to supply the reasonable needs of such laborers and tenants and are disproportionate to the profits received by the landlords and owners of lands in such areas; and

"Whereas, such a condition, if true, is conducive to unrest among the people affected and would ultimately result in grave menace to public peace and order, to the great detriment of the progress of the sugar industry;

"Now, therefore, pursuant to the authority vested in me by Commonwealth Act No. 103, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, do hereby order and direct the Court of Industrial Relations to make an immediate investigation

^{3/} Executive Order No. 50, "Fixing the Minimum Salary That Should Be Paid to Employees of the National Government," August 24, 1936. Ibid., p. 681.

^{4/} Letter entitled "Minimum Wages for Employees and Laborers of the City of Baguio," November 29, 1936. Ibid., p. 468.

^{5/} Message to the First National Assembly on additional appropriation for salaries and wages of employees and laborers, September 2, 1936. Ibid., p. 230.

and examination of all pertinent facts in relation with the sugar industry, and after such investigation in accordance with the aforesaid Act, to determine the necessity and fairness of fixing and adopting a minimum wage or share for laborers and tenants working in the sugar-producing areas according to the conditions obtaining in such locality and to fix such minimum wage or share, and to submit to the President its decision thereon for approval in the manner provided by said Act.

CIR TO CONDUCT WAGE PROBE IN CIGAR FACTORIES

"Whereas, the Secretary of Labor has received information tending to show that the wages of laborers employed in the cigar and cigarette industry are inadequate to supply the reasonable needs of such laborers; and

"Whereas, such a condition, if true, is conducive to unrest among the people affected and should ultimately result in grave menace to public peace and order, to the great detriment of the progress of the cigar and cigarette industry;

"Now, therefore, I Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, do hereby order and direct the Court of Industrial Relations to make an immediate investigation and examination of all pertinent facts in relation with the cigar and cigarette industry, and after such investigation in accordance with the aforesaid act (CA No. 103), to determine the necessity and fairness of fixing and adopting a minimum wage for laborers working in the cigar and cigarette factories according to the conditions obtaining in each locality and to fix such minimum wage, and to submit to the President its decision thereon for approval in the manner provided by said Act..." ⁷

RAISE LABOR WAGES IN SUGARLANDIA - QUEZON

We must all cooperate to find the means and use them to improve the lot of the working class in the Philippines. Particularly the provinces enjoying the benefits of the sugar industry should and must immediately raise substantially the wages of labor.

* * *

We are the servants of the whole people and we shall not permit an injustice to be done, much less perpetuated, against any constituent part of our community.

* * *

A man is more entitled to the fruits of his labor than the proprietor to the rents of his property. ⁸

6/ Administrative Order No. 32, "Directing the CIR to Conduct an Immediate Investigation of All the Facts Relating to the Sugar Industry and to Determine the Necessity of Adopting a Minimum Wage or Share for Laborers or Tenants Working in the Sugar-Producing Areas," January 22, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part II, JBVFF, p. 1154.

7/ Administrative Order No. 33, "Directing the Court of Industrial Relations to Conduct an Immediate Investigation of All Facts Relating to the Cigar and Cigarette Industry and to Determine the Necessity of Adopting a Minimum Wage for Laborers Working in the Cigar and Cigarette Factories," January 22, 1937. Ibid., p. 1155.

8/ Speech at the inauguration of the City of Iloilo, August 1937, n.d. QP, MR#39, THE

PRESIDENT PROVIDES GUIDELINE ON FIXING MINIMUM WAGE.

In order to establish a more equitable and uniform schedule of wages for common laborers employed by the different branches of the national government based on the prevailing living conditions in the different provinces and chartered cities, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, hereby fix the minimum daily wage to be paid to able-bodied common laborers employed by, or under the direct supervision of the different branches of the national government, at not less than one hundred twenty percentum of the present basic minimum daily wages paid to said laborers as shown by the records of the Bureau of Public Works.

The Secretary of Public Works and Communications and the Secretary of Labor are hereby directed to prepare as soon as practicable an official schedule of the minimum daily wages to be paid as prescribed in this Executive Order, the same to become effective on September first, 1936.

In those cases where laborers are employed on work located in isolated or unsettled districts, they shall be furnished the usual rations at the expense of the government, or paid an additional wage of not to exceed fifteen centavos per day in lieu thereof. They may be also furnished at the expense of the government, chargeable to projects concerned, quinine and other first aid medicines. ⁹

* * *

"Executive Order No. 49, series of 1936, is hereby amended to read as follows:

"In order to establish a more equitable and uniform schedule of wages for common laborers employed by the different branches of the national government based on the prevailing living conditions in the different provinces and chartered cities, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, hereby fix the minimum daily wage to be paid to able-bodied common laborers employed by, or under the direct supervision of the different branches of the national government, at not less than one hundred twenty per centum of the present basic minimum daily wages paid to said laborers as shown by the records of the Bureau of Public Works.

"The Secretary of Public Works and Communications and the Secretary of Labor are hereby directed to prepare as soon as practicable an official schedule of the minimum daily wages to be paid as prescribed in this Executive Order; Provided, That the minimum daily wage to be paid to common laborers employed by the national government shall not be less than one peso and twenty centavos in the City of Manila and one peso in the different provinces and chartered cities, the same to become effective August 19th, 1937. "¹⁰

9/ Executive Order No. 49, "Increasing and Fixing the Minimum Daily Wage to be Paid to Common Laborers Employed by the National Government in the Different Provinces and Chartered Cities," August 19, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 680.

10/ Executive Order No. 105, "Amending Executive Order No. 49, Series of 1936, Entitled 'Increasing and Fixing the Minimum Daily Wage to be Paid to Common Laborers Employed by the National Government in the Different Provinces and Chartered Cities,' so as to Fix a Minimum Daily Wage of ₱1.25 for Common Laborers Employed by the National Government in the City of Manila and ₱1 for those Employed in the Different Provinces and Chartered Cities, August 19, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part II, JBVFF, pp. 631-632.

SUGAR MEN TOLD TO RAISE LABORERS' WAGES OR ELSE...

Unless you fellows (sugar hacenderos) raise the wages of the workingmen, I will recommend to the National Assembly the passage of a law compelling you to raise the wages of sugar laborers. ¹¹

AMELIORATING LABOR CONDITIONS GIVEN EMPHASIS BY PRESIDENT

Social influences of militant character that are sweeping over the world, coupled with a growing national consciousness, apparent since the establishment of the present autonomous government, have stimulated the assertiveness of our masses and this is manifested in an insistent demand for justice and more humane treatment of labor.

Labor conditions in the Philippines today are the best in the last few years, and I should say, are the best that we ever had in this country, and it is my confident hope that they will continue to improve, as the beneficent effects of the remedial measures adopted for the protection of the laborers and the promotion of their well-being are gradually absorbed by the people.

Our immediate concern should, therefore, be to equip the agencies of the government having to do with the protection of labor and the welfare of the people, with adequate means to expand the field of their activities so that no worker and no indigent man or woman in the Philippines can be found out of reach of their helping hand.

We should also endeavor to bring up to date certain provisions of existing labor laws which, passed a decade or so ago, have become too weak or vague, if not altogether obsolete under rapidly changing social conditions and in the light of present-day views and appreciations of human values. ¹²

QUEZON FIXES MINIMUM WAGE FOR LABOR IN CITY, PROVINCES

The Court of Industrial Relations was organized to adjudge labor claims and arbitrate industrial and agricultural disputes whenever the conciliatory function of the Department of Labor fails to attain its end.

The establishment of the Court of Industrial Relations is a warning to radical elements that unjustified propagation of strikes as a means to promote revolutionary purposes, will not be tolerated.

By executive order I fixed the minimum daily wage for laborers working in the public works under the national government at P1.25 in the City of Manila and P1.00 in the provinces, and the minimum monthly salary for employees of the national government at P30.00.

Thus the government has taken upon itself the task of showing the way to a definite amelioration of living conditions among our masses. ¹³

^{11/} Speech at a press conference, August 27, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

^{12/} Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

^{13/} Ibid.

FACT-FINDING SURVEY OF WORKING AND LIVING CONDITIONS

One of the first acts of my administration was the ordering of a fact-finding survey of rural problems to be conducted by the Department of Labor, covering not only the relations between private owners of large estates and their laborers, but also including a thorough study of the general working and living conditions of farm hands in general. 14

FAIR TREATMENT, WAGE OF LABORER A MATTER OF JUSTICE

The rich can only keep his wealth forever if he treats right the man who is working for him. It is not only a matter of justice that the man who works should be paid appropriate wage. It is also a matter of business for the man who pays. If you pay a man who is working for you what he needs for his support and the support of his family, that man will work for you with love and with devotion and he will fight for you if the time should come that your interest is to be defended. But if a man who is working for you does not have what he knows he is entitled to have and he sees that you are accumulating wealth, that man in his heart prays that you may lose what you have. That is considering the question of the relationship between capital and labor in a particular way. 15

THE SUGAR CENTRALS FOR BENEFIT OF WORKINGMEN

It is my intention to recommend to the next National Assembly the imposition of a tax for centrals which will be used by the government to serve the interest of the workingman. 16

MUST RENDER COMMENSURATE LABOR FOR MINIMUM WAGE

I want the people, especially the masses, to realize that I am not advocating a one-sided justice. Justice can never be one-sided. The minute that you propose one-sided justice, you are not proposing justice at all. What I want when I speak of raising the standard of living of the masses of the people through the increase of their salary or better wage and better living conditions, is that they should justify this by rendering the work that they are expected to do in whatever capacity they are. That is the idea. I don't want the people here to believe that the workingman is entitled to a minimum wage as a matter of right regardless of whether he works or not. It must always be based not only on what the people need for their human existence, but also the minimum compensation that an honest workingman capable of doing the work that he is supposed to do, should receive for a work done honestly in the field. That is justice, otherwise you would be making the corporation pay for something for which it is not getting the equivalent benefit. The government has the right to demand full compliance with the minimum wage law

14/ Report to the Congress of the United States, 1937. n.d.m. QP, MR#40, TNL.

15/ Speech at the public plaza of Ormoc, Leyte, June 13, 1938. QP, MR#41, TNL.

16/ Speech at the inauguration of Bacolod City, October 19, 1938. QP, MR#40, TNL.

except upon the basis that the people doing that work are going to render a service commensurate with the wage that they are getting. ¹⁷

76. MISCELLANY

DANGERS OF OVER-CONFIDENCE POINTED OUT BY RESIDENT COMMISSIONER

One of the greatest dangers that menace new peoples with great ambitions, who feel they have the strength to work out a great future, is that they are liable to be so well satisfied with themselves and their own work that they forget or disdain the experience or resent the aid of other peoples with greater experience in the art of governing. The most advanced people on earth have not yet attained their complete and perfect development. ¹

PEOPLE WITH EXCESS NATIONAL PRIDE HURT THEMSELVES - QUEZON

Every nation has something to learn from the others, and any country which, systematically or from an excess of national pride, refuses to profit by the lessons and the experience of other countries and even other men, not only hurts itself, but even exposes itself to public ridicule. When I say other men, I say so advisedly. Especially during the first years of our independent existence the aid of men from more advanced countries who have excelled in certain lines of government work and whose services may be required for the construction of our national edifice, will be cordially solicited. ²

JUDICIOUS EXAMINATION, ASSIMILATION OF BEST IN OTHERS

To copy, without due examination and without taking into account whether or not it is adaptable to our way of being, that which is foreign, merely because it is foreign, is as harmful as rejecting it in the same manner and for the same reason.

The example of Japan, repeatedly cited, may very opportunely be cited again. Our neighboring nation owes its present enviable situation to the wisdom with which the fathers of the Japan of today retained their own and assimilated the best they found in the foreign countries. ³

SAKDAL UPRISING NOT POLITICAL BUT ECONOMIC?

The limitation imposed upon the amount of Philippine products exportable to the United States free of duty is so drastic that those of us who knew the conditions in the Islands predicted then that it would adversely affect the finances of

17/ Remarks in interview with Ford Wilkins of the Manila Daily Bulletin, February 9, 1939. WP, MR#43, TNL.

1/ Address at a public banquet held in Quezon's honor at the Hotel de France, Sta. Cruz, upon his triumphal return from the United States, September 28, 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 424.

2/ Ibid., p. 425.

3/ Ibid.

the Philippine government and economic conditions in the country.

I protested then against these drastic restrictions upon our commerce and frankly stated that if put into effect they would throw many of our men and women out work, lower standards of living with consequent hardship, and cause general discontent among the people.

The disturbances (referring to the aborted Sakdal revolt of May 2, 1935 - ABS) should not be considered a political uprising. The leader, Benigno Ramos, is a political racketeer taking advantage of the economic distress. The whole economic policy of America towards the Philippines provided in the Independence Act and subsequent laws should be revised in a manner beneficial both to the Philippines and the United States. ⁴

GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE CARE OF ALL INSANES, LEPERS

I think that one of the most important duties of a civilized government is to take care of these insanes and to accommodate them properly, so if the National Assembly raises the necessary revenues, my hope within the next two or three years is to take care of all the insanes in the Philippines the same thing with all the lepers. ⁵

PROTECT PUBLIC FROM STOCK EXCHANGE SPECULATORS

During the past few months we have been witnessing wildcat speculation in securities in this country. A serious problem pregnant with mischievous possibilities has suddenly been thrust upon us, which we have to meet immediately. Every day corporations and associations of various forms are being organized for the avowed purpose of exploring and developing our mineral resources, and they have literally flooded the country with securities of doubtful value.

* * *

A securities and exchange commission is being established which will enforce the law and regulations for the protection of the public... It is the duty of the government to interfere whenever some people make repeated attempts to obtain something for nothing, usually at the expense of another; and that no man should be permitted to enrich himself by an unearned increment, which is justified neither as legitimate interest or reasonable profit on capital nor as a just reward for labor. ⁶

FIRST DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME ESTABLISHED BY QUEZON

"Pursuant to the authority vested in me by Commonwealth Act No. 91, and in

4/ Quezon statement in Washington, D.C., May 4, 1935. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1155.

5/ Press conference at Malacañan, July 10, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

6/ Message to the First National Assembly on more effective government regulation of securities, September 30, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVEF, pp. 283-284.

order that employees and laborers may be afforded sunlight for recreation purposes and, likewise, to effect savings in the use of light both to the government and to the general public, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, hereby proclaim daylight saving time for the Philippines between November 1st, 1936, and January 31st, 1937, and order that at 12:00 o'clock midnight on October 31st, 1936, the standard time of the Philippines fixed in the aforesaid Act shall be advanced one hour, and at 12:00 o'clock midnight on January 31st, 1937, the time so fixed, as above stated, shall be retarded one hour so as to return to standard time.

"Employers and the public in general are hereby enjoined to give effect to the purpose and intent of this Proclamation and of Act No. 91. For purposes of astronomy and meteorology, however, the mean astronomical time at 120 degrees East longitude, Greenwich Meridian, may be used as heretofore." ⁷

READING GOOD BOOKS STRESSED FOR ENLIGHTENMENT

"Whereas, the reading of good books or the printed page is one of the most effective methods of bringing enlightenment within the reach of the largest possible number of people, and of promoting the cause of popular culture with its tremendous social benefits; and

"Whereas, it is desirable that the task of arousing a widespread interest in the reading of good books be recognized as a highly patriotic duty as well as a privilege;

"Now, therefore, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, do hereby designate the period from November 24th to 30th of each year beginning from 1937 as National Book Week." ⁸

BOOK READING ENCOURAGED FOR SOCIAL ADVANCEMENT

The formation of the habit of reading and the encouragement of the reading of genuinely good books, two things which are essentially the duty of the librarian and the library to promote and the accomplishment of which will bring enlightenment to the masses, will go a long way towards the realization of my own policy of extending the fullest measure of social justice to the people. Reading good books is likewise a tremendous factor for social advancement and popular culture. ⁹

PRESIDENT ISSUES PROCLAMATION REVOKING DAYLIGHT SAVING TIME

"By virtue of the powers conferred upon me by law, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, hereby revoke Proclamation No. 104, dated October 30, 1936, establishing the daylight saving time for the Philippines, and direct that

7/ Proclamation No. 104, "Establishing the Daylight Saving Time for the Philippines," October 30, 1936. *Ibid.*, p. 588.

8/ Proclamation No. 109, "Designating the Period from November 24 to 30 of Each Year as National Book Week," November 19, 1936. *Ibid.*, p. 593.

9/ Radio message at the closing of the Librarians' Convention in Manila, November 29, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

at 12:00 o'clock midnight today, January 15, 1937, the standard time fixed in the said Proclamation shall be retarded one hour so as to return to the normal standard time. ¹⁰

QUEZON SPEAKS OF "LURE OF FRIENDSHIP" BEFORE HOLLYWOOD STARS

Really, Mr. Toastmaster, I prefer this informal luncheon, where I am surrounded by the stars of moviedom, to a big banquet, with all the big 'shots' of California, as you wanted to make it. I come from a poor family and I like modesty and, really, the lure of power or of fame is nothing compared to the lure of friendship, and that friendship I know I have among you here today. ¹¹

"JUETENG" IS NOT GAMBLING BUT ORGANIZED FRAUD AGAINST POOR

Gambling is doubtless one of the weaknesses of human nature that should be dealt with by the government with sound discretion; but "jueteng" is not gambling. It is merely an organized fraud of such shocking proportion that it has become the greatest scandal in our community life. The worst victims of this criminal racketeering business are the poor. Its existence is of common knowledge, but it has been impossible/^{to} eradicate it because the penalty is either a small fine or a few days' imprisonment. ¹²

NEW VARIATIONS OF PHILOSOPHY THAT "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL"

The irresistible forces of human progress have brought upon us a new philosophy in the science of government, new concepts in the relations of man in the existing economic order in all its varied aspects, of that basic principle profounded in the philosophy of law that all men are created equal. ¹³

PHILIPPINE AVIATION RECORD: NO FATALITY IN ONE YEAR

It is gratifying to note that there has never been any fatality or serious injury to passengers during the past year - a record which compares favorably to, if not better than, that of civilian flying in any other country.

The Bureau of Aeronautics is continually constructing and improving landing fields, and establishing radio and weather stations, making available instantaneous weather reports for airmen and airline companies. ¹⁴

LAGUNA MUST GET RID OF "JUETENG", WARNS QUEZON

I am not interested in any candidate for provincial or municipal office in

^{10/} Proclamation No. 126, January 15, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part II, JBVEFF, p. 768.

^{11/} Extemporaneous speech on the achievement of men, at Hollywood, California, February 15, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVEFF, p. 44.

^{12/} Message to the First National Assembly recommending a heavy penalty for jueteng, September 3, 1937. Ibid., p. 200.

^{13/} Speech on the principles of law and justice, at the University of Sto. Tomas, October 2, 1937. Ibid., p. 141.

^{14/} Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

Laguna any more than I am in any other province. My interest in Laguna is that the provincial and municipal authorities who may be elected rescue the good name of the province from the reputation of being the den of 'jueteng'. ¹⁵

MLQ TOUCHED BY PEOPLE'S SUFFERINGS CAUSED BY WORLD CONFLICT

The unfortunate conflict wherein millions of people are now engaged in this part of the globe cannot but arouse our deep sympathy for the sufferings that such conflict brings in its wake.

It is, of course, not for me to pass judgment on the issues involved, but I trust it is not out of place for me to express the hope shared by the people of my country that this conflict may soon end, and that, when it does end, peace and mutual understanding will be permanently established among the nations of the Far East. ¹⁶

NO PANACEA TO SOLVE COMPLEX HUMAN PROBLEMS IMMEDIATELY

That there is a need of improving the living conditions of the workingman in the Philippines, be he an industrial or a farm laborer, goes without saying; that downright injustices and abuses are being committed against the wage earner and the peasant, is also an undeniable fact, and that the efforts of my government are primarily directed to the amelioration of the living conditions of the masses and the correction of these injustices and abuses, every fair-minded man should be able to recognize at this time. But as I have repeatedly stated in every opportune occasion, it is impossible to accomplish these objectives in a short period of time, nor is it possible for any government to find a panacea that will satisfactorily bring about the results that I intend to accomplish which will cure all these evils thoroughly and immediately. We are facing a situation which is the result of traditional practices, dealing with the natural selfishness of human nature, the lack of habits of continued and persistent work on the part of the workers, and the backwardness of some of our methods in agriculture. This is, therefore, a very complex problem which, even with the cooperation of all the component elements of our system and an intelligent direction on the part of the government, can only find full fruition after the ordinary human process of trials and errors. ¹⁷

TRUE MEASURE OF MONEY IS IN THINGS IT CAN BUY FOR MAN

Money has no intrinsic value... The benefit of money lies in the things

- 15/ Press statement on his non-participation in the local elections of Laguna, November 19, 1937. Quezon Messages. Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 347.
- 16/ Press statement on the alleged negotiations with the Japanese government for the neutralization of the Philippines, July 19, 1938. Quezon Messages. Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 677.
- 17/ Speech on the policy of the government regarding industrial and agrarian conflicts in Central Luzon, March 7, 1939. QP, 147/42, TNL.

it can buy; therefore if we are to discuss wages, we must base them on what we can buy with the amount that we shall earn... Money is not truly the measure of the needs of man, but the measure of what money can buy and of what man will need in his lifetime. ¹⁸

PHILIPPINES FEELS ADVERSE EFFECTS OF EUROPEAN WAR

You are convened at a time when many countries of the world are in the throes of war. The agonies which the nations involved in the conflict are suffering cannot but touch our hearts. We sympathize with their sad fate and we pray to God that the tragic ordeal may soon come to an end. No nation, however far removed from the struggle, can escape its disturbing effects. Even we are experiencing the inevitable consequences of this war in terms of reduced trade with the warring nations and their neighbors, increased transportation and insurance rates, depressed prices for export commodities, and many intangible effects which result from a stoppage or a drastic limitation of world trade. Withal, we are fortunate that we are at peace and that it is the policy of the United States to stay out of the war. With that policy we are in full accord. ¹⁹

QUEZON URGES IMMEDIATE STEPS TO CUSHION OFF WAR EFFECTS

We are living in a fast-moving world. Time honored institutions are being challenged and discarded. New social systems and methods are being devised and established. The old order is changing so rapidly that we are now facing a crisis in human affairs. The situation calls not only for serious reflection but also for determined action.

While we have all along realized that an independent Philippines would be confronted with grave and perplexing problems affecting both our internal affairs and our relations with the outside world, nobody ever thought, as it was indeed beyond the human mind to foresee, that at the most critical period of our task of nation-building we should be faced with such a world situation as that which confronts us today. We are really fortunate that we have so far been spared the grim horrors of actual warfare. I sincerely believe that our country will not be involved in the war. But this does not mean that we are absolutely safe and secure. Already, we are suffering from the effects of the present armed conflict, and I fear that if this should continue much longer our people will, in many respects, experience the same hardships and privations that the non-combatant populations of the warring nations and their neighbors are now experiencing, unless we immediately take the necessary steps to avoid, or at least minimize, the threatening evils. ²⁰

^{18/} Speech upon induction of Hon. Jose Avelino as Secretary of Labor, at Malacanang, May 1, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 111.

^{19/} Message to the Second National Assembly, January 22, 1940. QP, MR#43, TNL.

^{20/} Speech before the National Assembly, July 15, 1940. QP, MR#44, TNL.

BILIBID AS A SELF-SUPPORTING PENAL INSTITUTION

The recent survey of the conditions in the Bilibid Prison shows that with the efficient executive supervision being exercised therein, the prison is now in first-class condition as to efficiency, cleanliness, and sanitary conditions. However, it is very evident that there are more than twice as many prisoners being housed in the present buildings as there should be, and this is detrimental to the health of these unfortunate people. The various industrial and farming activities carried on by the prisoners within the Bilibid Prison and also in the colonies show that a careful management of the manpower in this dependency of the government can be profitably utilized to make it practically self-supporting, if not a profit-making enterprise.

During the past ten years, from 1924, to 1933, there was spent for food products which could be easily raised and obtained through prison labor, the enormous sum of ₱1,653,628.47, or an average of ₱165,382.85 per year. This expense could be done away with, or at least greatly minimized, by the establishment of an Insular Prison outside the City of Manila where prison labor may be used, not only to the advantage of the government, but for the regeneration of the prisoners themselves, to produce these food products. ²¹

77. N A T I O N B U I L D I N G

GOVERNMENT CAN'T DO NATION-BUILDING SINGLE-HANDEDLY

The government alone is powerless to give prosperity to the people. All it can ordina^{rily} do is to give the citizens an opportunity to utilize to the fullest extent their individual power of work in order to obtain the largest sum of benefit. In the last instance any progress we may make at any time must come from the people themselves. ¹

UNITY OF PURPOSE TO REALIZE NATION'S STRENGTH

It is this full comprehension of my responsibility as leader of the entire country which moves me to seek unity of purpose so that we may all see clearly the pathways to the nation's material and spiritual strength. ²

WITHOUT PEACE AND ORDER NATIONAL PROGRESS IS IMPOSSIBLE

There can be no progress except under the auspices of peace. Without peace and public order it will be impossible to promote education, improve the condition of the masses, protect the poor and ignorant against exploitation, and otherwise

21/ Explanatory note to Bill No. 184 introduced by the Committee on Judiciary, First National Assembly (Undated). Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 106.

1/ Address at a public banquet held in Quezon's honor at the Hotel de Franco, Sta. Cruz, September 28, 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 426.

2/ Message to the people, 1934, n.d.m. QP, MR#36, TNL.

insure the enjoyment of life, liberty, and property. ³

NLQ ASSURES DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY TO PROMOTE NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT

Unless a citizen can feel reasonably secure from depredation, there can be no domestic tranquility, no prosperity, and no cultural development. Fear, exploitation, paralysis, and disintegration can be the only result. ⁴

PATERNALISM WEAKENS NATIONAL CHARACTER, SPIRIT OF SELF-RELIANCE

We felt that continuation of paternalism, no matter how well intentioned, would tend to weaken our national character, destroy our self-reliance, and beguile us toward racial and national decadence. ⁵

CAREFUL STUDY TO INSURE ECONOMIC SECURITY OF MASSES

We deem it necessary that a careful study be made of the social conditions in the whole country, in order that a plan may be formulated looking toward the economic security and the welfare of the masses. ⁶

FILIPINOS WILL FIGHT TO PRESERVE GAINS IN MATERIAL LIFE

It is an inborn sense in individuals as well as in nations to seek and fight for their liberty and independence mainly in order to improve their material condition, which is essential to their happiness. Our people have fought heroically and consistently during the last forty years for our liberty, well-being, and happiness. These blessings we now enjoy in a good measure and I am sure that our people will defend with all their might and ingenuity what they have so far accomplished and will not consent to recede and go back to their former status of a century ago when wealth and prerogatives of civilization and culture were the exclusive privilege of a few and the great mass of the population practically lived in serfdom, being, to all intent and purposes, slaves of the few privileged ones. ⁷

PEACE BASED ON PEOPLE'S CONTENTMENT, NOT MERELY AT GUNPOINT

Progress is impossible to attain without peace. No country can grow rich without peace. Peace is the basis of every good thing in life, and peace, in order to be permanent and enduring must be, and should be, based not only on bayonets but also on the contentment of the people. ⁸

3/ Inaugural address, November 15, 1935, Legislative Building, Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 14.

4/ Address on national defense at the University of the Philippines, February 12, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 34.

5/ Speech at the commencement exercises of the Reserve Officers' Service School, Baguio, September 18, 1936. Ibid., pp. 130-131.

6/ Speech on the coalition platform of the Nacionalista Party, 1937, n.d.m. QP, MR/40, TNL.

7/ Untitled speech, 1938, n.d.m. QP, MR/41, TNL.

8/ Speech in Cebu City, June 14, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 113.

QUEZON BEWAILS IDLE, LAZY FILIPINO MIDDLE CLASS

There are only two kinds of people in our country, the rich and the poor. In our country those belonging to the middle class do not work. For this reason, the Philippines will never be able to overcome the present economic difficulty unless they work in real earnest. ⁹

MLQ TELLS PEOPLE TO WORK INSTEAD OF WASTING TIME ON FIESTAS

If a planter with a thousand coconut trees works his own grove, he will make bigger profits from his copra sales. That is the first secret of making a living; the more work we do the greater our profit. It is imperative, of course, that we work.

If our land is small it is needless to hire laborers because we can do it ourselves; if our land is big, however, then it is the time to call in hired help. We should strive to work, we should forget foolish pleasures, and stop wasting time in town fiestas. ¹⁰

WE MUST STOP WASTEFUL SPENDING OR ELSE WE GO BACK TO BONDAGE

We should think seriously about our future economy when our free trade relations with the United States are terminated. Prayers won't help us because God is always busy in heaven. We are the ones who ought to help ourselves. The government cannot give us anything because the money of the government comes from us.

Whatever the government plans are, it is best that we first do things for ourselves by stopping our habit of wasteful spending. If we don't do that, back to bondage we shall go even if we attain independence. ¹¹

JAPANESE LOVE TO WORK: FILIPINOS MUST ACQUIRE WORK HABIT

The might or strength of Japan does not come from her armies but from her national industries. I was in Japan when a flood and an earthquake occurred - calamities which, had they happened here, would have made Filipinos believe that the end of the world had come. But the Japanese went on with their daily task, they did not stop working.

There lies the strength of Japan. They love work - a virtue which we must acquire if we Filipinos want to preserve and improve our national economy. Let us place our hopes in our bone and brawn, in our individual industriousness. Later we can pray for help from God and the government. ¹²

QUEZON CALLS FOR SPEEDY DEVELOPMENT OF OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES

Our natural resources which are not hidden from our eyes, such as our forest

9/ Speech in Cagayan, Oriental Misamis, August 26, 1938. Ibid., pp. 180-181.

10/ Speech at the Tayabas provincial capitol, Lucena, Tayabas, September 20, 1938. Ibid., p. 214.

11/ Ibid., p. 215.

12/ Ibid.

NATION'S DEFENSE IS RESPONSIBILITY OF EVERY CITIZEN

Every citizen is obligated to the nation's defense. All the individual and national resources may be used by the state in the interest of self-preservation. No man has the inalienable right to enjoy the privilege and opportunities conferred upon him by free institutions unless he simultaneously acknowledges his duty to defend with his life and with his property the government through which he acquires these opportunities and these privileges. To deny this individual responsibility is to reject the whole theory of democratic government. ⁶

NATION READY TO DEFEND SELF COMMANDS WORLD'S RESPECT

A nation of trained men ready to defend their country has the lasting respect of itself and of the world. A nation of helpless citizens can expect nothing but slavery at home, and contempt abroad. ⁷

DEFENSE PROGRAM WILL MAKE CONQUEST TOO RISKY, COSTLY

Our program of national defense must serve notice to the world that the citizens of these Islands are not to be subjugated; that conquest of this nation cannot be accomplished short of its utter destruction, and that destruction would involve such staggering cost to an aggressor, both in blood and in gold, that even the boldest and the strongest will unerringly mark the folly of such an undertaking.

QUEZON ENUMERATES ELEMENTS OF MODERN ARMY

A modern army is a complex organism, and its defensive power is not measured solely by the number of its soldiers, Suitable armament, proper organization, professional technique and skill, applicable tactical doctrine and, above all, trained leadership are the very soul of an army's combat efficiency. ⁹

TRAINED OFFICERS CORPS SPELLS DIFFERENCE BETWEEN DEFEAT AND VICTORY

Competent officers in adequate number, wholly devoted to the service of their country, constitute the most vitally essential element in modern warfare, and the only one that under no circumstances can be improvised.

An efficient and sufficient corps of officers means the difference between victory and defeat. The production and maintenance of an officer corps of the highest efficiency and morale is a problem upon the satisfactory solution of which depends the success of our whole effort toward providing for the common security. ¹⁰

6/ Ibid., pp. 21-22.

7/ Ibid., pp. 22-23.

8/ Ibid., p. 23.

9/ Ibid., p. 25.

10/ Press statement on the administration of the Philippine Army Officer Corps, January 11, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 411.

RULE OF RIGHT DEPENDS ON EXISTENCE OF MIGHT

I am well aware that many individuals, and even organized groups, oppose every type of preparation for the eventuality of war... Yet even the most sincere idealist should not be unmindful of the realities of life. All of us agree that might does not make right, yet none of us can fail to realize that the rule of right depends upon the existence of might. ¹¹

SELF-PRESERVATION FIRST LAW OF LIFE - FOR MEN AND NATIONS ALIKE

Self-preservation is the first law of life. Nations, like individuals, will, in the face of threatened extinction, resort to any device and employ any measure, no matter how desperate, in order to preserve their existence. So axiomatic is this statement that from this standpoint a nation may be defined as a political group motivated by a common determination to subordinate all considerations of individual welfare to the preservation of group integrity. This determination is the principal underlying influence, and without it no nation can long endure. ¹²

MALE TEACHERS TO BE TRAINED FOR PMT COURSE IN SCHOOLS

Under the provisions of Article VII, Title III, of the National Defense Act, preparatory military training will be given in all public and private schools.

The chief of staff of the Philippine Army has prepared a course of instruction for male teachers which will be given between April 13 and May 9, 1936, inclusive, at the provincial capital of each province. You will, therefore, cause the Director of Education and the Commissioner of Private Schools to send two male teachers from each elementary and high school or vocational school to the training center for teachers not later than noon of April the 13th next. ¹³

NATIONAL DEFENSE IS DUTY OF EVERY SELF-RESPECTING FILIPINO

Admitting that the Philippines cannot protect herself with all our defense program and that sooner or later our country is destined to fall into the hands of a first-class military power, even then I would go ahead and spend the money and time and energy we are now spending to give our youth military training.

We fought Spain and we fought America for our national freedom. We lost to America, but we won her respect and admiration; we established in deeds writ in blood our right to independence.

We are preparing ourselves against no one country in particular and against each and every country in general. That is our duty more than it is our right. That

11/ Address on National Defense at the University of the Philippines, February 12, 1936. Ibid., p. 33.

12/ Ibid., pp. 32-33.

13/ Letter to the Secretary of Public Instruction on preparatory military training in all public and private schools, February 19, 1936. Ibid., p. 432.

is the duty of every self-respecting and freedom-loving people. ¹⁴

WAR IS EXPENSIVE, FOOLISH, TRAGIC, UNJUST, SAYS QUEZON

War is expensive; it has reduced many nations to beggary. It is foolish; there is always a better way to settle any difficulty, provided that both sides are willing to substitute reason for hatred, prejudice and greed. It is tragic; invariably it creates suffering, privation and heart-break. Worst of all, it is unjust; the decision of the sword does not necessarily accord with the dictates of conscience and of right. ¹⁵

ARMY OFFICERS LIABILITY TO STRONG NATIONAL DEFENSE

Without personal integrity an army officer will not be trusted either by his men or by his government; without intelligence and a sense of justice there will be nothing but dissatisfaction among his followers; without courage he will earn only their contempt; and without the spark of leadership he will never succeed in welding his men into a dynamic unit that will follow him through the maelstrom of modern battle. ¹⁶

MODERN WARFARE PROBABLY MOST DIFFICULT BRANCH OF SCIENCE

Modern warfare is a combination of art and science. Of all the arts and sciences, it is one of the most comprehensive and embracing, and is probably the most difficult to master. ¹⁷

NATIONAL DEFENSE IS A CONSTITUTIONAL MANDATE

The problem of national defense has been given paramount consideration by the administration, not only because of the constitutional mandate that the defense of the State is the prime duty of the government but also, because we are fully aware that the future safety of our beloved country depends upon an early and technical planning of our defense mechanism. ¹⁸

COUNTRY'S DEFENSE IS FIRST, MOST IMPORTANT DUTY OF ALL CITIZENS

The first and most important duty of our government, and of every one of its citizens, is the defense of the State against foreign aggression, internal rebellion, or domestic lawlessness. That is clearly stated in the declaration of principles, article 11, section 2, of our Constitution. That is a principle which every Filipino today, with very few and dishonorable exceptions, has well

^{14/} Press statement on national defense plan, 1936, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

^{15/} Speech at the commencement exercises of the Reserve Officers' Service School, Baguio, September 18, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 131.

^{16/} Ibid., pp. 133-134.

^{17/} Ibid., QP, MR#38, TNL.

^{18/} Speech on the first anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

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ingrained in his mind and in his heart, and in none more than in you, ROTC units, as evidence by the fact that you are receiving with enthusiasm your military training in preparation for the performance of your duty to defend your country if and when the necessity shall arise. ¹⁹

WE WILL USE OUR ARMED FORCES ONLY IN SELF-DEFENSE - QUEZON

We are peace loving. Our Constitution is the first modern constitution which condemns war as an instrument of national policy and adopts the generally accepted principles of international law as a part of the fundamental law of the land. We have no desire, therefore, now or ever in the future, to use the armed forces of our country for purposes of aggression, but only in defense of the national territory and for the maintenance of peace and order within our borders. ²⁰

CITIZEN ARMY TRAINED IN ARTS OF PEACE AND WAR

It is not a regular military force of tremendous size that we are building. It is a citizen army - an army that in time of peace will be devoted exclusively to the arts of peace and agriculture, to industry and trade, to arts and sciences, to every activity that makes for progress, for harmony and goodwill, for human advancement and well-being. ²¹

READY TO KILL OR DIE IN DEFENSE OF HOME AND COUNTRY

If again we are ever to fight for our homes and our families and our beloved fatherland, we must fight not only with the willingness to die, but also the ability to kill. ²²

FREE, SELF-RESPECTING NATION MUST BE ABLE TO DEFEND ITSELF

A nation that yearns for freedom and independence shall first of all win the respect of the world. A nation that is not in a position to defend itself does not deserve and has not the respect of the world.

And if we want to win the respect of the world we should give, as we are giving now, each and every able-bodied male citizen of this country capable of bearing arms the necessary training to defend the integrity of our territory. ²³

ONE CAN'T TRIFLE WITH PEOPLE TRAINED IN USE OF GUN

One can ride roughshod over an inert people not trained in the use of arms -

^{19/} Address before ROTC units, University of the Philippines, January 18, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 13.

^{20/} Ibid., p. 14.

^{21/} Ibid., p. 16.

^{22/} Ibid., p. 24.

^{23/} Speech before the members of the Cabinet, the National Assembly, Provincial governors, and treasurers at Malacañan, January 20, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

but not over a people in which each citizen is trained in the use of a gun. 24

MILITARY TRAINING MAKES BETTER AND DISCIPLINED CITIZENS

Military training makes the man who receives that training a better citizen in time of peace. He learns discipline. He learns to recognize constituted authority. He learns to consider duty above personal convenience. 25

NATIONAL DEFENSE RELIES ON HIGH QUALITY CITIZEN ARMY

We are organizing a citizen army in the Philippines. We are defending upon them for the defense of this country from foreign aggression and for the task of quelling internal disturbances. We are depending for these things upon our citizen army, and it is necessary that the regular force, which is training the citizen army, be constituted by men of the highest integrity and the greatest sense of responsibility. In other words, they must be the first law-abiding citizens of the land. 26

QUEZON DEFENDS PMA FROM SLUR BY "DAILY BULLETIN"

The Philippine Military Academy in Baguio is one of the brightest features of the Philippine Army. In university circles it probably has no superior in the Philippines or in the Far East. Its discipline is excellent and it is fulfilling its great mission in a most admirable manner. There is no apparent warrant for the sensational attack that has been made against it, and I unhesitatingly stamp as uninvestigated and unsubstantiated the story written by a reporter of the Manila Daily Bulletin. 27

PRIORITY OF NATIONAL DEFENSE, BUT POOR, OPPRESSED, MAY THINK OTHERWISE

The first act of the Commonwealth government was to prepare for our national defense. Our national defense is not based upon the size of a big army that we are not in a position to establish, but upon the people. That is why we are training everybody in military implements so that we may be prepared to defend our country any time in case an aggressor nation tries to subjugate us. The Filipino people must be prepared now to defend themselves. The time has come when everybody must mutually cooperate so that right and justice may be accorded to everybody, and especially the poor their rights, otherwise, they may use the guns to kill us instead of our enemies. 28

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- 24/ Speech on social justice and national defense at a banquet for national officials Malacanan, January 20, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 32.
 - 25/ Speech at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York, February 20, 1937. Ibid., p. 50. Also in QP, MR#39, TNL.
 - 26/ Speech at a press conference, November 3, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.
 - 27/ Press statement on conditions in the Philippine Military Academy, November 17, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 346.
 - 28/ Speech on the second anniversary of the Commonwealth, November 15, 1937. Ibid., p. 177.

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SUCCESS OF NATIONAL DEFENSE DEPENDS ON UNIFICATION OF ALL EFFORTS

If eternal vigilance is the price of freedom, let us then be ceaselessly vigilant. Our defensive system requires no unusual sacrifice by any individual, but its success depends primarily and almost exclusively upon a unification of the efforts of all toward this common and vital purpose... To this end let us see to it that every law we pass and every military measure we adopt shall reflect an unselfish and national purpose, that it shall impose injustice on none, and that it shall promote the security and defend the peace, the possessions and the liberty of all. ²⁹

QUEZON PROCLAIMS MAY 4-13 AS NATIONAL DEFENSE WEEK

I designate the period from May 4 to 13 as National Defense Week, and call upon all citizens of the Philippines to devote themselves with special zeal and effort toward the success of this training and development and progress of our national defense forces.

In the furtherance of this purpose all appropriate officials of the government are directed to familiarize themselves immediately with every circumstance and condition affecting the designated persons in their respective areas, and to render every proper assistance both to the individual and to the military authorities in assuring a complete and prompt concentration of the units concerned.

It is of special importance that officers and soldiers called upon to perform this public service be assured of protection against unnecessary or useless sacrifice. ³⁰

ESTABLISHMENT OF ROTC REQUISITE TO COLLEGE RECOGNITION

I do hereby proclaim and ordain that all colleges and universities and similar institutions of learning having a total enrollment of one hundred students or more, upon proper receipt of notification from the Chief of Staff, Philippine Army, shall include a course of military instruction, commonly known as ROTC course, as a compulsory portion of their respective curricula, for all physically fit male citizens of undergraduate status, and shall faithfully conduct the course in accordance with the policies and regulations approved by the President of the Philippines. ³¹

WE CAN'T RELY ON OTHER PEOPLE TO DEFEND OURSELVES - QUEZON

We Filipinos will soon have independence. We cannot rely upon anyone

- 29/ Message to the Second National Assembly, January 24, 1939. Quezon Messages. Vol. 5, Part I, JBVTF, p. 249.
- 30/ Proclamation No. 389, "Designating the period from May 4, to May 13, inclusive as National Defense Week", March 13, 1939. Ibid., p. 543.
- 31/ Executive Order No. 207, "Requiring the Establishment of ROTC Units in all Colleges and Universities as a Requisite to Recognition by the Government," June 15, 1939. Ibid., p. 973.

to defend our lives and all that is ours except upon ourselves alone. It is incumbent upon every Filipino, therefore, to be prepared to defend his country in the interest of his race, even if it meant his death. That very feeling for the defense of our country should be inherent in all citizens who love their motherland. And for the poor to defend his country, it is necessary that he enjoy economic amelioration which is the true reward for or result of his labor and sacrifice. It is also necessary that he understand and feel that he is being aided by the government in the protection of his rights and prerogatives; that his country is giving him happiness, and that he does not exist as a mere slave. ³²

PRESIDENT ORGANIZES ONE BIG DEPARTMENT OF NATIONAL DEFENSE

I do hereby order the organization of the Department of National Defense, which shall be charged with the duty of supervising the national defense program of the country, and shall have executive supervision over the Philippine Army, the Bureau of Aeronautics, the Bureau of Coast and Geodetic Survey, the Philippine Nautical School, and over the establishment and operation of all radio stations [receiving, transmitting or broadcasting] other than those maintained by the Bureau of Post. ³³

MILITARY TRAINING GOOD FOR WAR OR PEACE - QUEZON

Military training, which you are receiving, is given to you in order that you may be prepared to take your place in the Philippine Army as officers, if and when the day comes when the Filipinos will have to defend their country from foreign invasion. We are doing this because it is our duty. The first duty of every government and the first right as well, is to defend itself. So upon the establishment of the government of the Commonwealth, and in accordance with the mandate of our Constitution, the first act that the National Assembly passed was that act authorizing the organization of the national defense of the Islands. But while we are preparing you to be officers of the Philippine Army - of the Citizen Army of the Philippines - in case of need, we hope that you will never be called upon to perform that duty, and that our country will be spared the horrors of war. However, your time spent in preparing yourselves to be officers of the Philippine Army, your time spent in receiving military instruction and training, is not lost even if you do not have to fight, for there are certain virtues which are developed in a man through military training and which are of great value to that man in the pursuit of whatever career he may choose to follow. Discipline, for instance, is as valuable to a soldier as it is to a civilian - national discipline and individual discipline. Discipline means not only the virtue of obeying the order of a

^{32/} Speech in Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, July 16, 1939. Ibid., p. 153.

^{33/} Executive Order No. 230, "Organizing the Department of National Defense", October 31, 1939. Ibid., pp. 1009-1010.

constituted authority, but also the virtue of obeying the orders of one's own mind.

79. NATIONAL DISCIPLINE

TO BE A WORTHY FILIPINO: DUTIES FIRST BEFORE RIGHTS

I want every Filipino to know that he can only call himself a worthy citizen of a worthy country if he learns his duties before he demands his rights. ¹

WE NEED NATIONAL DISCIPLINE, SPIRIT OF SELF-SACRIFICE

Discipline, national discipline, that word that seems to hurt the ears of some people, that is what we want in the Philippine Islands - national discipline, the spirit of sacrifice of every citizen in the interest of all. ²

MLQ EMPHASIZES NATIONAL DISCIPLINE AND SELF-RESTRAINT

For the present, my advice to the people of the Philippines would be to have faith in themselves and in their future; to leave nothing undone for the preparation of their country for the responsibilities of independent nationhood; to seek the goodwill and friendship of all the nations of the world, and to win and respect their confidence through the exercise of national discipline and self-control; and above all, by establishing a government that will do justice not only to nationals but to foreigners as well. ³

MILITARY TRAINING PROMOTES NATIONAL DISCIPLINE, PATRIOTISM

Our preparation for national defense is not due to our fear that any nation has untoward designs against our independence and territorial integrity, but rather due to the fact that, in any event, it is the primary function of every government to insure its own protection, and that universal military training is wholesome to the youth of the land, for it stimulates national discipline and patriotism amongst the trainees. ⁴

FILIPINO WEAKNESSES SUBJECTED TO SEVEREST SCRUTINY

We, the Filipinos of today, are soft, easy-going. Our tendency is towards parasitism. We are uninclined to sustain strenuous effort. We lack earnestness. Face-saving is the dominant note in the confused symphony of our existence. Our sense of righteousness is often dulled by the desire of personal gain. Our norm

¹/ Speech before ROTC units at the Ateneo auditorium, November 14, 1939. QP, MR#43, TNL.

¹/ Speech at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, February 20, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

²/ Speech before the Foreign Policy Association, Hotel Astor, New York City, April 3, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 82. Also in QP, MR#40, TNL.

³/ Christmas message to the Filipino people, December 24, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

⁴/ Press statement on the alleged negotiation with the Japanese government for the neutralization of the Philippines, July 19, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 675.

of conduct is generally prompted by expediency rather than by principle. We show a failing in that superb courage which impels action because it is right even at the cost of self-sacrifice. Our greatest fear is not to do wrong, but that of being caught doing wrong. We are frivolous in our view of life. ⁵

QUEZON POINTS BAD EFFECT OF "BAHALA NA" ATTITUDE

What will happen to a person who is bent on lavishly spending money when he does not have much money to squander? It is a fact that, ordinarily, most of us are able to live by means of debts alone. We often say, "Let things take care of themselves," (bahala na). Our living condition will never prosper if we do not learn how to save. ⁶

NO MAN IS EVER A MAN WITHOUT SELF-DISCIPLINE - QUEZON

Discipline is one of the most essential things in life, and in the army you learn discipline. No man is ever a man until he has learned to discipline himself. A man can only show his superiority by showing that he can conquer himself and command himself. That is what discipline means. So if you learn nothing but discipline in the training camp you will turn out to be a better man. ⁷

ORGANIZED SOCIETY PREMISED ON SELF-RESTRAINT

Organized society is predicated on the willingness of men to limit their freedom of action in the interest of the well-being of the entire community in which they live. There is no liberty without social restraint. It is only through necessary restraints upon individual liberty and the cultivation of self-restraint to prevent abuse of that liberty that democratic governments can offer peace and security to the people who live under them. ⁸

80. NATIONAL ECONOMY

PHILIPPINE ECONOMIC MANHOOD AND POLITICAL EMANCIPATION

Let us aim to obtain our economic manhood within the time allowed us in our new Organic Act, for only in economic manhood may we fully enjoy the blessings of our political emancipation. ¹

QUEZON GIVES POINTERS ON HOW TO SECURE SOCIO-ECONOMIC EQUILIBRIUM

Protection to labor, especially to working women and minors, just regulation of the relations between labor and capital in industry and agriculture,

- 5/ Address before the faculties and student bodies of public and private schools, colleges and universities, August 19, 1938. QP, MR#41, TNL.
- 6/ Speech before the tenants of Cabanatuan, Nueva Ecija, April 30, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.
- 7/ Speech in Ilcilo, October 7, 1939. QP, MR#43, TNL.
- 8/ Speech before the U.P. Student Council, July 16, 1940. QP, MR#44, TNL.
- 1/ Opening address in the Senate, July 16, 1934. QP, MR#36, TNL.

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solicitous regard on the part of the government for the well-being of the masses are the means to bring about the needed economic and social equilibrium between the component elements of society. ²

FAITH IN GOVERNMENT'S ABILITY TO SECURE STABLE ECONOMIC STRUCTURE

Our objective is clear and definite. We want to build up a reasonably stable economic structure capable of serving the financial and other needs of the nation, supplying the masses of the people with the basic social requirements and the essentials in food, clothing, and shelter, and providing them with the opportunities to toil and earn a decent livelihood. With our abundant natural resources, I have faith that this can be accomplished, if business will give the government its confidence and the people their unswerving support. ³

ECONOMIC ACTIVITY WILL PROVIDE GREATEST GOOD TO PEOPLE

Economic activity must be developed primarily to serve the interest of the whole nation, and should be guided towards profitable, convenient, and stable channels where it can render the greatest good to the people at large. ⁴

PRESIDENT FAVORS ECONOMIC PLANNING TO SECURE PEOPLE'S WELL-BEING

I favor economic planning to the extent of providing the nation with the necessary leadership to balance and strengthen our economy, establish the proper relationship between our economic activities and our national needs, correlate productive energy with labor, capital and credit facilities, and direct the wise utilization of our natural resources - all with the view of securing the well-being of the people. ⁵

CHIEF EXECUTIVE ANNOUNCES POLICY OF PROGRESSIVE CONSERVATISM

Government administration is a practical question, and statesmanship consists in the wise application of sound doctrines, bearing in mind the actual conditions that have to be met in each case.

Even the most up-to-date progressive labor legislation, if not in keeping with prevailing conditions here, may easily upset our existing industries, prevent the establishment of new ones, and retard the advance of agriculture. I, therefore, advocates a policy of progressive conservatism based upon the recognition of the essential and fundamental rights of labor. ⁶

2/ Inaugural address at the Legislative building, November 15, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 15.

3/ Message to the First National Assembly on the creation of the National Economic Council, December 18, 1935. Ibid., p. 80.

4/ Ibid., p. 82.

5/ Ibid.

6/ Message to the First National Assembly on the country's condition and problems, June 16, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 163.

ECONOMIC PROTECTIONISM ANIMATED BY SOUND NATIONALISM

It is a natural trait among the people of all enlightened countries to love and to have a special regard for the things that they consider their own. Economic protectionism that is animated by a sane and sound spirit of nationalism is a universally accepted rule of national conduct. The observance of this spirit has been a potent factor in the development of many strong and progressive nations.

* * *

In order to give encouragement and stimulus to domestic industries, the people of this country should patronize Philippine products. ⁷

NATIONAL PRODUCE EXCHANGE DESIGNED TO ELIMINATE MIDDLEMAN

The establishment of a well-regulated and properly organized produce exchange would bring an improvement in the present system of marketing our staple agricultural products such as rice, sugar, hemp, copra, etc. It would enable producers to dispose of their products directly in the market without the necessity of passing through local middlemen, and at the same time obtain the necessary credit facilities to finance their crops in advance of actual harvesting and delivery. ⁸

POWER AND TASKS OF MANILA RAILROAD COMPANY EXPANDED

This measure is intended to amend the charter of the Manila Railroad Company of the Philippine Islands by giving it the power, aside from those already granted by its articles of incorporation, to construct, maintain, establish, and conduct in connection with the operation of its railroads, toll viaducts, bridges, and tunnels. This amendment will not only facilitate the proper distribution and circulation of passenger and freight traffic of the railroad, but also create an additional source of income for the company, and improve its financial situation. ⁹

ALL WE NEED IS TO KNOW HOW TO MAKE OUR RICH COUNTRY PRODUCE MORE

We must educate our boys and girls to be good farmers, good manufacturers, good producers. We have here a big and rich country. All that we need is to know how to make this country produce more. ¹⁰

STABLE NATIONAL ECONOMY THROUGH EFFORTS OF PEOPLE THEMSELVES

Our national economy can never gain stability and strength unless it is

- ^{7/} Proclamation No. 76, "Proclaiming the Week from August 17 to 23, of Each Year, as 'Made-in-the-Philippines Products Week'," August 12, 1936. *Ibid.*, p. 556.
- ^{8/} Message to the First National Assembly on the creation of the National Produce Exchange, October 27, 1936. *Ibid.*, p. 357.
- ^{9/} Message to the First National Assembly on the amendment to the charter of the Manila Railroad Company, October 24, 1936. *Ibid.*, p. 351.
- ^{10/} Speech in Tacloban, Leyte, June 10, 1938. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVTF, p. 79.

built permanently upon the brain and brawn, the work and wealth of our own people.¹¹

81. NATIONAL IDENTITY

FILIPINOS SHOULD BE ALLOWED TO DEVELOP OWN CULTURE, GOVERNMENT

The Filipinos are a people of Oriental habits and types of mind, raised in the tropics, and subject to their own conditions of life and industry. It seems to me that to expect them to emulate the United States in all particulars is a gross perversion of the teaching of human experience or of any sound political philosophy... I think that thoughtful students of race development must feel that it is far better that a nation should evolve its own type of culture and of government and should follow its own instincts in selecting a path toward the attainment of a higher civilization than that it should be made a slavish imitator of any other country or group of countries however elevated may be the civilization of the latter.¹

FILIPINOS MOST SUCCESSFUL IN INTELLECTUAL CROSS-BREEDING

The Filipinos are showing that they are capable of taking over and assimilating the beneficial ideas of western nations, adapting them to their own use, fitting them to the needs of their peculiar situation and drawing intellectual sustenance therefrom. This has been the history of successful civilizations everywhere. They have not advanced by a process of mental in-breeding, but by a process of crossing themselves intellectually with the best strains they could find the world over. It is not progress but just the reverse, if a nation be compelled to confine itself to imitation of another nation and if be debarred from selecting useful elements of civilization, education, social customs and government wherever it can find them throughout the world.²

FILIPINOS HAVE A NATIONAL SOUL, ASSERTS QUEZON

Q. - Have the diverse peoples of the Islands, with their varied dialects, a recognizable psychic homogeneity - a national soul?

A. - Indisputably. This national soul already has crystalized in striking national decisions^s - for independence, for joining America in World War I, against huge estates, and against applying United States coastwise shipping laws to the Philippines. Our people are politically keen and peculiarly democratic.

Q. - You say you are peculiarly democratic?

A. - We are so because we are unencumbered by monarchic or oligarchic traditions or institutional inheritance. We have nothing of that sort to

11/ Speech at the Philippine Chamber of Commerce, July 29, 1938. Ibid., pp. 121-122.

1/ Article, "Recent Progress in the Philippines," Journal of Race Development, January 1915. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 331.

2/ Ibid.

destroy. Our ground upon which to erect a pure republic is clear. ³

FILIPINOS WILL PROVE THEIR METTLE LIKE ALL FREE MEN - QUEZON

Filipinos have nationalistic emotions and aspirations. They are intelligent and proud and ambitious. Independence they know would mean equality of opportunity of Filipinos. Of a political or social caste depriving them of their liberties or otherwise wronging them they have no fear. Such reports they dismiss as contrary to their experience and knowledge. Have they not seen their humblest neighbors rise to positions of dignity and influence in the country? Do they not know that nearly all their leaders have been and are of the people?

Take myself, for example. Holding the premier elective position in the Philippines, I am a farmer's son, born poor and without influential friends, reared in one of the remotest villages in the Islands, compelled to climb over trackless mountains to come to college in Manila...

It will be mettle (that will count in a free Philippines - ABS), just as mettle in the United States and in every other country where men are free. ⁴

FOLK MUSIC PROOF OF EXISTENCE OF FILIPINO SOUL, NATION

No factor or agency is more effective for the portrayal of the soul of a people than music. The folk music, folk song^s, and folk dances witnessed tonight demonstrate more effectively and more convincingly than I can in my speech that there is a native soul striving to preserve itself in its beautiful, original typical self - a clear evidence that there is a Filipino nation. The existence of that soul and of that nation as depicted to you tonight by Filipino students will make you understand why we Filipinos desire independence. ⁵

SPAIN'S CONTRIBUTION TO FILIPINO NATIONAL IDENTITY

If Spain had done nothing in the Philippines but the wielding of scattered and separate elements into a consummate structure of our nationality, which has not only enabled us to assimilate another civilization such as brought to us by the United States but has also prevented the basic and distinctive elements of our personality from being carried away by strange currents, thus bringing us to the triumph of our aspiration to be an independent nation; I repeat that if this had been the only work of Spain in the Philippines, it would in itself be sufficient to raise in every Filipino heart a monument of undying gratitude to the memory of Spain. ⁶

3/ Exclusive interview with Edward Price Bell for the Chicago Daily News, 1925. In: The Philippine Republic, Washington, D.C., edited by Clyde H. Tavonner. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 769-770.

4/ Ibid., p. 770.

5/ Speech at the "Philippine Night" program by Filipino students of the University of Pennsylvania, 1928. The Philippine Republic, Vol. V, No. 2, March 15, 1928. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 805.

6/ Speech on Spain's contribution to Filipino culture and development, Tabacalera building, January 11, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 26-27. Also in QP, MR#36, TNL.

82. NATIONAL LANGUAGE

PHILIPPINES HAS STABLE GOVERNMENT DESPITE MANY DIALECTS

The possibility of establishing in the Philippines a stable government despite the existence of several dialects is not a matter of theory. The Filipino people have been governed by the Spaniards through the Spanish language for three hundred years, and they are today governed by the Americans through the English language. ¹

PRESIDENT LAUDS "HILIGAYNON" MAGAZINE EDITOR

Your magazine has a unique significance in that it is written in Hiligaynon, one of the most widely spoken dialects of the Philippines; and along with the dissemination of news, both local and foreign, your paper has contributed in a large measure to the development of this Visayan language group. ²

NATIONAL LANGUAGE STRENGTHENS FILIPINO SOLIDARITY

While the existence of one national language is not absolutely necessary for a people to have a strong national or racial consciousness, it is undeniably true that the community of language strengthens national solidarity. ³

NOT AGAINST ENGLISH, BUT CONSTITUTION MUST PREVAIL

While it is my hope and conviction that the English language will remain one of the most generally spoken languages in the Philippines even after independence, nevertheless, we cannot ignore the injunction of the Constitution that we take steps toward the formation of a national language based on one of the existing native languages. ⁴

NATIONAL LANGUAGE ONE OF STRONGEST TIES OF FILIPINO SOLIDARITY

It is needless to elucidate the proposition that a people constituting one nationality and one state should possess a language spoken and understood by all. It constitutes one of strongest ties that bind the people and foster the unity of national ideals, aspirations and sentiments. In the past, when the Philippines was under a foreign rule without assurance of soon becoming an independent nation, the very presence of that foreign rule was strong enough to weld our people together and to maintain our national solidarity. But since the inauguration of the Commonwealth, this unifying force has been weakening and will disappear altogether once we are independent. It is, therefore, advisable to strengthen the true ties of national solidarity, and in my opinion a common language based on one of the native

- 1/ Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1912. n.d.m. QP, MR#22, TNL.
- 2/ Message for the Hiligaynon magazine, August 13, 1935. QP, MR#38, TNL.
- 3/ Address at the opening of the National Assembly, June 16, 1936. QP, MR#36, TNL.
- 4/ Ibid., Quezon Messages. Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 179.

dialects and used by all our people is one of these bonds... I am, therefore, recommending the creation of an institute of national language which will study the Philippine dialects in general for the purpose of developing and adopting a common national language based on one of them. ⁵

ONE LANGUAGE TO PROMOTE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS, SOLIDARITY

The purpose of the Act creating the National Language Board is to find means whereby there may be created a native language for the Filipino people out of the different main native languages spoken in the Philippines.

Such a native language will not replace the teaching of English in the public schools, nor will (it) do away with the use of Spanish in the Philippines.

But the Filipinos' possession of one common language will doubtless serve to foster national consciousness and solidarity - a most important possession for any people. ⁶

FILIPINO SOUL CAN'T EXIST WITHOUT A NATIONAL LANGUAGE

I want neither Spanish nor English as the language of our government. The Philippines must have a language of her own, a language based on one of the vernacular tongues. (Applause.) I am speaking as President, as a Filipino, not as a Letran alumnus... Many of the difficulties or defects now existing here are due to the fact that we have not a common language of our own. The desire to imitate everything alien without knowing whether that which we are trying to imitate is good or bad, is due to an evil - to the lack of a real national soul. A national soul cannot exist where there is not a common language. We shall never have any genuine national pride until we have a language of our own. We shall always have that sign of inferiority. ⁷

WHEN QUEZON FELT BEING A STRANGER IN HIS OWN COUNTRY

I never realized how terrible the lack of a common national language is until I became President. I am President of the Philippines, I am the personal representatives of the Filipino nation, the Filipino people. But, when I travel through the provinces and talk to our people, I need an interpreter. Do you ever hear of anything more humiliating, more horrible than that? I am all right when I go to the Tagalog provinces because I can speak to the people there in Tagalog. But if I go to Ilocos Sur, I am already a stranger in our own country. I, the President of the Philippines! I, a stranger in our own country! How can I tell the people what I think and feel when in order to do so I need an interpreter who, in

5/ Message to the First National Assembly on the creation of an institute of national language, October 27, 1936. *Ibid.*, pp. 355-356.

6/ Press statement on the purpose of the creation of the National Language Board, January 13, 1937. *Ibid.*, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFT, p. 312.

7/ Address at the San Juan de Letran College, November 7, 1937. *Ibid.*, pp. 166-167.

the majority of cases, says what he wants to say and not what I have said? ⁸

QUEZON READY TO LEARN ILOCANO OR VISAYAN TO HAVE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

We must have a common national language. The difficulty is that the Ilocanos want Ilocano to be the national language; the Tagalogs, Tagalog; the Visayans, Visayan. And yet, those same Ilocanos who do not want Tagalog, accept English as the national language! Have you ever seen anything more inconceivable? A Filipino preferring a foreign language to a Philippine tongue? And at that only because Ilocano is not the tongue which has been made the national language!

I am a Tagalog. If the men familiar with the advantages of the several Philippine tongues were to tell me that the vernacular tongue that we must adopt is Mangyan, I would be for Mangyan rather than for any other tongue. Tagalog is the official language in my family. But I am ready to learn Ilocano, Visayan or any other vernacular tongue so long as we shall have a language that can be spoken by all. ⁹

NATIONAL THOUGHT TAKES ROOTS IN COMMON LANGUAGE - RIZAL

While the teaching of a foreign language may be imposed upon a people, it can never replace the native tongue as a medium of national expression among the common masses. This is because, as Rizal asserted, the national thought takes its roots in a common language which develops and grows with the progress of the nation. We may borrow for a time the language of other peoples, but we cannot truly possess a national language except through the adoption, development and use of one of our own. ¹⁰

NATIONAL LANGUAGE CAN WELD PHILIPPINES INTO ONE STRONG NATION

We must, as soon as possible, be able to deal with one another directly using the same language. We need its power more completely to weld us into one strong nation. It will give inspiration and warmth to our popular movements and will accord to our nationality a new meaning to which we have never learned to give full and adequate expression. As President of the Philippines, many times I have felt the humiliation of having to address the people through an interpreter in those provinces of the Islands where either Ilocano, Visayan, Pampango or Bicol is the language used. ¹¹

NATIONAL LANGUAGE: ONE OF RIZAL'S CHERISHED DREAMS

Today, with the adoption of Tagalog as the basis for the national language of the Philippines, we have accomplished one of the most cherished dreams of

8/ Ibid., p. 167.

9/ Ibid., pp. 168-169.

10/ Speech on the Filipino national language broadcast from Malacañan, Rizal Day, December 30, 1937. Ibid., p. 181.

11/ Ibid., p. 182.

Rizal.

Rizal, in his patriotic efforts to foster Philippine nationalism, put in the mouth of Simon, addressing Basilio, the following words:

"Spanish will never be the language generally spoken in the country, the people will never speak it, Each people has its own language, as it has its own way of thinking. You are trying hard to divest yourselves of your own personality as a people; you forget that as long as a people preserves its language it retains a token of its liberty, just as a man retains his freedom as long as he preserves his own independence of thought. A language expresses the ideas and ideals of a people."

Hence, in deciding to adopt a national language culled from the different languages spoken in the Philippines and mainly from the Tagalog which was not only the native tongue of Rizal but also is the most developed of all the existing languages in our country, we are merely carrying into realization one of the ideals of our national hero as a means of consolidating and invigorating our national unity. 12

RAPID NATIONAL PROGRESS ACHIEVED BY NATION WITH ONE LANGUAGE

Without giving undue importance to the role that a common language plays in the life of a people, we may point to the fact that in the Orient the one nation which has made the greatest progress and which has won a high place in the family of nations, is the only nation that has one common language - Japan. And every other nation which has attained the highest state of culture, solidarity and power, both on the American continent and in Europe, and even in Africa, is a nation that possesses a common national language. 13

COMPOSITION OF INSTITUTE OF NATIONAL LANGUAGE

By virtue of the provisions of Commonwealth Act No. 184 enacted for the purpose of carrying out the constitutional mandate contained in section three, Article XIII, of the Constitution enjoining the adoption of a national language based upon one of the existing native tongues, the President of the Philippines, on January 12, 1937 appointed the following to constitute the Institute of National Language:

Jaine C. de Veyra (Samar-Leyte Visayan), chairman; Santiago A. Fonacier (Ilocano), Filemon Sotto (Cebu Visayan), Casimiro F. Perfecto (Bicol), Felix S. Salas Rodriguez (Panay Visayan), and Hadji Butu (Moro), members: Cecilio Lopez (Tagalog), member and secretary. 14

12/ Speech on Rizal Day, December 30, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

13/ Ditto, Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JEVFF, pp. 182-183.

14/ Executive Order No. 134, "Proclaiming the National Language of the Philippines Based on the 'Tagalog' Language," December 30, 1937. Ibid., p. 692.

COMMON LANGUAGE PROMOTES NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS

There is nothing more important for any people than to have consciousness of their oneness as a nation and as a people, and this we will not have until we speak one common language.

No national language has been created in twenty-four hours. 15

RIDICULOUS, HUMILIATING TO HAVE NO COMMON LANGUAGE

As President of our country, I cannot find any language which everyone of us can understand. Is not that ridiculous? It is not only ridiculous but also humiliating. Yes, humiliating is the word. 16

IMPORTANT THING FOR FILIPINOS IS TO HAVE ONE TONGUE

I would be in favor of making Spanish or English as a national language, any language, I do not care which, if we could learn it as easily as we could learn one of the native dialects. It is not essential to have this or that particular language. The important thing is to have one language.

It is easier for the Filipinos to have one native language than using English or Spanish. In fact, it would be easier for the Filipinos to learn Spanish than English, because Spanish is read and pronounced like Tagalog, like Visayan or like Ilocano. English is not; and so when you get these poor teachers who have learned very little English, each one pronouncing each word differently, the result is that the poor students from the different barrios all over the Philippines will be speaking the language differently, that is, as they heard it from their respective teachers! 17

ENGLISH WILL NEVER BE OUR NATIONAL LANGUAGE, SAYS QUEZON

English is an important language to know. It is the universal language of commerce today. But do not attempt the impossible, do not attempt to make it the national language in the Philippines because it will never be. I do not care how long it will take us to have a national language. I do not care even if we should have to wait for one hundred years! English, I sincerely believe, will never be our national language. 18

83. NATIONAL UNITY

PHILIPPINE ASSEMBLY IS PROOF OF NATIONAL UNITY

The Philippine Assembly is a strong argument against the accusations that Filipinos lack consciousness of unity or nationality. I had the honor of being a

15/ Speech before the coconut planters and municipal mayors at Malacanan, February 19, 1938. QP, MR#41, TNL.

16/ Ibid.

17/ Ibid.

18/ Ibid., Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 35. Also in QP, MR#41, TNL.

member of that body for two years and in no single instance did I find any bill introduced that was discussed from a point of view other than that of nationalism.

PRESIDENT GIVES UTMOST IMPORTANCE OF NATIONAL UNITY

The Filipino people are confronted with the paramount necessity of maintaining and fortifying national unity. Without it everything is lost. National unity means our consciousness of oneness as a people with the same history, the same ideals, characteristics, costumes, aspirations, readiness to sacrifice for the same goal. ²

UNITY OF PURPOSE WILL FURTHER NATIONAL POLICIES

When I speak of unity I mean unity of purpose, sentiment, ideals and aspirations. Every country, every people, has what might be termed national policies. Thus, the Filipino people should be united in furthering their national policies. Disagreements may arise as to the best methods to be adopted for carrying out the national policies. But once the responsibility for executing those national policies is placed in the hands of a given institution or group of individuals, their decision should be accepted as final. ³

NATIONAL UNITY DOES NOT MEAN ALL FILIPINOS MUST THINK ALIKE

When I speak of unity, I do not mean that we must all think alike, or that all must accept as gospel truth the opinions and ideas of the leader of the nation, or that everyone must follow blindly his advice. Freedom of thought, freedom of speech, and freedom of action are the most precious possessions of a free man. They are divine gifts without which man would fall in the category of a brute. But these inalienable rights have been given to us not only for the promotion of our personal welfare or the pursuit of our own happiness, but also for the welfare and happiness of our fellow men. ⁴

84. NATIONALISM

PHILIPPINES: ONE PEOPLE, ONE RACE

I do not see how any one can doubt that there is in the Philippines a people of one common race. The Christians as well as the non-Christians all belong to the Malay race. I admit, of course, that homogeneity of race does not constitute what we call a "people." It is also common knowledge that variety of races is not incompatible with the idea of being a people. ^{1(b)}

- 1(a)/ Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, 1912, n.d.n. OP, MR#22, TNL.
- 2/ Press statement on the need for national unity, 1935, n.d.n. OP, MR#38, TNL.
- 3/ Speech before the U.P. Alumni Association, 1938, n.d.n. OP, MR#41, TNL.
- 4/ Speech on his 61st birthday, Malacañan, August 19, 1939. Quezon Messages. Vol. 5, Part I, JBVEF, p. 174. Also in OP, MR#42, TNL.
- 1(b)/ Speech in the U.S. House of Representative^s, 1912, n.d.n. OP, MR#22, TNL.

FILIPINO NATIONALISM IS REAL, WRITTEN IN BLOOD - QUEZON

Nationalism in the Philippines is no political catchword. It is real. It was there when the Filipinos fought Spain; and it was there when they resisted, in a suicidal struggle, the implantation of American sovereignty over their country. And instead of being checked, Philippine nationalism has been fostered by the United States when you assured them, through President Taft, that the Philippines is for the Filipinos and when Congress assured them that they would be granted independence.

What we cannot and will not of our own violation renounce is our God-given right to set up and maintain a government of our own. We ask no more than what every self-respecting Filipino wants. Permit us to have our choice of the kind of government under which we shall live. No true American can find fault with this aspiration. They, of all peoples, will have a ready ear for such a plea. ²

MLQ ASKS PEOPLE TO RALLY BEHIND NATIONAL CAUSE

Any organization that may be proposed will be strong only insofar as it receives the breath of life and the vigor of enthusiasm from the national soul which, though quiescent in ordinary times, yet reaches the fullness of life when the national cause is at stake. It is to this undaunted spirit of our people that I am now appealing in the confident hope that our nation will come forward in support of the plan of action herein presented.

In this vast and noble undertaking the smallest task is a post of honor for every patriotic Filipino willing to do his duty. ³

CONSERVE YOUTH'S ENERGY FOR NATIONAL CAUSE - QUEZON

What I wish to bring out is that the energy of the youth of the land should be conserved for the nation, and its intelligence disciplined into an attitude of patriotic service to the nation.

* * *

Let every mother in our land bring up upright, courageous and patriotic youngsters, and we shall certainly have a citizenry conscious of its duties, proud of its responsibilities, and intense in its civic spirit. ⁴

RIZAL'S "HOLI" TURNS FILIPINOS INTO NATION

The reason why the Filipinos, in spite of their bad government, did not revolt sooner is because, during all the time that they silently bore the abuses and wrongs of the Spanish Government, there was no such thing as a Filipino

2/ Address before the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Philadelphia, November 25, 1927. The Philippine Republic, Vol. V, No. 2, March 15, 1928. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 304.

3/ Message to Filipino People, 1929, n.d.m. OP, MW/31, THL.

4/ Speech before the National Federation of Women's Clubs of the Philippines, 1929, n.d.m. Ibid.

nation.

That absence of sentiment of nationality, or indifference to and tolerance of abuses, was due to lack of education.

He (Rizal) wrote the one novel that, in my opinion, turned the Filipinos into a nation - Noli Me Tangere. The name means, "Do not touch." ⁵

FILIPINOS CAN BUILD BEAUTIFUL AND ENDURING NATION

It is within the province of the Filipino people to build a beautiful and lasting nation - a nation in which there will be plenty for all and impoverishment can be practically eliminated. ⁶

FILIPINOS HAVE ATTAINED DIGNITY OF NATIONHOOD, SAYS QUEZON

To me, this distinction (Doctor of Laws, honoris causa) which I am receiving from your hands means that in the estimation of Georgetown University, the Filipino people have attained the dignity of nationhood and have deservedly won their right to self-determination. ⁷

WE ARE ONE NATION, WE WILL DIE AS ONE NATION - QUEZON

Gentlemen, what is going on in Europe is a good lesson for us. Let no one believe that I would allow any province in the Philippines, or any group of provinces, the right of self-determination to be either independent or to belong to some other country. I am not passing judgment upon the issues now before the great powers of Europe which threaten the world with war, but I am stating for us that the issue of separation of provinces has been settled in the American Civil War; and that issue has been settled for us too. There will be no nationalities here. We are one nation, and we will die as one nation. In order that we may live and die as one nation, we must put an end in the National Assembly to that feeling of responsibility to one district. ⁸

QUEZON'S MANY "IFS" FOR FILIPINO NATION TO SURVIVE

If our people have a real sense of nationality, if we really love freedom, or liberty, if we have the sense of mutuality, of community of interest; if every Filipino knows, feels, and is willing to accept any sacrifice for the interest of the nation, then I am not afraid of the future; we will survive. ⁹

- 5/ Article, "How Rizal's Noli Me Tangere Made Filipinos Into a Nation," 1931, n.d.m. QP, MR#32, TNL.
- 6/ Report to the Congress of the United States, 1937, n.d.m. QP, MR#40, TNL.
- 7/ Speech upon being conferred the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, by Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., April 17, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 93.
- 8/ Speech at a banquet for Secretaries Elpidio Quirino and Jose Yulo at Malacañan, September 27, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 222-223.
- 9/ Speech before the Civil Liberties Union of the Philippines, 1938. n.d.m. QP, MR#41, TNL.

MLQ DRAWS DISTINCTION BETWEEN NATIONALISM AND JUSTICE

Nationalism is not an unalloyed truth or virtue, whereas justice is both. ¹⁰

NATIONALISM IS A NOBLE, ELEVATING, BENEFICIAL SENTIMENT

So long as the nationalistic sentiment is not fostered to the point where a people forgets that it forms a part of the human family; that the good of mankind should be the ultimate aim of all and every nation; and that conflicting national interests are only temporary and that there is always a just formula for adjusting them, nationalism is a noble, elevating, and most beneficial sentiment. ¹¹

QUEZON TRACES BIRTH OF NATIONALISM TO RENAISSANCE

Nationalism, as an emotional attachment and conscious allegiance to one's country rather than to a dynasty, a monarch or a ruler, is of comparatively recent development. Its seed was planted at the time of the Renaissance and it has reached its extreme expression in the totalitarian states. ¹²

NATIONALISM TREMENDOUS FORCE FOR GOOD, AFFIRMS QUEZON

Rightly conceived, felt and practiced, nationalism is a tremendous force for good. It strengthens and solidifies a nation. Community interest is made active. It preserves the best traditions of the past and adds zest to the ambition of enlarging the inheritance of the people. It is, therefore, a dynamic urge for continuous self-improvement. In fine, it enriches the sum total of mankind's cultural, moral, and material possessions through the individual and characteristic contribution of each people. ¹³

QUEZON NATIONALISM SUBORDINATED TO INTEREST OF HUMANITY

I am a nationalist, and I have been one all my life. From infancy I have felt in my heart that instinctive pride for everything Filipino, and that unwillingness to accept any superiority that cannot be equalled by the Filipino race. No sentiment is stronger in me than racial pride.

Yet no nationalistic feeling, so strong in my heart, can blind me to the extent of considering the interest of my country as above the interest of justice, or above the interest of that larger unit for which the world itself exists - humanity. ¹⁴

10/ Speech at the first plenary session of a conference on character building, 1938. n.d.m. P, MR#41, TNL.

11/ Speech on peace, social and economic security of nations, University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. P, MR#42, TNL. Also in Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 39.

12/ Ibid..

13/ Speech at the 29th commencement exercises, University of the Philippines, April 4, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 69.

14/ Extemporaneous speech at NEPA Day celebration, Rizal Memorial Stadium, August 23, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2269-2272.

85. NEPOTISM / FAVORITISM

QUEZON LAYS DOWN RULES TO PREVENT NEPOTISM

"In the interest of an efficient administration and with a view to improving the morale of the public service, I, Manuel L. Quezon, President of the Philippines, by virtue of the powers vested in me by the Constitution and by the laws of the Philippines, hereby promulgate the following prohibitions and restrictions in the matter of appointment of relatives:

"1. All appointments in the national, provincial and municipal governments or in any branch and instrumentality thereof, whether in the classified or unclassified service, made in favor of a relative of the appointing authority or of the persons exercising immediate supervision over him are hereby prohibited.

"2. When there are already two or more members of one family in an office or bureau, no other member of such family shall be eligible for appointment to any position therein.

"As used in this Order, the word 'relative' and members of the family referred to herein are those related within the third degree either of consanguinity or of affinity.

"The following are exempted from these rules: persons employed in a confidential capacity, teachers, physicians or members of the army; provided, however, that in each particular instance full report of such appointment shall be made to the President." 1(a)

86. NEUTRALITY

PRESIDENT QUEZON AFFIRMS NEUTRALITY IN SPAIN'S CIVIL WAR

That "Franco Hymn" should not have been played here. The Franco government is still unrecognized. The United States Congress has enacted a neutrality law and it is my duty to enforce that law in this country. I would not have said what I have said, and would have ignored this matter, if the Franco rebellion were still in its initial stage; but now that it seems to be winning, there is so much reason for protesting, as I now protest, against such an act. Let no one say that I yield when a cause is about to triumph. What has happened has been a great mistake and a lack of consideration for the President of the Philippines. 1(b)

PHILIPPINES STRICTLY NEUTRAL IN SPAIN CIVIL WAR

The government does not, and cannot, approve of the Philippines being converted into a theatre of propaganda for sympathizers of the contending parties in Spain in order to further their interests. As I said in my (earlier) address, we Filipinos have no reason to take sides in that contest one way or the other. Our

1(a)/ Executive Order No. 111, "Prohibiting and Restructuring the Practice of Nepotism," August 30, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part II, JBVFF, p. 649.

1(b)/ Address at the San Juan de Letran College, November 7, 1937. Ibid., Part I, p. 158.

interest must be limited to a desire to see peace re-established in Spain and to have that country, with which we are united by historical ties, once more engage in the pursuits of peace and progress and occupy its place in the concert of nations. 2(a)

P.I. PUBLISHES U.S. PROCLAMATION OF NEUTRALITY IN WAR

I do give publicity to the said Proclamation of Neutrality by the President of the United States, and enjoin the strict observance of its provisions upon all citizens of the Philippines, and other persons resident or being therein.

87. N E U T R A L I Z A T I O N

PROTECTION OF PHILIPPINES THROUGH WORLD NEUTRALITY ACCORD

We, the Filipinos as well as those in this country (the U.S.) who are in favor of giving the Philippines freedom, have the idea of protecting the Islands by an international agreement of neutrality. This international agreement, to my mind, will serve to create confidence among foreign capitalists to come into the Islands for investments therein. 1

QUEZON INSISTS ON NEUTRALIZATION OF PHILIPPINES

The sole argument against Philippine independence seems to be the alleged inability of the Filipinos to govern themselves and maintain an independent government. No one denies that the Filipino people are now too weak to defend themselves against foreign invasion. In fact, authoritative men in the United States Army have publicly admitted that even this country, with her enormous wealth and power, could not prevent Japan from conquering the Islands, if the latter should attempt such action. Friends of Philippine independence propose, as the best means of protecting the Filipinos from foreign aggression, the neutralization of the Islands and the recognition and guarding of their independence by international treaty. Such a device to protect a small and weak country is not new, and it is as effective as any device in international affairs can be. 2(b)

FREE PHILIPPINES WILL NOT DEPEND ON NEUTRALIZATION ALONE

It is true that many of us (Filipinos) have been advocating the neutralization of the Islands as the means of guaranteeing Philippine independence, but we

2(a)/ Letter to Fr. Rector Juan Labrador, O.P., San Juan de Letran College, on Spanish Fascist propaganda in said college, November 10, 1937. Ibid., p. 305.

3/ Proclamation No. 451, "Publishing the Neutrality Proclamation of the President of the United States, September 5, 1939," September 13, 1939. Malacanang. Ibid., Vol. 5, Part I, JBVEF, p. 709.

1/ Testimony at a hearing of the Insular Affairs Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, February 21-25, 1912. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 91.

2(b)/ Article, "The Right of the Philippines to Independence," The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 2, October 1912. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 101.

have never thought of making such neutralization a condition sine qua non of our independence. In other words, our independence is not to depend solely upon a neutralization treaty, much less upon any protection from the United States.

We understand that if we want independence we must assume its burdens. We must take the risk and the responsibilities. We are not the first people to have taken the risk of being independent, and if we really prize freedom, as we do, we should be glad and courageous enough to face the consequences of the situation.

We do not want any protection if we get independence. You would not want it, because it would be unfair and unjust to the United States; and we would not, because protection can never be afforded without impairment of the absolute freedom of the protected state, and we are more concerned about the substance of freedom than about the word independence. If we are going to have independence, we want real independence and not merely nominal independence.³

QUEZON ASKED QUESTIONS U.S. SOLON DIDN'T ANSWER

Mr. O'SHAUNESSY: Has the gentleman got the confidence in the nations of the world to believe that you will be left alone after you are free and independent without a strong army and navy?

Mr. QUEZON: The inquiry of the gentleman (from Rhode Island) implies the assertion that no small country should aspire to be independent, for it surely will be grabbed by a stronger power. If this theory be true, the mouth of every Irish patriot should be forever closed, since his noble ambition would simply mean a change of master. But that theory, fortunately for mankind, is unfounded and not supported by facts. Look, if you please, at Holland, Switzerland and other small countries, and tell me how long they have been independent. Does anyone question that they will remain so for many years to come.⁴

PRESIDENT BELIES NEUTRALIZATION YARN; NOT HIS JOB, HE ADDS

On the occasion of my recent trip to Japan, one of the American press correspondents, gifted with a highly fantastic imagination, sent a dispatch to his newspaper in New York to the effect that I had made that trip for the purpose of starting negotiations with the Japanese government looking towards the neutralization of the Philippines. The absurdity of the news should have been enough to discredit it, but unfortunately there are many people who fail to use a critical judgment and accepted what they read as gospel truth.

In the first place, it should be borne in mind that the government of the United States has reserved to itself the control and supervision of the foreign affairs of the Commonwealth of the Philippines, and, therefore, any negotiation having for its object the neutralization of the Philippines will have to be Insular Possessions

2/ Testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Territories and while the Jones Bill was under consideration. In: The Filipino People, Vol. III, No. 5, January 1915. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 332-337.

4/ Speech, "The Japanese Menace," in the U.S. House of Representatives, May 1, 1916. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 357-361.

conducted by the government of the United States with such powers as the United States may choose to invite to participate in that compact.

In the second place, it is a matter of common knowledge that on several occasions spokesmen from the Foreign Office of the Imperial Government of Japan have let it be known, after the enactment by the U.S. Congress of the Philippine Independence Law which authorizes the President (of the United States - ABS) to negotiate a treaty for the neutralization of the Philippines, that Japan was ready and willing, if invited, to be one of the signatories to such a treaty of neutralization.

Japanese statesmen seem unanimous in their sympathy for the idea of neutralizing the Philippines. Why then should I go to Japan to learn of something about which I had no right to inquire, and which was no longer a secret to any one? In addition, I may state that I am not one of those who entertain any misgivings as to the attitude of Japan towards the Philippines when we shall have become independent. ⁵

88. NO ACTING PRESIDENT

WHY THERE CAN BE NO ACTING PRESIDENT IN QUEZON'S ABSENCE

Under the Constitution, in the absence of the President of the Philippines from the national territory, there can be no Acting President. Wherever he goes, the President carries with him the authority and powers of his office and he can exercise them as fully as if he were in his office at the capital of the nation.

There will, therefore, be no Acting President during my absence from the Philippines and the government will continue to be run and its official affairs transacted in the same manner as they are when I am in the Philippines.

* * *

Should a case arise in which the personal signature of the President is required and the matter has been consulted and decided by me, the Vice-President, after writing my name above his signature, may authenticate the document with his own signature, for and in behalf of the President. ¹

QUEZON CLARIFIES REPORT ON "VISIBLE HEAD OF GOVERNMENT"

The news item appearing yesterday in an afternoon paper to the effect that at a conference held with members of the Cabinet and of the National Assembly it was agreed that Vice-President Osmeña will be the "visible head" of the government in the absence of the President, and that a suppose/^drealignment of the Cabinet virtually was sanctioned, is misleading.

The President did not consult the members of the Cabinet nor of the Assembly as to who will be the "visible head" of the government during his absence from the

^{5/} Press statement on the alleged negotiation with the Japanese government for the neutralization of the Philippines, July 19, 1938. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 1810.

^{1/} Press statement, December 7, 1936. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1426.

Islands, nor did he seek their approval as to any supposed realignment of the Cabinet.

The selection of the members of his Cabinet is the President's constitutional prerogative and he need not have the approval of any one to constitute a Cabinet that in his opinion will best serve the public interest... What the President did in his speech yesterday, at the luncheon which he gave the Cabinet, was merely to state that, although the Vice-President, under the Constitution, cannot be acting President since the President will continue to exercise the powers and prerogatives of his office while abroad, however, he being the ranking official in the government, will in the absence of the President represent the President. 2(

89. NO FILIPINO QUISLING

THERE ARE NO QUISLING IN PHILIPPINES, QUEZON TELLS MACARTHUR

In reference to the men who have accepted positions in the Philippine Executive Commission established by the Japanese, every one of them wanted to come to Corregidor, but you (MacArthur) told me that there was no room for them here. They are not "quislings." The "quislings" are the men who betray their country to the enemy. These men did what they have been asked to do, while they were free under the protection of their government.

Today they are virtually prisoners of the enemy. I am sure they are the victims of the adverse fortunes of war and I am sure they have no choice. Besides, it is most probable that they accepted their positions in order to safeguard the welfare of the civilian population in the occupied areas. I think, under the circumstances, America should look upon their situation sympathetically and understandably. 1

LOYALTY TO AMERICA INCOMPATIBLE WITHOUT PROTECTION - QUEZON

My loyalty and the loyalty of the Filipino people to America have been proven beyond question. Now we are fighting by her side under your command despite overwhelming odds. But, it seems to me questionable whether any government has the right to demand loyalty from its citizens beyond its willingness or ability to render actual protection.

This war is not of our making... Despite all this, we never hesitated for a moment in our stand. 2(b)

90. OPPOSITION // MINORITY

MESSAGE TO OPPOSITION: ONE THING TO DESTROY, ANOTHER TO BUILD

I hope there will be a strong minority party, but this idea of merging all

2(a)/ Press statement, January 21, 1937. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1452.

1/ Letter to General MacArthur commenting on the establishment by the Japanese of the Philippine Executive Commission on January 23, 1942. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, p. 2367.

2(b)/ Letter to General MacArthur commenting on a radio broadcast from Tokyo on January 28, 1942, announcing the establishment in the Philippines of the Philippine Executive Commission. Ibid.

opposition parties because they are all against me is terrible. The result would be such that, if those opposition groups succeeded in defeating the majority, they would be unable to carry out any policy. It is one thing to destroy a building and another to construct one. You can destroy a building by calling people together and telling them to go ahead and destroy it. But in the work of construction you must have a plan and everybody working on that building must work in accordance with that plan. The opposition must not be maintained merely to defeat the majority. They must formulate a platform that will give basis for their opposition; and in case they succeed in bringing down the majority, they must have one objective, one common purpose. ¹

QUEZON, MAJORITY CHIEF, WILLING TO GIVE OPPOSITION FAIR CHANCE

I have seen in the papers that leaders are calling together all the opposition groups so that they may merge for the purpose of defeating the majority. They should have a platform for their objective. If they have that, then they are all right. But it's already a defective organization from the very beginning. Do you think that it is possible for that opposition to grow? You don't expect me to use the power of my office to create an opposition here. I cannot create an opposition, but I shall give any opposition a chance at a fair fight. ²

OPPOSITION'S ONLY JUSTIFICATION: DIFFERENCES IN IDEAS, PRINCIPLES

The only justification for people to disagree in politics should be a difference of ideas and in fundamental principles of government. It is perfectly ridiculous to be in the opposition simply because you much prefer to be in the opposition and not in the majority. My choice of party should depend on whether I agree or disagree with you. If you happen to be in the opposition and the majority agrees with you, then there is no reason for the difference, and you must belong to the same party. ³

LOVE CAN PRODUCE GOOD THINGS; HATE CAN ONLY DESTROY, SAYS QUEZON

If the opposition starts by being divided amongst themselves, since they are only joining together because of their hatred against the government or against me, nothing good for the government can come out of it. The only tie that can produce good is the tie of love. Bear that in mind as long as you live. Love can produce good things. Hatred can only destroy. It can never build up because hatred is not creative, it is destructive. It is love that is creative. ⁴

RIGHT OF CRITICISM ENDS WHERE VITUPERATION BEGINS - QUEZON

The right of any member of the opposition party, no matter how insignificant

1/ Conference with a delegation of the Young Philippines, Malacanan, September 29, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part 1, JBVFF, p. 134.

2/ Ibid., p. 134.

3/ Ibid., pp. 133-134.

4/ Ibid., p. 135.

such party may be, to criticize the policies and conduct of the party in power must be conceded. The exercise of such right, however, is subject to the limitations imposed by the elementary principles of fairness and justice. Like freedom of speech, it must not be abused to the extent of converting it into license. The right to criticize ends where vituperation begins. ⁵

OPPOSITION IS NOT THE ONLY FISCALIZING FORCE IN A VIABLE DEMOCRACY

He (Dr. Bernabe Africa, chairman, department of political science, University of the Philippines - ABS) said this: "If there is no opposition in the form of a minority party, who will perform the task of fiscalizing the party in power whenever its heads err, as all men do? Who will check the party in power when it goes to extremes?"

Well, I will take the liberty of answering these two questions right now. "If there is no opposition," Dr. Africa says, "who will perform the task of fiscalizing the party in power?" Everybody is doing it: La Vanguardia, Taliba, the Free Press, the Bulletin, every newspaper in the Philippines and almost every student of the state.

How could anybody come to the conclusion that the opposition party is the only party that fiscalizes the actions of the party in power? I have been in politics and in the party in power for 35 years. I have received more fiscalizing from individuals than from the opposition. And I am not joking. It is a fact. ⁶

OPPOSITION OKAY IN PAST: TODAY EVERYBODY IS FISCALIZING - MLQ

Why, it is ridiculous; it is just repeating today what had been said a hundred years ago. Yes, in the old days when there were very few newspapers, when the people were perhaps not interested in public questions, an opposition party might have had something to do, and that was to watch the party in power.

But nowadays everybody is watching the party in power. Well, do you think that we need an opposition party in the Philippines when you have the Civil Liberties Union? My goodness, the Civil Liberties Union had already protested against my speech (stating that political parties are unnecessary in a democracy - ABS) while the opposition party was still asleep. ⁷

MINORITY INUTILE; QUEZON EXPLAINS CHECK-AND-BALANCE PROCESS

Who will check the party in power when it goes to extremes? Has the minority party been able to check the party in power? Of course, they can vote "No," but that is all they can do. Check! Check! Check the party in power!

Have you, gentlemen, forgotten that under the system of government of the

- 5/ Letter to the Secretary of Interior on the administrative investigation of Miss Carmen Planas, member of the Municipal Board of Manila, March 9, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVT, p. 389.
- 6/ Speech at the open forum of the U.P. Alumni Association, August 7, 1940. Rivera Collection, Vol. V, pp. 2241-2242.
- 7/ Ibid., p. 2242.

United States, the checking and balancing of governmental power is done by each power against the other? Don't you know the meaning of the system of government by check and balance?

Under our system of government, the Chief Executive cannot abuse his power for there is the National Assembly and there is the Supreme Court to check him. The Legislature cannot abuse its power for there is the Supreme Court and there is the Chief Executive to check it. And the Supreme Court cannot abuse its power because there is the Assembly that can impeach members of the tribunal who abuse their power.

What else are you looking for to do the checking? Your Constitution offers you all the checking you need - except the checking of the opposition.⁸

OPPOSITION BARKING AT MOON, BUT QUEZON ALWAYS RESPECTS PUBLIC OPINION

I have been in public life long. I ought to know the effect on me of fiscalizing and checking. I want to tell you that as far as the "fiscalizing" of the opposition is concerned, it makes no more effect on me than a dog barking at the moon.

But when I hear criticisms from independent quarters; when my policies are discussed in friendly circles by friendly sources and between friendly sources; when an impartial public opinion expresses itself on my account, then I listen and take serious notice of what has been said. This will show you how much "fiscalizing" means to a veteran politician. It is the power of public opinion, of independent public opinion that can check the abuse of power on the part of the government.⁹

91. PATRIOTISM

FILIPINO MOTHERS MUST RAISE PATRIOTIC CITIZENS - QUEZON

Whatever happens our women must always bear in mind that the first duty of womanhood is motherhood; that her duty to the state is better performed by the performance of her duty to her home and to her family; that she can improve the body politic more especially by raising patriotic and dutiful children than by spending a lot of time in political campaign.¹

OUR COUNTRY FIRST, QUEZON TELLS CAVITEÑO SUPPORTERS

I recognize that I owe my position to your votes and for this I am very grateful. I owe a debt of gratitude to each and everyone of you which I can never repay. You have given me your confidence in a manner that is inspiring. I acknowledge this and I wish to assure you I have it always in mind.

But I wish to call your attention to the fact that I am not merely your senator. I am also the head of the party, and on top of that, I am at the head of

8/ Ibid., pp. 2242-2243.

9/ Ibid., p. 2243.

1/ Speech on woman suffrage, October 21, 1931. QP, IR#32, TNL.

the Filipino participation in the government. This places on my shoulders a tremendous responsibility. I must consider national issues and look at them from a national viewpoint.

Much as I would like to please every leader of my party, much as I would like to be of service to each and everyone of you, I must say that sometimes I am faced by the problem of either serving the interest of my party or serving the interest of my country. In such cases, my choice is one only - I serve that which I think is my country's best interests. ²

FILIPINO YOUTH IMBUED WITH PATRIOTISM, BROAD VISION

I appeal particularly to the youth of the land to keep their hearts and minds free from partisan bias during these days when we have sore need of the elevated patriotism and broad vision of every Filipino. ³

LET US ACT WISELY AND PATRIOTICALLY - QUEZON

I once more appeal to our people for united action and for real cooperation in the task that we have before us of building a new nation.

Let us forget the past and think only of the future. Let us bear in mind that what we are doing will be either to the happiness or unhappiness, freedom or slavery of our children and their children's children, as we may choose to act wisely and patriotically, or only as blind partisans who place their party over and above the country. ⁴

PATRIOTISM IS COMMON PATRIMONY OF ALL - QUEZON

The word "veteran" is not reserved only for those who distinguished themselves in war, but also to those who have contributed to their country's greatness in peace.

For patriotism is not monopolized by anyone but is the common patrimony of all.

All those who served their country loyally and faithfully are alike entitled to our esteem, gratitude and respect. ⁵

NLO ASKS ALL TO DEDICATE SELVES TO REALIZE NATIONAL DESTINY

I appeal to your patriotism and summon your nobility of heart so that we may, united in the common endeavor, once more dedicate ourselves to the realization of our national destiny. I face the future with hope and fortitude, certain that God never abandons a people who ever follow His unerring and guiding hand. May He give me light, strength, ⁶ courage evermore that I may not falter in the hour of service to my people.

NATIONAL DEFENSE FOSTERS NATIONAL PRIDE AND PATRIOTISM

To foster national pride and patriotism nothing is more effective than to

2/ Speech before his Caviteño followers, February 1935. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, p. 994.

3/ Message to the youth, 1934, n.d.n. QP, MR#36, TNL.

4/ Interview with a Tribune representative, June 18, 1934. Ibid.

5/ Message for the magazine Veteran, September 12, 1935. QP, MR#38, TNL.

6/ Inaugural Address, Legislative Building, November 15, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVET, p. 17.

participate actively in the process of maintaining the national defense. Military training and service build up the spirit of duty and love of country. They nurture patriotism, loyalty, courage, and discipline. ⁷

BETTER LIVING CONDITIONS WILL ENHANCE PEOPLE'S PATRIOTISM

People no longer long for a country simply because they were born there. They must see and feel that in that country they enjoy a happy life, and that they have every opportunity to improve their lot. ⁸

WE MUST MAKE OUR YOUTH REAL PATRIOTS, SAYS QUEZON

We need to make our people, especially our youth, conscious of their oneness, jealous of their nationality, lovers of the country, proud of their race and their democracy - so conscious of their oneness, so jealous of their nationality, so proud of their race and their democracy that they will die fighting for it.

By preparing our youth to defend their country we are actually giving them a fuller and more comprehensive training. We are training them in the arts of peace and in the science of war. ⁹

WE MUST BE READY TO DIE FOR OUR LIBERTY - MLQ

I do not belittle the many other responsibilities of government. To establish and maintain justice, to promote sanitation, to educate our youth, and to insure the development of communication, transportation, industry and agriculture - all of these are important functions of an enlightened government. But, if independence means anything to us, if we hold on to the belief that freedom and liberty are the rightful heritage of a proud and self-respecting people, then as our first duty we must be prepared to defend our freedom and even to sacrifice ourselves in the name of liberty. Should necessity arise, we will oppose force with force - we will not supinely bow our necks to the yoke of any invader. ¹⁰

LOVE OF COUNTRY IS ENHANCED BY GOOD GOVERNMENT

The love of country is not promoted or inspired by the beauty of its landscape nor its wealth. It may contain the riches of the world but if in such country the people suffer injustice from the hands of the government and of a privileged class, the mass of the people would prefer that another power should come in and take over the responsibilities of government wherein their conditions might be improved, and under whom they would receive justice and more generous treatment.

Love of country thrives in the heart of a people if in that country they actually live happily because of the generosity and sense of justice of the

7/ Message to the First National Assembly on national defense, November 25, 1935. Ibid., p. 22.

8/ Speech at the sixth biennial convention of the National Federation of Women's Clubs of the Philippines, November 25, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.

9/ Speech before the Reserve Officers Training Corps, 1936, n.d.m. Ibid.

10/ Address at the Teachers' Convention in Baguio, April 1936. Ibid.

Government. 11

OWNERSHIP OF HOME, LAND PROMOTES LOVE OF COUNTRY

It is by owning land which gives them hope and sustenance that the masses better realize that they have a country they must love and preserve. The ownership of his home and farm, more than anything else, gives the people a sense of reality to the abstract idea of a native land. 12

QUEZON'S SUPPORT OF SOLONS BASED ON PATRIOTISM, ABILITY

I want to say that you have no right to publish that telegram (in the newspaper Karilagan, September 6, 1937), and you have given me reason to doubt whether I should support you in your campaign for reelection... My support of your reelection is not due to my special interest in your case, but a fulfillment of the promise I had made to all members of the National Assembly that I would, regardless of his loyalty to the party or to me, give my support to every member seeking reelection, who, judging from his records, has shown not only patriotism and ability but also knowledge of the problems confronting the government and a determination to contribute his part to carry out policies that will promote the general well-being of the people. 13

ONE'S COUNTRY IS WHERE ONE IS READY TO DIE FOR IT

To love a country you must have more than beauty, you must have a country where you can live happily and comfortably and freely. And that is, after all, what makes men love the place wherein they live and be ready to fight for it. 14

IT'S TIME TO SHOW REAL PATRIOTISM BY DEEDS - QUEZON

There are people who still think there is real patriotism in telling their fellowmen of their bravery, of the things that they could do. All that is mere talk and results in nothing. There are some who say that they are against the present government, and these persons were my companions in the Philippine Assembly and later in the Senate, where I observed that most of what they said they would do were not at all realized.

This is the time for deeds and not words; and real patriotism, if we are to perform our duties to the country, lies in our collective efforts to bring about the welfare of the country. In deeds alone can real patriotism be shown. 15

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- 11/ Speech before the members of the Cabinet, the National Assembly, provincial governors, and treasurers at Malacanang, January 20, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.
- 12/ Speech at a banquet upon his return from the United States, August 18, 1937. Ibid.
- 13/ Letter to Assemblyman Romualdo C. Quimpo of Davao on presidential support of the assemblymen's reelection, September 29, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 291.
- 14/ Speech at a press conference, November 3, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.
- 15/ Speech at barrio Vitas, Tondo, October 17, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 226.

MAN DYING OF HUNGER CAN'T BE EXPECTED TO LOVE HIS COUNTRY

My countrymen, I know the situation of a laborer. I know that a person who encounters difficulties in life thinks of nothing, and he cannot think of anything else other than to be able to find some relief; and if, in his suffering, nothing is done for his welfare, he cannot love his countrymen anymore because only his hurt feelings and his penury will reign in his heart and mind. Hence, our principal concern in the Philippines today is to discover means to remedy our social ills so as not to have persons suffering from poverty who can no longer think of their duty to their native land. ¹⁶

EVERY FILIPINO MUST BE IMBUED WITH HEROIC PATRIOTISM

We must imbue our whole citizenry with a spirit of heroic patriotism. For a country as small and with such limited wealth as the Philippines, ordinary patriotism is not enough to insure its security. Heroic patriotism is necessary - a patriotism that is devotion, loyalty, and courage that rises to the heights of self-sacrifice. Such kind of patriotism can only be felt by a people whose love of country is not based merely on a natural attachment to the land of their birth, but on the fact that their country gives them freedom, contentment, and economic security. ¹⁷

WE MUST EDUCATE PEOPLE TO ESCHEW THEIR PAROCHIAL OUTLOOK

It is our duty to educate the people to substitute for attachment to their village love of their country at large. We must give them a national outlook on life and make them feel at home in whatever corner of the Philippines they may find themselves. ¹⁸

QUEZON GIVES TIPS ON HOW PEOPLE CAN BE TAUGHT TO LOVE COUNTRY

If the citizens do not experience anything in their own country except poverty, how can they love their land, and why should they defend and die for it in time of danger? To a poor man who is oppressed and denied happiness by his countrymen, what does he care if his own country is conquered by another?

The Filipinos love their country. If we desire every Filipino to defend his country, it is necessary that he enjoy some ease in his native land. We ought to show and give him what he deserves, because if he receives aid in the interest of his existence and his rights are enforced and respected, he will not only learn to love his country but also sacrifice his life, if need be, in defending the honor, dignity, and freedom of his race. ¹⁹

^{16/} Speech in San Fernando, Pampanga, February 14, 1939. Quezon Messages. Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 27.

^{17/} Speech at the 29th commencement exercises of the University of the Philippines. April 4, 1939. Ibid., p. 72.

^{18/} Speech on social unrest and labor legislation, 1939, n.d.m. QP, MR#43, TNL.

^{19/} Speech in Cahanatuan Nueva Ecija, July 16, 1939. Quezon Messages. Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 154.

QUEZON COMMENDS LOYALTY, PATRIOTISM OF HAWAII FILIPINOS

Order, social justice, and constructive progress have characterized the first four years of the Commonwealth. This November 15th, the Philippines will venture with confidence upon another year of fruitful existence, secure in the assurance that the present administration counts with the stout loyalty and patriotism of our countrymen who daily face the serious aspects of life in far and strange shores. To you who reside in Waipahu, as well as to those in other parts of Hawaii, I extend my greetings and sincere thanks for your efforts in fittingly glorifying the national life of our Commonwealth on a day that is replete with historical significance. Few are the years that separate the Philippines from her political emancipation but let those years furnish you with more opportunities to improve your lot so that you will be prepared to answer the exigencies of national service when the call of duty and responsibility demands your immediate return to your country. ²⁰

HAWAII FILIPINOS ENJOINED TO PRESERVE COUNTRY'S GOOD NAME

More than ever before, you must now conduct yourselves as befit law-abiding and self-respecting citizens. You must preserve immaculate the fair name of the Philippines and win for yourselves the goodwill and respect of those amongst whom you live.

In the Philippines we are at this time engaged in the supreme task of speedily completing our national defense so that should the occasion arise - which we ^{pray} will not come - we may, in cooperation with America, defend the territorial integrity of our fatherland and the principles of justice and liberty which we profess and which the United States is determined to defend. ²¹

QUEZON APPEALS TO COUNTRYMEN TO HELP SPEED UP VICTORY

Bataan as a military bulwark fell, but the Filipino spirit of resistance against the invader did not fall with it. The spirit that gave courage to our heroes in Bataan lives in every Filipino heart. It is for this reason that I enjoin you to continue exerting your best efforts to help speed the day of our victory. ²²

92. P E A C E A N D O R D E R

PEACE AND ORDER EQUALS HAPPINESS AND PROGRESS

The first and most important duty of every government is to maintain peace and order, for peace and security in life and property is the sine qua non of

^{20/} Message to Waipahu Filipino Community in Hawaii, October 17, 1939. 2P, MR#43, TNL.

^{21/} Radio speech to Filipinos in Hawaii, November 17, 1941. 2P, MR#45, TNL.

^{22/} Message to his fellow countrymen in the Pacific Northwest, April 9, 1943. Ibid.

happiness and progress. It is also the essence of liberty for there can be no freedom for the individual so long as he does not feel protected in his individual and political rights. ^{1(a)}

FIRST MISSION OF CHIEF EXECUTIVE: ESTABLISH PEACE AND ORDER

My first mission as the Chief Executive of this country is to maintain peace and order. And I will maintain peace and order if I have to order the killing of some people to do so. ^{2(a)}

93. P H I L I P P I N E S

QUEZON'S APOSTROPHE TO HIS MOTHERLAND

On these islands - the Philippines - nature has bestowed with generous hand and in harmonious combination her riches and her beauties. Millions of acres of agriculture land capable of growing all kinds of tropical products; forest with excellent woods in large quantity and variety; mines of gold and silver and rich deposits of lead, iron, and petroleum; glorious sunsets, moonlight and stormy nights, cascades, lakes, valleys, rivers, mountains, volcanoes, enchanting inland seas, and beautiful panoramas make this land the "Pearl of the Orient."

This country was then, as it is now, the dwelling, the home, of a people homogeneous in race, one in religion - with the exception of a proportionately small number of non-Christians - welded together into a common nationality and united in a single overmastering ambition - to be free and independent. ^{1(b)}

NO MAN CAN STARVE TO DEATH IN PHILIPPINES!

Perhaps you don't know that in the Philippine Islands nobody can starve to death. If you are hungry and you have no work, or you don't want to work, and you have no money with which to buy your food, all you have to do is open your mouth and something comes in! ^{2(b)}

PHILIPPINES: A COUNTRY WHERE EVERYONE HAS ENOUGH

We do not want in the Philippine Islands great fortunes. What we are interested in is that everybody in the Philippines should have something, something with which to educate his children, with which to keep bodies and souls together. ³

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1(a)/ Address at the opening of the National Assembly, June 16, 1936.
QP, MR#38, TNL.

2(a)/ Speech delivered at a conference with the Municipal mayors of Tarlac and Pampanga, at San Fernando, Pampanga, June 1, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 64.

1(b)/ Speech on the Philippine bill, in the U.S. House of Representatives, October 1, 1914. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 217-227.

2(b)/ Speech before the Economic Club, USA, November 25, 1927. QP, MR#29, TNL.

3/ Speech at the Columbia University, USA, November 27, 1927. Ibid.

COUNTRY WITHOUT MILLIONAIRES BUT NOBODY STARVES

If we can make fortunes in the Philippine Islands, well and good, but we do not want to make it at the expense of the majority of our people.

We prefer a country with no millionaires, but where nobody is poor, than a country where there may be a thousand millionaires and the rest starving. ⁴

NOBODY MORE INTERESTED IN OUR COUNTRY THAN OURSELVES

We are Filipinos. No one can love our country more than we do. It is only upon the assumption that we are all selfish or cruel, that you can say that anyone whom you (the American government or people - ABS) send there is more interested in the welfare of our country than we are. ⁵

SENATE PRESIDENT DEFINES HIS IDEA OF A COUNTRY

My idea of a country is not one in which the few have the privilege of having not only what they need but much more, while others have not enough for their daily needs. I think, however, that the Philippine Islands is a country which, if properly developed, can offer opportunity to those who have the genius and the energy to accumulate great fortunes, while leaving no one without. ⁶

PHILIPPINES: POTENTIALLY RICH COUNTRY AND MARKET

The Philippines is a territory that is potentially a very rich country, and a potentially very rich country is a fine market for anybody who has something to sell. ⁷

QUEZON THANKS GOD FOR KEEPING PHILIPPINES A HAVEN OF PEACE

We should be thankful to Almighty God that here the firmament is blue, free from the clouds of either a menacing war from without or of a public disorder from within. Man freely breathes the air of liberty, and his heart is full of hope, not of fear. Here we may go to bed at night and be sure that the following day the roar of guns or the tumult of sitdown strikes will not disturb our peace and the orderly processes of industry.

In order to foster private initiative and at the same time to protect our less fortunate citizens from the abuses and injustices of greed, we have here found the happy medium between the theory of laissez faire and the regulation by the State of the interplay of economic forces. ⁸

MLQ ENVISIONS GREAT THINGS FOR COUNTRY ON 59TH BIRTHDAY

We shall extend the blessings of education to every child of school age

4/ Ibid.

5/ Ibid.

6/ Speech requested by Mr. Brown, a prominent American, 1927, n.d.m. Ibid.

7/ Speech at the Waldorf-Astoria, New York City, February 20, 1937. QP, MR#39, TML.

8/ Speech on the occasion of his 59th birthday, August 19, 1937. Quezon Messages. Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 102.

in our country. We shall build roads that will facilitate the transportation of our products to market. We shall build more hospitals and leprosaria. We shall improve the sanitary conditions of our municipalities by providing them with pure water. We shall break up the few remaining big, landed estates by acquiring them from their owners and selling them to the tillers of the soil. We shall give impetus to the development of Mindanao. We shall establish new industries. In other words, we shall adopt and carry out a long-range program of economic development as well as social service. It is my ambition that the Philippines become a country where poverty is unknown, and where justice is the watchword, and democracy and freedom the motto. ⁹

FREE PHILIPPINES BULWARK OF DEMOCRACY IN ASIA - NLQ

I am a certain that a free Philippines living in close association with America - economically and spiritually - will yet become the bulwark of democracy in the Far East, a worthy exponent of American principles of government, and fully capable to withstand the onslaught of social upheavals threatening the peace and tranquility of many parts of the world today. ¹⁰

PRESIDENT THANKFUL FOR GOD'S BLESSINGS ON PHILIPPINES

At no time in ancient or contemporary history has Almighty God showered His blessings upon our beloved country as generously as He has done during this year (1937) that is about to close. In a spirit of humility and thankfulness to Him, I come to report to you that the finances of the government are sounder than they have ever been, that our foreign and internal trade has increased, that more school houses and roads have been built and opened to the people, that public health is in good condition, and that peace and order prevail in every province, city, municipality, and barrio of the archipelago. ¹¹

INDEPENDENT PHILIPPINES WILL STRIVE TO WIN WORLD'S RESPECT

When we are independent, our fate will be entirely in our hands. We look forward to the future with confidence and hope, knowing that it will be our policy to so conduct ourselves as to win the respect and goodwill of all the nations of the world. ¹²

QUEZON GOAL: TO MAKE PHILIPPINES HOME OF HAPPY, PROSPEROUS PEOPLE

Let us impart love, hope, and charity. It was in an effort to observe these Christian virtues that during the past three years of my administration, I

9/ Ibid., p. 103.

10/ Ibid., QP, MR#39, TNL.

11/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 18, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 211.

12/ Press statement on alleged negotiations with the Japanese government for the neutralization of the Philippines, July 19, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 677.

earnestly endeavored to achieve the social amelioration and material welfare of our needy masses. And as it has been in the past, so will my administration in the future be directed, with even greater determination and courage, towards making our country the home of a happy and prosperous people. ¹³

PHILIPPINES MUST SHOW WORLD IT HONORS ALL ITS OBLIGATIONS

We find ourselves in a situation wherein the achievements of human progress and culture might be destroyed during the next 10 years. The future of the human race is in jeopardy because of the scant respect of governments for their solemn obligations. I am ever alert over what is transpiring not only in our country but also around us, and I will not permit the Philippines to be on the list of countries which do not know how to honor their obligations. We are laying the foundations for future Philippine nationhood, and one of the most important of these is the ability of our government to keep its obligations. We are not in the same situation as those governments which can afford to disregard their obligations because they have sufficient strength to back up their acts. All the protection we can count upon is respect for the laws of those with whom we wish to deal. We must stand ready to show that we know how to respect the rights of others if we wish others to respect ours. ¹⁴

WORK AND MORE WORK SOLUTION TO HUMAN PROBLEMS - QUEZON

If in every province of the Philippines the people were to work and live as the people of Ilocos Norte work and live, I could be certain that the Philippines would be one of the greatest nations on this side of the world. Work, and more work, is the solution of all human problems, and it offers permanent safety and security for all people. ¹⁵

FACTORS THAT CONTRIBUTE TO PROGRESS OF A NATION

It is erroneous to suppose that the progress of a country depends upon what its President could do. A country that knows not how to impart justice, a country that does not protect its constituents nor seek the welfare of all; a nation that heeds the inducement of men who seek only their own welfare, and who even bring destruction by their acts, will attain not its well-being but unhappiness and sacrifice. ¹⁶

PHILIPPINES WILL COME OUT OF WAR GREATER, NOBLER

I only live to see that day of victory come. My heart is aching to be back

^{13/} Christmas message to the people of the Philippines, December 24, 1938.
Ibid., p. 742.

^{14/} Speech at the joint convention of coconut and abaca producers in Manila, February 22, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

^{15/} Speech at the public plaza of Laoag, Ilocos Norte, April 26, 1939. Ibid.

^{16/} Speech at the convention of the Palihan ng Bayan, Manila Opera House, August 20, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 178.

with you again. I give you my solemn word that, because of your gallantry, because of your loyalty to America, because of your faithfulness to your own government, our dead shall not have died in vain. And our country will come out of this trial greater, nobler, and happier than ever before, with her peace, progress, and liberty forever secure. ¹⁷

OUR ROAD RUNS EAST AND WEST; DAWN IS NEAR

Rapidly, we are approaching a crossroad in history. For us, Filipinos, our road runs east and west. And there in the east where the sun rises, we see already the glimmerings of dawn. Already the gloom of night is softening and soon the new day will break, flooding us all with the bright sun of liberty. ¹⁸

94. P O L I C E

FIRST STEP TOWARD NATIONALIZATION OF ALL POLICE FORCES

With the passage of Commonwealth Act No. 88, approved on October 26, 1936, all duly constituted police forces in all the municipalities and other local political subdivisions, including chartered cities, and all provincial guard organizations in the provinces have been converted into what is now known as the State Police and placed under the immediate charge and direction of the Department of the Interior.

As executive officer of the State Police said law created in the Department of the Interior the post of Commissioner of Public Safety with three Assistant Commissioners.

There is necessity of setting aside funds from the national treasury to enable the national government to complete the nationalization of the police forces throughout the Philippines as authorized in Commonwealth Act No. 88. ^{1(a)}

95. P O L I T I C S

RESIGNATION REJECTED, HLQ HEEDS CALL OF DUTY

As I recall those fateful days of eleven years ago, I find myself again in the parting of the ways. With a spirit chastened by the confidence reposed in me by our people when it chose me to be the repository of its trust and the spokesman of its ideals, humbled by the reiteration of that confidence as evinced by your refusal to accept my resignation, I have steeled myself once more to resist the pleading of my heart that goes out in sympathy with those with whom I have worked in the past, to heed only one call - the call of duty. ^{1(b)}

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17/ Message from Washington broadcast to the Philippines, December 7, 1942.
QP, MR#45, TNL.

18/ Rizal Day speech in Washington, D.C., December 30, 1942. QP, MR#45, TNL.

1(a)/ Message to the First National Assembly, October 16, 1937. QP, MR#39, TNL.

1(b)/ Speech in the Senate, August 1, 1933. QP, MR#34, TNL.

VOTE OF CONFIDENCE: VICTORY OF LIBERALISM

With a majority such as we now have, acting in unison with the people's will, with a majority not at cross purposes but one in aims and ideals, with suspicion and distrust replaced by understanding and goodwill, with a majority working harmoniously and in earnest, devoid of selfish motives and personal ambitions, I face the future with renewed, serene confidence. Yesterday, we won the people's battle for liberalism against the forces of reaction. Today I envision another victory - of greater significance and import to our country - the achievement of its independence and the assurance of its welfare. We shall not be deceived by a mirage that is presented to us as real. We shall not tarry until we keep faith with those who defined their patriotism not with words of eloquence, but with the eloquence of action. Despite misrepresentations, despite threats, despite falsehoods, we shall carry on until the goal is reached. ²

TO AVOID GRAFT, CITIES PLACED UNDER NON-PARTISAN MANAGEMENT

In the United States, due to inefficiency and corruption in the government of some of the great cities, there has developed a strong demand for what is called city management, and, at times, for the nomination of candidates to city offices by non-partisan leagues. This proves that, even in America, a conviction is growing that in local governments partisan politics is absolutely unjustified and not conducive to the public good. ³

QUEZON WISHES NP TO BE WORTHY OF ITS GLORIOUS HERITAGE

I wish, and so expect, that every success that the Nacionalista Party attains in all the elections to come may be a renewal of the pledge inherited from the Coalesced Parties that it will be devoted only to the service of our people, for the perpetuation and glory of the Filipino nation, and for the welfare, happiness and prosperity of its people. ⁴

"PROS" AND "ANTIS" COALESCED IN NATIONAL INTEREST

Why maintain these two independent political organizations (Pros and Antis) when there is at present nothing that can excuse, much less justify, their separate existence, when this existence, is a source of danger and is a handicap to speedy action both in the executive and legislative fields of the government?

* * *

Now I am of the opinion that the fusion of these two parties should not be made dependent upon anything except the conviction and the wishes of those who

2/ Ibid.

3/ Speech at the inauguration of the City of Iloilo, August 25, 1935.
Quezon Messages. Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 117.

4/ Speech at the convention of the Coalesced Parties, September 19, 1937.
QP, MR#39, TNL.

would join in one single party.

* * *

As an individual, I believe in every commitment contained in that platform, and as President I am pledged in good faith to carry it out, and it is my ^{firm} determination to redeem my pledge, God helping me.

* * *

The object sought by the Coalition has been wholly accomplished, namely, to avoid the disintegration of the National Assembly during the formative period of the Commonwealth as a result of extreme and blind partisanship. ⁵

WILL DISMISS TREASURERS IF THEY PLAY DISHONEST POLITICS

Gentlemen, I do not want politics in the government. In the case of the provincial treasurers they can play politics but not too much. They can play politics by doing something for their friends which is neither illegal nor unjust to others. For if they favor their friends by an unjust or illegal act, I am going to dismiss them. They can play politics, but only honest politics. ⁶

CORRUPTING INFLUENCE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN ELECTIONS

I desire particularly to call your attention to the corrupting influence of political pressure and coercion, and the degrading taint of monetary considerations in the election of our public officials. The country must be assured of a fair and honest election of its constitutional representatives.

To build up a citizenry imbued with the ideals of democracy, where each constituent is made conscious of his civic duty towards his government, it is of vital importance that the lavish expenditures of private funds in election campaigns be reduced to a minimum. The country has experienced many a time the disgusting spectacle of election contests where, irrespective of personal fitness of the contending candidates, victory had to be given to the candidates most able to spend lavish sum upon his constituents.

Such a state of affairs discourages the participation of able citizens not favorably circumstanced in worldly possessions, in the conduct of public affairs through the tenure of elective positions. No question of poverty should stand between any person and a public office within the gift of the people. ⁷

TO SAVE DEMOCRACY, LET'S DO AWAY WITH EVILS OF POLITICS

If all believers in, and lovers of, democracy, whether inside or outside the government, want to save democracy, they must unite in doing away with the

5/ Ibid.

6/ Speech before provincial treasurers, Malacañan, February 22, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, p. 45.

7/ Message to the First National Assembly, April 30, 1938. Ibid., pp. 364-365.

evils of politics. ⁸

SELF-SERVING POLITICAL PARTIES BECOME PEOPLE'S ENEMY

I consider the business of government entirely independent^{of} and different from the business of politics. A government has only one objective, and that is to serve the best interest of the people. On the other hand, politics is more interested in the welfare of its organization than in the good of the people.

However, political parties have but one justification for their existence: that they should choose the best within the party as candidates for public office in order that they may give the people what the people expect from their government.

When political parties or the men whom they have helped to be elected to office attempt to control the government, these parties become the enemies of the people, and in this case, the people should make every effort to defeat them. ⁹

WHEN A POLITICAL PARTY BECOMES UNWORTHY OF PEOPLE'S CONFIDENCE

The government is one thing, and political parties another. Political parties are constituted for the purpose of organizing men who have the same political ideals and of helping them secure positions. Political parties are mere instruments of the people with which to choose their officials.

But after an election, the man elected becomes the chosen official of the people, and not of his party. If a political party tries to use the men who belong to it and who occupy official positions to foster its aim and promote its interests, that party is unworthy of the confidence of the people. ¹⁰

BEST POLITICS IS JUSTICE AND EFFICIENCY IN PUBLIC SERVICE

Since you are elective officials, your first responsibility is to be the head of your province. Your being local leaders of your party is only secondary. So do not put politics above every consideration, otherwise you will not get our support. With very few exceptions - for there are always exceptions - our people usually vote for a governor who is a good man rather than a good politician. A man who believes he could be elected by pleasing a few party leaders is fooling himself. You may play politics with some people, but you cannot play politics with everybody. Your best politics is justice and efficiency in the service. ¹¹

PARTIES MUST BE BASED ON FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCES OF PRINCIPLES

The theory that there can be no true democracy without political parties

8/ Press statement on the reorganization of the provincial and municipal police forces, August 3, 1938. *Ibid.*, p. 686.

9/ Speech on government policy and the sugar industry, Bacolod City, Occidental Negros, October 19, 1938. *Ibid.*, p. 230.

10/ Speech in Dumaguete, Negros Oriental, November 3, 1938. *Ibid.*, pp. 244-245.

11/ Speech on the new policy in handling provincial affairs, Malacañan, January 19, 1939. *Quezon Messages*, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFT, pp. 5-6.

and that the existence of such parties is essential in popular government, is groundless and finds no justification in sound principles of government. It is true that under a democratic system of government different and opposing political parties spring up sooner or later. This becomes an eventuality because there is no stronger passion in the human heart than the love of power, and political parties are the means to attain power in a democracy; and, also, because people do not always agree as to the best methods of solving the vital problems of state. But parties founded on the love of power alone are the worst evils of democracy; and differences of opinion, in order to justify the organization of political parties, must arise from fundamental disagreements on political institutions, or on social or economic philosophies. In as much as at present there are no essential differences of opinion on these matters among our people, there seems to be no reason for the existence of different political parties. ¹²

PARTIES, EXTREME PARTISANSHIP CAN WRECK NATION - QUEZON

There is an opinion that political parties in free countries are useful checks upon the administration of the government, and serve to keep alive the spirit of liberty. This, within certain limits, is probably true; and in governments of a monarchical cast patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favor, upon the spirit of party. But in those of a popular character, in governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose; and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be by force of public opinion to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched, it demands constant vigilance to prevent its bursting into ^a most destructive conflagration. ¹³

QUEZON DEPLORES OBSTRUCTIONISM OF PARTY POLITICS

It is party politics that causes delay in the execution of the needed reforms; it is party spirit that weakens the government and makes it incapable of facing difficult situations. ¹⁴

96. P O L L F R A U D S

QUEZON ACTS DECISIVELY ON POLL FRAUDS IN 6TH SENATORIAL DISTRICT

The sixth senatorial district shall not be represented in the Senate until a new election, devoid of the incredible irregularities recently perpetrated in the last election, shall have been held. Not even if the men coming our victorious as a result of the last electoral battle were to come to the Senate chamber with

^{12/} Speech on democracy and political parties, on his 61st birthday, August 19, 1939. Ibid., pp. 174-175. Also in QP, MR#42, TNL.

^{13/} Ibid.

^{14/} Address at the J.P. Alumni Forum, Villamor Hall, August 7, 1940. QP, MR#44, TNL.

certificates in their hands, of having been elected, will they be allowed to occupy seats in the Upper House.

The frauds committed are too stupendous and phenomenal as to destroy all the confidence in the honesty of the voters within its jurisdiction. Therefore it is not proper for the Senate to permit the "winning" candidates to have any place in it, because then it would be an act of injustice founded on the ignoble machinations of an irresponsible body of criminal voters. ^{1(a)}

POLL FRAUD PERPETRATORS A SHAME TO SOCIETY - QUEZON

It is true that frauds are common in democratic countries, but when they assume such grave proportions as evidenced by the ignominious conduct of the voters of the sixth senatorial district, then they can no longer be excusable on account of human imperfections, and consequently their authors must be punished with all the force of the law because they reflect the greatest dishonor, shame and discredit to the society in which they live. ^{2(a)}

97. P O V E R T Y

ERADICATE POVERTY AS STIGMA OF INFERIORITY, URGES QUEZON

Every Filipino home should be blessed not necessarily with opulence and riches not attainable in any clime or in any country, but with the expectation that all the essentials of life should be within the reach of all, and that poverty as a stigma of inferiority might forever be banished. ^{1(b)}

POOR SHOULD ALSO ENJOY MIDDLE-CLASS COMFORTS - MLQ

What I should like to say is that everybody, if possible, should live with the comforts which the middle class enjoys. That is not a criticism of them; it is a plea that those comforts be extended to a larger population of our country. ^{2(b)}

98. P R E S I D E N C Y

HOW QUEZON FEELS UPON HIS ELECTION TO PRESIDENCY

I am overwhelmed by the results of the election. I am more than grateful to my people for their generous support and confidence. The thought uppermost in my mind now is the grave responsibility that this election entails. With God's help I hope I will not fail my country. ^{1(c)}

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1(a)/ Speech on election frauds delivered in the Senate, November 2, 1916.
Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 437.

2(a)/ Ibid.

1(b)/ Campaign speech, 1935, n.d.m. QP, MR#38, TNL.

2(b)/ Statement at a press conference, October 27, 1937. QP, MR#40, TNL.

1(c)/ Press statement on his election to the presidency of the Philippines, September 17, 1935. QP, MR#38, TNL.

PRESIDENT QUEZON'S OATH OF OFFICE

I, MANUEL L. QUEZON, of Baler, province of Tayabas, having been elected and proclaimed President of the Philippines, hereby solemnly swear that I will faithfully and conscientiously fulfill my duties as President of the Philippines, preserve and defend its Constitution, execute its laws, do justice to every man and consecrate myself to the service of the nation; and I hereby declare that I recognize and accept the supreme authority of the United States of America in the Philippines and will maintain true faith and allegiance thereto.

So help me God. ² [Underscoring hereafter is supplied. - ABS]

CHIEF EXECUTIVE TO DO JUSTICE TO ALL, RICH AND POOR ALIKE

I am not the President of the rich, and I am not the President of the poor either. I am the President of the Philippines, of the Filipino people, rich and poor alike. That means that it is my duty to give justice to all, whether rich or poor, and that I must perform my duties fearlessly, regardless of whether in so doing I incur the displeasure of the rich or the poor. ³

PRESIDENT MUST BE INDEPENDENT OF POLITICS - QUEZON

I am absolutely against the movement to permit a re-election of the President, ... because I want the President entirely independent of politics. ⁴

PRESIDENCY TOO DEMANDING TO MAKE OCCUPANT HAPPY

When I was being considered for the position of President of the Philippines, I told some of the people who came to talk to me that I would rather be Resident Commissioner in the United States than President of the Philippines... Because really, I did not dislike the position of Resident Commissioner. I had some kind of suspicion that the position of President, although very attractive with its power and glamor - had something not altogether agreeable.

Now, let me tell you that it is the worst job that anybody can have. And if I were a quitter, I should quit now. For man of my temperament, it is the worst job because I like my friends, and I love to be happy. Disagreeable things cut me through, and I don't remember, from the day that I was first in Malacañan to this moment, not having some disagreeable things to settle as President of the Philippines. So don't envy me, those of you who are aspiring to succeed me. Take your time for it will come to you. ⁵

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- 2/ Note: President Quezon was sworn into office by Chief Justice Ramon Avanceña of the Supreme Court, November 15, 1935.
 - 3/ Speech in Ilagan, Isabela, February 28, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, p. 58.
 - 4/ Statement at press conference, Malacañan, May 8, 1936. QP, MR#38, TNL.
 - 5/ Speech before the Rotary Club of Manila, June 4, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 106-107.

QUEZON PLEDGES TO EXECUTE ALL LAWS IN STATUTE BOOKS

As Chief Executive, it is my first and most important duty to execute the laws. And I shall enforce every law regardless of the attitude of the public thereto as long as they remain in the statute books. I cannot admit that any private society will be more interested than the Executive department of this government in the enforcement of our laws, including the one for the protection of animals. ⁶

QUEZON'S ULTIMATE GUIDE IN HIS OWN CONSCIENCE

The President does not feel that he has to take into consideration either the dictates of his party, the attacks of the opposition, or the passing whims of the people. He is permitted to sit in his office and, oblivious of the noise that is going around him, study every question that is presented for his consideration and action with the single view of doing what, in his opinion, is best for the country at large. ⁷

PRESIDENT LOOKS AFTER INTERESTS OF ENTIRE NATION

The Chief Executive has been elected by the people at large, and knowing the condition of the whole country, when he prepares his budget, he is not influenced by local considerations; he is bound to look after the interests of the nation as a whole. ⁸

QUEZON FROM WASHINGTON SENDS WIRE TO VARGAS ON TONDO FIRE VICTIMS

Secretary Jorge B. Vargas, Manila:

AM SHOCKED TO HEAR OF THE FIRE IN TONDO (STOP) GET THE PHILIPPINE ARMY AND ALL THE MEANS AT THE COMMAND OF THE GOVERNMENT COOPERATE WITH CITY OF MANILA TO GIVE RELIEF TO THE PEOPLE (STOP) KEEP ME INFORMED PARA (QUEZON). - Cablegram received from President Quezon in Washington, D.C., April 8, 1937.

On April 9th, Vargas issued the following press statement:

"By authority of His Excellency, the President, notice is hereby given that government officials and employees of the national government residing in Tondo, who, by reason of the fire which devastated a great portion of that district last Wednesday, April 7th, were not able to come to their respective offices the following day, April 8th, will not be considered as absent." ⁹

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- 6/ Letter to Mrs. P. S. Page, chairman, board of directors, SPCA, on the contemplated dissolution of the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, November 10, 1936. Ibid., p. 461.
 - 7/ Speech at the Waldorf Astoria, New York City, February 20, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 48.
 - 8/ Speech before the U.S. Foreign Policy Association, Astor Hotel, USA, April 3, 1937. QP, MR#39, THL.
 - 9/ Press statement on the relief for Tondo fire-sufferers, April 9, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 525.

PRESIDENT PROCLAIMS EXISTENCE OF PUBLIC CALAMITY IN MANILA

"I, MANUEL L. QUEZON, by virtue of the powers conferred upon me by section 1 of Act No. 4164, entitled "An Act to prevent the excessive increase in the prices of certain prime necessities of life on the occasion of a public calamity, penalizing the violation thereof, and for other purposes," having found that the recent fire which broke out in and devastated the district of Tondo, City of Manila, has brought havoc among the residents thereof and had made unduly difficult their means of livelihood, do hereby proclaim that a public calamity exists in the City of Manila as a result of said fire and do hereby declare in full force and effect therein the provisions of Act No. 4164 which prohibits and penalizes the hoarding of the prime necessities of life and the holding of them for sale at prices twenty-five per cent or more than the prices which were current in the different localities one month before the disaster. This proclamation shall apply to such commodities as rice, mongo, fish, native meat, and building or construction materials." ¹⁰

PRESIDENT, LIKE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, MUST EXECUTE ALL LAWS

The duty to execute all laws is vested in the President of the Philippines just as it was vested in the American governors-general under legislation enacted by the former American Commission.

The Chief Executive of the Philippines always has had and has exercised control and supervision over all the provincial and municipal officials. ¹¹

RULE LAID DOWN ON QUOTING PRESIDENT OF THE PHILIPPINES

In view of repeated cases reported in the press in which persons who have had conferences with the President had attributed statements and opinions as having come from him, the attention of those calling on the Chief Executive is directed to a rule which is recognized and in force everywhere - except up to this time in the Philippines - namely:

That the head of the Government may not be quoted except by specific authorization. Only the President or his authorized spokesman may publish opinions, statements or communications as coming from the head of the government, and, except in those cases, any statement or opinion attributed to him should be taken as unauthorized and groundless.

Any person or persons violating this rule thereafter will be denied access to the President. ¹²

10/ Proclamation No. 141, "Proclaiming the Existence of Public Calamity in the City of Manila," City of Washington, D.C. (for the City of Manila), April 14, 1937. Ibid., p. 788.

11/ Speech at the inauguration of the City of Iloilo, August (n.d.), 1937. CP, MR#39, TNL.

12/ Press statement on quoting the President of the Philippines in the press, September 17, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 330.

PRESIDENT DECLARES INDEPENDENCE FROM PARTY DICTATION

I shall belong, as an individual, to this party that you are about to organize. I believe in the platform which this party is going to adopt and upon which I have appeared before as candidate of the Coalition. As an individual I believe in every commitment contained in that platform and as President I am pledged in good faith to carry it out, and it is my firm determination to redeem my pledge, God helping me.

As President of the Philippines, I declare my independence from dictation by this political organization that you are about to create and by any other organization, and I publicly avow my loyalty to my office and to my country above my loyalty to this party, and I further publicly avow my interest in the public service over and above the political fortune of the party in general or the members composing it in particular. ¹³

CHIEF EXECUTIVE IS LEADER OF NATION, NOT OF ONE POLITICAL PARTY

In this new political organization (Partido Nacionalista) I desire to take no active part. The President of the Philippines, in my opinion, should not be at the head of any partisan organization. By virtue of his election to the high office wherein the people have placed him, he is naturally the leader of the party which nominated him, as, indeed, he is the chosen leader of the nation for the term of his office. But there should be a very clear difference between the work and responsibilities devolving upon the President of a political party, even if it be the majority party, and the President of the Philippines or the head of government. ¹⁴

QUEZON TO EXERCISE POWER WITHIN LIMITS OF LAW

I am not afraid of any governor. That is why I am sorry that the provision (in the Election Law - ABS) prevented Wenceslao Q. Vinzons from becoming a candidate. The fact remains that I could not veto the provision increasing the age of provincial officials to 30 years. As to your complaint that the Chief Executive will interfere with the work of a governor of the opposition party, I can say that I shall not be prejudiced against him. As a matter of fact, I do not care to what party he belongs; provided he performs his duties well, I shall not intervene.

I don't care who the governor of the province is. I suspended the governor of Albay, who is an anti, another in Samar, and another in Zambales, a Pro. I don't care to which party the governor belongs, provided he does his duties well. If he does not do what he should do, I will punish him irrespective of his political color. I am going to exercise the executive power of the government

^{13/} Speech at the convention of the Coalesced Parties, Rizal Memorial Stadium, September 20, 1937. Ibid., p. 128. Also in QP, NR#39, TNL.

^{14/} Ibid.

under the law, in accordance with the powers I have; and nobody can be in my way in the exercise of my function or in the performance of my duty. I know the limit of my authority and the extent of my duties. ¹⁵

PHILIPPINE CHIEF EXECUTIVE MORE POWERFUL THAN U.S. PRESIDENT

In our Constitution, more extensive powers are vested in our Chief Executive than are granted by the American Constitution to the President of the United States. This is because the responsibility placed upon the Philippine Chief Executive to give life and effectiveness to the political philosophy underlying the Constitution, transcends the responsibility given to the President of the United States under the Constitution of that government.

Upon the organization of the Government of the Commonwealth, the Constitution, instead of providing for the continuance in office of the justices of the Supreme Court, judges of the courts of first instance, and justices of the peace, gave the President of the Philippines the power and responsibility of appointing new justices and judges within a given period of time and virtually entrusted him with the duty of reorganizing the entire judiciary. ¹⁶

WE MUST BE TRUE IN EVERYTHING WE DO - QUEZON

It is a principle of public and private morality that any people, nation or individual, must under any and all circumstances follow the principle involved in an agreement, when one receives something with a certain understanding one must comply with one's part in the agreement or understanding. The most rudimentary principles of honesty, public and private, demand that we be true in everything we do. ¹⁷

QUEZON, AS NATION'S LEADER, IS NOT SPOKESMAN OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY

Keeping faith with the spirit of the Constitution, as I understand it, I have acted as the leader of the nation rather than as the spokesman of a political party. I have eschewed narrow partisanship in the councils of government. I have scrupulously maintained religious freedom and the separation of church and state. I have safeguarded free thought, free expression, and the unabridgeable right of the people to work, and to possess and enjoy the fruits of their toil. Every possible precaution has been taken to insure speedy and impartial justice, maintaining, in fact, the equality of all men before the law. I have not tolerated corruption, inefficiency, or injustice in public office and I pledge myself to persevere in my efforts to sweep every nook and cranny of the government, / clean

^{15/} Conference with a delegation of the Young Philippines, Malacañan, September 29, 1937. Ibid., p. 132.

^{16/} Speech on principles of law and justice, University of Sto. Tomas, October 2, 1937. Ibid., pp. 142-143.

^{17/} Speech before coconut planters and municipal mayors at Malacañan, February 19, 1938. CP, NR#41, TNL.

of every deleterious influence that might impair the vitality of the body politic. I have kept the public finance in a sound condition and have succeeded materially in introducing approved business practices in the management of the people's money. ¹⁸

WE MUST HAVE A GOOD PRESIDENT; TENURE NOT IMPORTANT, SAYS QUEZON

I don't believe that the tenure of office will make any difference, as far as the government or the interest of our people is concerned. It is quite possible that the President elected for six years without re-election may be a good president. ¹⁹

HE SAYS MORE POWER YOU HAVE, MORE POWER YOU CREATE

Human nature is such that the more power you have, the more power you create. ²⁰

PRESIDENT ONLY RESPONSIBLE TO GOD, COUNTRY, AND HIS CONSCIENCE

I wish to remind you now that when I accepted this position which the people bestowed upon me, I swore that I would have the laws and the decisions of the courts obeyed and respected, and I would defend the rights of all. I am responsible to God, to the country, and to my conscience for the performance of what I swore to do. So I want you to know that I will order the arrest of anyone who will violate the law, disregard court decisions, ignore the rights of others, or get what does not lawfully belong to him, so that the court can mete out the appropriate punishment. ²¹

PRESIDENT ALONE, HOWEVER POWERFUL, CAN'T DO EVERYTHING

It is true that I am the President of our country. However, I am but an individual. While the powers vested in me by our Constitution and our laws are extensive, yet I cannot accomplish anything if I am the only one to work hard or exert efforts in promoting the welfare of our country. ²²

QUEZON MAKES "NON-POLITICIAN" PROMISE IN LAOAG

I want to say to you now that anything that the national government can do for you will be done, as long as it is within my power to do so. This is not the promise of a politician. This is the promise of a man who holds a public office today, but who will soon be out of it. It is the promise of a man who

^{18/} Address before the faculties and student bodies of public and private schools, colleges and universities, August 19, 1938. Ibid.

^{19/} Untitled speech, 1938, n.d.m. Ibid.

^{20/} Ibid.

^{21/} Speech at barrio Cruz-na-Daan, San Rafael, Bulacan, January 31, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVF, p. 12.

^{22/} Speech before a gathering of laborers and tenants, San Fernando, Pampanga, February 14, 1939. QP, RR#42, TNL.

realizes that you deserve what you are asking for, and who feels the obligation of giving what you have asked because you deserve it. ²³

HE IS MORE INTERESTED IN COUNTRY'S FUTURE THAN IN HIS OWN ACHIEVEMENTS

I am not interested in what I, myself, may do now. I am not interested in what the future might write about me for what I had accomplished during my term of office. I am more interested in the future of our country, and I will not sacrifice that future or subject it to any risk for whatever temporary victory I may win during my administration. ²⁴

PRESIDENT CAN'T CATCH CROOKS UNLESS PEOPLE COOPERATE

The public official in a democracy is the servant of the people. To be a servant of the people means that he occupies a position in the government in order that the interest of the people may be served. The first duty is to be honest. Public officials who receive bribes are not going to be tolerated under my administration. But I cannot catch these crooked officials unless the people themselves cooperate with me in finding out who they are. ²⁵

DENOUNCE INJUSTICES, DON'T COVER UP GUILTY PARTIES, URGES QUEZON

It is a mistake to believe that the government, has the power and authority to render service to the people unless the people themselves understand their obligations as citizens and are willing to cooperate with the government in carrying out its policies. Even in the administration of justice, it will be impossible for the government to administer justice if the people will not denounce injustices when injustices exist, or when the people themselves will cover up the men who are guilty of committing injustices. ²⁶

QUEZON'S TWIN GOALS: SOCIAL JUSTICE AND GOOD GOVERNMENT

In the first place, I wanted the Filipino people to have a government that above everything else, would dispense justice to the poor and the rich alike, to the influential as well as to the humble. A government that would show no favors, a government that would give to every man and woman his or her due. I think we have been able to show this. The second objective that I had in mind was to prove to the world that under a Filipino government we would be able to maintain peace and order; that foreigners would, under our administration, be treated as well if not better than they have been treated under American administration. ²⁷

PRESIDENT CAN SERVE PEOPLE BY BEING FREE FROM ENEMY CLUTCHES

My beloved countrymen, you know that day and night I can only think of

^{23/} Speech at the public plaza of Laoag, Ilocos Norte, April 26, 1939. Ibid.

^{24/} Ibid. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVTF, p. 130.

^{25/} Speech at the cornerstone laying of Barrio Obrero, Tondo, June 28, 1939. QP, MR#42, TNL.

^{26/} Speech at the public plaza of Tagbilaran, Bohol, July 1, 1939. Ibid.

^{27/} Ibid.

you, of the day of your redemption^P and my return to our beautiful islands. I would not be here (in the United States - ABS), I would not have left you for a moment, I would have been sharing with you your sufferings and your hardships, if I did not feel that I could only be of service to you by being free from the clutches of the enemy. ²⁸

99. P R E S I D E N T I A L R E E L E C T I O N

NO RE-ELECTION FOR ME; MY DAYS ARE NUMBERED, SAYS QUEZON

No man can be President of any country for twelve years and do his duty well without succumbing physically to the weight of the burden. I have spent my whole life in the public service and the few remaining years that it may please God to give me, after the 31st of December 1941, when my term expires, I have the right to enjoy in peace.

But this is not the main consideration which might be called a selfish motive. My definite refusal to consider another term as President is due to the fact that if I were to allow myself to be tempted by any ambition, I would endanger the achievement of those very objectives which are so dear to my heart, and which the labor leaders say is their practical reason for advocating my candidacy.

I have reached a point where, in the ordinary course of life, my days are numbered, and it would be the height of folly for me to sacrifice everything including the success of my administration to mere love of power. So those friends of mine who want to see me succeed in my endeavor to give the common man a square deal should stop any movement looking toward the amendment of the Constitution in order to secure my re-election. ¹

QUEZON SAYS NO MAN IS INDISPENSABLE IN PHILIPPINES

No man is indispensable, and if it were true that outside of Manuel L. Quezon there is no other man in our country who can be the Chief Executive of the Philippines, I would immediately start working for the enactment of a law by the Congress of the United States that will require the appointment of an American governor-general for the Philippines. ²

PRESIDENT RESPONSIBLE FOR NO-REELECTION CLAUSE IN CONSTITUTION

The clause in the Constitution prohibiting a second term for the Presidency of the Philippines has been inserted through my own efforts, and this I did when amongst the members of the Constitutional Convention there was already the general expectation that I would be the first President of the Commonwealth... I shall

28/ Message to the Filipino people from Quezon in the United States, February 20, 1943. QP, MR/45, TNL.

1/ Press statement on the movement for his reelection, October 19, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 338.

2/ Ibid.

certainly not stultify myself by giving my consent to any attempt to amend the Constitution to permit my reelection. If we were to amend the Constitution in this respect, the outside world would immediately say that we are following in the Philippines the same course that for years has been followed by some of the Latin American republics and which has been mainly responsible for many of the revolutions in those countries.³

ONWARD MARCH OF SOCIAL JUSTICE IS IRRESISTIBLE - QUEZON

There is no need for keeping me at the head of this government for the program of social justice to be realized. After having started the movement for the amelioration of the lot of the masses, as I have done, it will go on indefinitely on its own momentum. Let no one fool himself into believing that any man or group of men, or any class can successfully oppose the onward march of social justice. Once started there is no power that can stop or hold it back.⁴

QUEZON VOLUNTARILY RENOUNCING POWER IN COUNTRY'S INTEREST

Everybody likes power. It is the greatest urge of human nature - power. I like to exercise power. But, because my main consideration is the interest of the country, I am stepping out of office when the time comes for me to do so. And when I am no longer in office, I will not want to be a boss; I do not want to be a power behind the throne.

I do not believe that anything could be more unworthy of us and greatly disastrous to our people than having somebody outside of the government attempting to direct the affairs of the country. Certainly, I would not be that one. If I should fall under the temptation of wanting to continue in power, I would fight the whole country to retain it. Since you are offering me re-election, I could just as well accept it and exercise the powers as Chief Magistrate of the nation in accordance with the Constitution and assume all the responsibility of that great office.⁵

AMENDING CHARTER TO BENEFIT INCUMBENT PRESIDENT DANGEROUS, SAYS MLQ

A single thought has given me the greatest preoccupation in connection with the proposal to amend the Constitution so as to permit my re-election. It is the dangerous precedent that might be established in amending a constitutional or legal provision affecting a person in office, who is in a position to exert some influence in securing the amendment and allowing him to benefit by it. In the future, some ambitious and unscrupulous politician might invoke such a precedent in order to perpetuate himself in power. This would endanger the liberties of our

3/ Ibid.

4/ Ibid., p. 339.

5/ Speech at the farewell banquet for Majority Floor Leader Quintin Paredes, May 22, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVEF, p. 132.

people, and I am horrified at the thought that I might in any way be the cause of the destruction of those liberties for which I had fought and to which I have consecrated my life. ⁶

QUEZON FOR RETIREMENT, WANTS OTHER LEADERS TO TAKE OVER

It is of vital importance that amendments to the Constitution be considered upon the high plane of principles rather than upon considerations of personal character. And in order that your action on the proposed constitutional amendment regarding the term of office of the President may not be influenced by the movement for my re-election, I desire to make my position clear on this matter.

From the standpoint of democracy and liberty in our country, the wholesome effect of my retirement at the end of my present term will far outweigh whatever benefits that might be derived from my continuance in office beyond this term. Fortunately, the affairs of our nation are such as to justify confidence in the future stability of our government... What remains to be done can well be performed under the leadership of other men who may be elected to succeed me. ⁷

QUEZON'S LOVE OF COUNTRY FAR OUTWEIGHS HIS LOVE FOR POWER

One of the underlying causes why I decided not to run for re-election is that I do not wish to make you feel that power or position will affect our morals in our stand simply because we have the idea that our will is subjected to changes. The fact is our hearts throb with the love of country above the love for power, for equality, for freedom, and for justice. ⁸

100. PUBLIC DECORUM

QUEZON LAUDS ENAGE FOR SETTING HIGHEST EXAMPLE OF PUBLIC DECORUM

It seemed to me then, as it seems to me now, that a person who declines a post with high honors and substantial compensation, solely because he considers it incompatible with his sincere convictions, offers the highest example of public decorum, integrity and independence, qualities which, necessary in the discharge of any government post, are more so in judicial functions. ¹

INGRATITUDE TO GOVERNMENT REMINISCENT OF REPTILE REARED BY BIRD

It is poor taste, to say the least, for a man (referring to Mr. Jose Hilario, deputy collector of internal revenue - ABS) who has been long in the employ of the government, who has relied long on his government income for the

6/ Message to the Second National Assembly, August 16, 1939. Ibid., p. 337.

7/ Ibid.

8/ Speech at the convention of the Palihan ng Bayan, Manila Grand Opera House, August 20, 1939. Ibid., p. 178.

1/ Letter to Judge Francisco Enage on the latter's declining an appointment to the Court of Appeals, February 5, 1936. Quezon Messages, Vol. 2, Part I, JBVF, pp. 421-422.

support of his family, and who, perhaps, owes that high public esteem with which he is regarded to the government itself, to strike at that government at the moment of leaving its service. We hate to call it ingratitude, but it smacks of the story of a bird which reared a reptile in its nest.²

LAYS DOWN RULES TO MAINTAIN DECORUM IN PUBLIC SERVICE

In view of the frequency in which controversies touching upon particular phases of governmental activity have been carried on through the public press by contending officials of the government, or between an office of the government on the one hand and a private individual on the other; and since this practice is unseemly, distasteful, and may even, at times, be definitely harmful to the service; and because, further, the publicizing by two governmental officials of conflicting opinions, or of real or fancied mutual grievancies cannot fail to give the impression that the government is devoid of order and organization, and that its members are lacking in that sense of restraint and decorum so essential to the effective discharge of public duty;

* * *

... I do hereby direct the following rules to be followed:

1) Controversies between officials or employees of the government shall be submitted to the respective authorities empowered by law to take cognizance thereof, and the decisions of such authorities shall be faithfully observed by the contending parties;

2) If and when news items or statements contrary to facts are published in the press, or when criticisms are made, founded on false or incorrect information, the head of the department or his duly authorized representative may issue a statement giving the facts as they actually are and as supported by the official files, but in no case, except with the express authority from the Office of the President of the Philippines, shall such statement contain argumentative matter or controversial discussion.³

101. P U B L I C S E R V I C E

MERIT AND CHARACTER SOLE QUALIFICATION FOR PUBLIC OFFICE

Merit and character alone will be the qualification for office or promotion. For the highest responsible posts I shall call on the most capable, honest, and patriotic citizens, regardless of political affiliation or religious beliefs.

2/ Press statement on Mr. Hilario's resignation and engagement of government officials in private activities, March 6, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 318.

3/ Administrative Order No. 46, "Prescribing Rules regarding the practice of officials and employees of the government to discuss or clarify all differences of opinion on public matters in the press," September 15, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part II, JBVFF, p. 1174.

1/ Speech on accepting his nomination as President of the Philippines, July 20, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. 1, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, p. 236.

CIVIL SERVICE TO EMBRACE ALL BRANCHES OF GOVERNMENT

The present Civil Service Law as embodied in the Revised Administrative Code of 1917 insofar as it has been enforced to date, has built up an organization of civil servants worthy of the highest respect and consideration. It must have been the example of this strong body of public servants that has inspired the Constitutional Convention to make a careful provision in our Constitution that the civil service may embrace all branches and subdivisions of the government.²

RAISING LEVEL OF EFFICIENCY IS A COLLECTIVE EFFORT

The true objective of a proper promotion system is not merely the aggrandizement of a few gifted individuals; it is the raising to a high level of the average efficiency of a whole corps. The problem is essentially collective and administrative rather than individualistic and personal.³

OFFICIALS HAVE NO RIGHT TO ENRICH THEMSELVES IN OFFICE

The law prescribes the salary that every official of the government receive and whether that salary is big or small, the official who accepts a position has no right to expect more than the salary provided by law, and no right to take advantage of his office either to get some present, a "gratification," as we call it here, or some indirect advantage through which to enrich himself.⁴

CORRUPT OFFICIALS CAN RENDER SERVICE BY GETTING OUT!

The man who is lazy and does not want to work, the man who is incompetent and does not know how to work, the man who is a grafter and wants to steal, ought to get out of the government. The sooner they do so, the sooner will they, for once, be rendering a great and patriotic service.⁵

102. QUEZON AND CRITICS

QUEZON ATTACKED, UPHELD: HEROES DON'T CRY

I have been arraigned at your bar as a faithless public servant and you have belied my assailants. I have offered no reply to their charges. My record stands the searching light of public scrutiny, and as an open book I have placed it before the country for its careful analysis and verdict. Martyrs and heroes do not weep over their fate. They do not cry for help.¹

2/ Message to the First National Assembly, December 16, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVTF, p. 53.

3/ Press statement on the administration of the Philippine Army Officer Corps, January 11, 1936. Ibid., Vol. 2, Part I, JBVTF, p. 412.

4/ Speech in Tuguegarao, Cagayan, February 28, 1936. Ibid., pp. 44-45.

5/ Speech in Ilagan, Isabela, February 28, 1936. Ibid., p. 58.

1/ Speech in the Senate, August 1, 1933. OP, MR#34, TWL.

NO MAN, INCLUDING THE PRESIDENT, IS ABOVE THE LAW, SAYS MLQ

The administration of justice cannot be expected to rise higher than the moral and intellectual standards of the men who dispense it. To bulwark the fortification of an orderly and just government, it shall be my task to appoint to the bench only men of proven honesty, character, learning, and ability, so that every one may feel when he appears before the courts of justice that he will be protected in his rights, and that no man in this country from the Chief Executive to the last citizen is above the law.²

NO DICTATOR CAN USE 10,000 SOLDIERS TO COW 16 MILLION FILIPINOS

As a matter of fact, the regular army of the Philippines will contain only ten thousand men - ten thousand! Who is the dictator who can use ten thousand men to whip sixteen, seventeen, eighteen million people, which is the population of the Philippines today, the majority of whom know how to use a rifle?³

DEMOCRACY UNDER QUEZON: NO CRITIC SENT TO JAIL

But if they (Quezon's critics - ABS) refuse to cooperate and instead continue with their attacks, they can go ahead. There is democracy here. In nations where autocracy and despotism reign, those who attack the government are killed.

Here, where there is no person so continuously and gravely attacked as I, no critic is killed or sent to jail, because there is freedom and democracy here.⁴

MULT CRITICS SAY AGAINST QUEZON IS AWFUL, BUT NO ONE IS ARRESTED

What the Sakdalistas said about me is awful, but nobody went to jail for that. I am not perfect; I know that. It is true that there are laws providing that the government can jail anybody who is actually committing a seditious act, but there is nothing that would permit the conviction of any man who is only exercising his prerogatives as a citizen.⁵

MLQ NOT SCARED BY OPPOSITION'S TROUBLE-MAKERS

If there is anybody among you whose ability, character, and integrity justify his appointment to an office, I have no objection to appointing him. But I am not going to appoint a man simply because he is of the opposition party. There are people who believe that the way to attract attention is to attack the government. I don't get scared - I am not scared. I have no objection to bringing

2/ Inaugural Address, November 15, 1935. Quezon Messages, Vol. I, Sp. Rev. Ed., JBVFF, pp. 14-15.

3/ Speech at the Waldorf Astoria Hotel, New York City, February 20, 1937. Ibid., Vol. 3, Part I, JBVFF, p. 50.

4/ Speech on the results of his trip to the United States, Malacañan, August 16, 1937. Ibid., p. 100.

5/ Conference with a delegation of the Young Philippines, September 29, 1937. Ibid., p. 136.

a man into the government who has attacked me after defeating him. I first fight him, and if he wants to make a noise let him make a noise. ⁶

NOBODY JAILED FOR CRITICIZING GOVERNMENT - IN QUEZON'S TIME

I am convinced that nobody can be jailed for sedition under our laws simply because he criticizes the government. ⁷

CRITICISM BRINGS GREATEST GOOD TO PUBLIC SERVICE

The greatest good for the man in public service is criticism. ⁸

CRITICS RAP QUEZON'S USE OF PRESIDENTIAL YACHT "CASIANA"

They (Quezon's critics - ABS) talk of the yacht Casiana. Former governors-general, all Americans, had their yachts. They seem to forget the Apo of General Wood, who was the good friend of my present critics.

Do they want the President of the Philippines to ride on a casco? I am not going to be President for a thousand years. I am also remodelling Malacañan, and they criticize me for this. Shall I build me a hut? I am used to living in a hut and I can live in one. ⁹

QUEZON TELLS CRITICS IT'S TIME TO TALK OF MORE IMPORTANT MATTERS

It is about time that our politicians speak (sic) of more important things. I am doing my best to give the small man a square deal, to have the laborer's rights respected. Do my critics want me to change this policy? Do they want to show that the people are not behind me in my actions? ¹⁰

PRESIDENT GOES OUT INCOGNITO, ALONE AND UNESCORTED

I sometimes go out incognito, riding in a Ford, alone. Some of those who see me thus go out unescorted even think I am up to something. But what I do is to make surprise inspections in the nearby municipalities, to see condition as they actually are.

I am not afraid to be alone. I was born alone and I grew up alone. I wish some of those who criticized me shall see me when I go out without a companion and riding in a Ford. ¹¹

WELL, SHALL THE PRESIDENT RIDE IN A CARRETELA?, QUEZON ASKS

It is high time we speak (sic) of saner things. In the President of the

6/ Ibid.

7/ Ibid., QP, MR#40, TNL.

8/ Speech at a press conference, Malacañan, October 6, 1937. Ibid.

9/ In: "Raps Petty Attacks Against President," Tribune, October 8, 1937. Rivera Collection, Vol. III, p. 1591.

10/ Ibid.

11/ Ibid., p. 1592.

Philippines is vested the honor of the country. If I go out with a flag on my automobile and a motorcycle escort preceding me, they (Quezon's critics - ABS) cry, "A King!"

Well, shall I ride in a carretela? You must remember that when I ride out, it is not the person of Manuel L. Quezon who is riding, but the Chief Executive of the country.

Respect for the President of the Philippines means respect for the Filipino people. ¹²

QUEZON SAYS HE WELCOMES CONSTRUCTIVE CRITICISM

I am not attempting to prohibit criticism of my administration. This is a matter of little concern to me, politically or otherwise. In fact, I welcome constructive criticisms for they are always helpful, whether the criticism has intrinsic merit or not. And foolish or unjust attacks upon public officials or policies carry the germ of their own destruction.

What I/^{am} interested in, and very much so indeed, is to avoid making the schools political battlefields, or places for the exhibition of gross ignorance on the part of the orator, or the dissemination of subversive ideas among boys and girls who, because of their immaturity, are not prepared to discriminate intelligently as between what is right and what is wrong, and what is wise and what is unwise. ¹³

PEOPLE ARE FREE TO CRITICIZE ANYBODY IN GOVERNMENT, ASSURES QUEZON

You can criticize anybody in the government - that would not bother me a bit; what is important to me is your compliance with the laws. If you want to meet, go on, and hold your meetings.

You can even say that you will spill blood but you must/^{not} insinuate that you will cut the neck of a man; you can also shout that you will kill, but kill only in words and not in deeds.

You can lambast any official in the government or even my administration; this would not matter to me. What I particularly desire is that you here will enjoy permanent peace and that you will give the government sufficient time to be able to intervene in your behalf and to study thoroughly your situation. ¹⁴

PRESIDENT QUEZON ANSWERS HIS CRITICS ON EXCISE TAX

I am being blamed for the existence of the excise tax on coconut oil, but my critics refuse to admit that the excise tax collections are being returned to

12/ Ibid.

13/ Letter to Dr. Gabriel R. Manalac, undersecretary of public instruction, concerning Atty. Tanzon's cancellation of his engagement as commencement speaker at the Arellano High School, April 8, 1938. Quezon Messages, Vol. 4, Part I, JBVFF, pp. 569-570.

14/ Speech before a gathering of laborers and tenants in San Fernando, Pampanga, February 14, 1939. Rivera Collection, Vol. IV, p. 1993.

the Philippines for us to spend in the development of our country. ¹⁵

MLQ NOT AVERSE TO CRITICISM, ASKS CHANCE TO FACE CLU CRITICS

I am not averse to criticism. I am here, I have come tonight, to hear criticism. I enjoy hearing them, as a matter of fact. And I will reveal to you that I had originally refused to accept the invitation of the Civil Liberties Union to be their guest of honor, because in the different banquets which I had attended I heard only speeches praising me, and I have grown tired of hearing them. (Laughter). That is why I am here. ¹⁶

CHIEF EXECUTIVE MOST HAPPY WHEN EVERYBODY IN U.P. DISAGREES WITH HIM!

I was very pleased to see the reaction of the university constituency to my speech (stating that democracy can exist without political parties - ABS), and I mean what I am saying.

It shows at least two things: first, that everybody in the University of the Philippines was interested in what I said - which is something; second, that everybody in the university felt that he is free to disagree with the President of the Philippines.

If I can do nothing better than to show the world that this "totalitarian ruler" (Quezon - ABS) is known enough in the government university, known well enough in fact for everybody to feel that he can disagree with him and neither lose his job nor go to jail, that is enough for me. ¹⁷

QUEZON FLAYS CLU FOR HAMPERING DEFENSE PREPARATIONS

If our people die here, unprotected, by the bombs, those men (referring to the members of the Civil Liberties Union, who had opposed the grant of emergency powers to Quezon - ABS) who have stopped me from doing what I should have done ought to be hanged - every one of them on the lamp post. ¹⁸

103. QUEZON AND CUEVO - BARRERO CASE

MLQ SAYS SUPREME COURT IS FREE TO DECIDE ON BARRERO CASE

Although I have already given out a statement that when I expressed publicly my opinion on the Cuevo-Barredo case I had not been informed that it was pending before the Supreme Court for adjudication, my writing you (Chief Justice Ramon Avanceña - ABS), directly on the subject will perhaps serve a good purpose.

* * *

^{15/} Speech at the inauguration of the Quezon National Park, Atimonan, Tayabas, July 23, 1939. Quezon Messages, Vol. 5, Part I, JBVFF, p. 163.

^{16/} Speech at the CLU-sponsored inter-university oratorical contest, Ateneo auditorium, December 9, 1939. Rivera Collection, supra, p. 2191.

^{17/} Speech at the open forum of the U.P. Alumni Association, August 7, 1940. Ibid., p. 2241.

^{18/} Speech at the University of the Philippines on National Heroes Day, November 28, 1941. Ibid., Vol. V, pp. 2337-2340.

I take it, knowing you and every member of the Court - and so I feel certain thereof - that either the Court collectively or its members individually, in arriving at a conclusion on the Cuevo-Barredo case, will in no way be influenced by either what I have said or by what the people may think of their decision. I am confident, too, that you and your associates will, on your part, feel as certain that I would expect you to ignore entirely what I have said on the subject.

"HERALD" MISQUOTES PRESIDENT ON CUEVO-BARREDO CASE

The Philippine Herald, in its issue of September 22nd (1937), attributes to the President a statement as ^{having been} made in his conference with the press in connection with the case recently decided by the courts denying the petitioner the right to be indemnified for the death of a laborer who was drowned in the Pasig river in obedience to the order of an employer of the Barredo & Co., that "if we have more decisions of that nature, I shall ask the National Assembly to suppress the judiciary in the Philippines," and to emphasize the news, the article wherein it appears carries this headline: "Decision on Laborer's Case Brings Threat of Court Abolition."

On its face, the statement attributed to the President is absurd, for the least informed individual knows that the National Assembly has no power to abolish the judiciary in the Philippines as this branch of the government is not a creature of an act of the Legislature but of the Constitution itself. The absurdity of the statement is so apparent that it should not be necessary to deny it. This denial is, however, made so as to serve as public notice that newspapers attributing to the President statements that he has not made or could not have made by the very nature of the statements themselves, will not be permitted to send representatives to the weekly conference of the President.

The Vanguardia of the same date carries a substantially correct version of the conference. ²

SILENCE IN FACE OF WRONG A PRICE TOO HIGH FOR PRESIDENT

To my critics, to those who would assert that the Chief Executive may not publicly express his condemnation of a court's decision that he considers unjust because that is an encroachment upon the independence of the judiciary, my answer is that if my said critics are right in their theory - which I know they are not - if they were right, I say, then, I would not want to be Chief Executive because the presidency would be too high a price to pay for a man to be mum in the face

- 1/ Letter to Chief Justice Ramon Avanceña on the Cuevo-Barredo Case, September 23, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVTF, p. 288.
- 2/ Press statement on the Herald's misquoting the President on the Cuevo-Barredo case, September 23, 1937. Ibid., p. 332.

of outrageous injustice.

To those who believe that I have violated the duties of my office when I criticized the decision of the Court of Manila and the confirming decision of the Court of Appeals (Second Division) on the Cuevo-Barredo case, my advice is that they go and impeach me before the National Assembly. And if the National Assembly should condemn me, I would accept that verdict as the expression of the Filipino people's conception regarding the duties of the Chief Executive. In such a case, I would say without hesitation that I do not want to be the President of a people whose conception of the duties of the head of the government is to sit by and keep quiet when other branches of the government, in his opinion, are doing wrong.

* * *

The following sent messages of congratulation to the President re his criticism of the Cuevo-Barredo case decision:

1. Pedro Abad Santos, San Fernando, Pampanga, dated September 26, 1937;
2. Silvino Isla, Moncada, Tarlac, September 26, 1937;
3. Francisco Ponce, Baliwag, Bulacan, September 26, 1937; and
4. Ignacio Cabatuando, pangulong panlalawigan ng Samahang "Ahak," Gapan, Nueva Ecija, September 27, 1937.

COMMEND PRESIDENT'S STAND ON CUEVO-BARREDO CASE

Letters from several parts of the country commending and praising the President's stand on the Cuevo-Barredo case continue to pour in at the Office of the President, close on the heels of telegrams which came in earlier. The writers of these letters range from humble farm hands and low-salaried employees to professionals and businessmen, but they are all unanimous in their expression of unconditional support of the President and effusive in their praise of his courageous stand. ⁴

* * *

Among those who praised the President's stand:

1. Meliton L. Lejano, a lawyer and businessman;
2. Anado R. Sanchez, who had sided with Quezon only on^{ce} - in the Hare-Hawes-Cutting controversy;
3. Bishop Isabelo de los Reyes, Jr., of the Philippine Independent Church;
4. Jose P. Daquis.

QUEZON INSISTS ON RIGHT TO DEMAND JUSTICE IN CUEVO-BARREDO CASE

Many presidents of the United States - Jefferson, Lincoln, Roosevelt - criticized the courts when the latter committed blunders in their decisions. I am the only man elected by the people of the whole country (the Philippines),

- 3/ Press statement on the Chief Executive's criticism of the Cuevo-Barredo case decision, September 25, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVPF, pp. 333-334.
- 4/ Press statement on letters of congratulation re Cuevo-Barredo case, September 28, 1937. Ibid., pp. 335-336.

and the people have the right to demand that I see justice done. I am the first servant of the people. I am going to fight. If it is within the rights of the Executive Department, I will fight. What will the people say if they see me doing nothing in this regard? I cannot be placed in that position. If that is the price of the presidency, I don't want to be president.⁵

PRESIDENT'S RIGHT AND DUTY TO DISAGREE WITH WRONG COURT DECISIONS

In the choice of the judges whom I have appointed to the Supreme Court and to the other inferior courts, I can say with a clear conscience that I have selected the best men that I could find... But even the wisest and most virtuous of men may make mistakes. No matter how lofty his ideals of justice, no matter how pure and unsullied his motives, or how noble his heart, it is not impossible that a judge may commit a grievous error. In such a case, it is not only the right but also the duty of the Chief Executive to disagree with him publicly.⁶

CHIEF EXECUTIVE CITES HIS DUTY TO "DO JUSTICE TO EVERY MAN"

Even assuming that, under the theory of separation of powers and the postulate of judicial independence, the Chief Executive may in no case utter a word in connection with the acts of the other branches of the government, I would still interpret my oath to "do justice to every man" as imposing upon me the duty not only to do justice in cases where the decision rests with the Executive, but also to see that other branches of the government do not commit acts of injustice to any man.⁷

MLQ EXPRESSES FAITH IN INTEGRITY OF SUPREME COURT

It has been said that with my criticism of the decision in the Cuevo-Barro case, I have embarrassed the members of the Supreme Court, for if they should reverse the decision of the lower courts, they would be considered as mere "appendix" of the Chief Executive; and if they should uphold the former decisions, they would be accused of favoring the rich as against the poor.

I have already stated that when I was led to speak on the subject through a question propounded by a press representative, I was unaware of the fact that the case was still sub judice, so I need not repeat the statement now. But I have no hesitancy in saying that, while I wish I had not expressed any opinion on this matter, yet having done so, I am not in the least fearful that the Supreme Court will not render the decision it would have rendered had I kept my peace on the subject.⁸

5/ Conference with a delegation of the Young Philippines, Malacañan, September 29, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVPF, pp. 137-138.

6/ Speech on the principles of law and justice, at the University of Sto. Tomas, October 2, 1937. Ibid., p. 144.

7/ Ibid., p. 149.

8/ Ibid., p. 150.

PRESIDENT'S STAND ON CUEVO-BARRERO CASE IS COMMENDED

"Congratulations, my dear Sir," writes William E. Johnson, president of the Cincinnati Ball Club, Cincinnati, Ohio, "for the manner and the courage you displayed in behalf of the man who was drowned. They are men like you who live long in the memories of your countrymen."

"I, who am neither a laborer nor a Filipino, but a Puerto Rican," writes Guillermo Besosa, residing in Kenmore, New York, "believe it my duty to address you these simple lines, motivated solely by the innate desire to express to you my complete admiration of your civic gallantry and honesty."⁹

104. QUEZON AND INDEPENDENCE

KEEPING PHILIPPINES IN BONDAGE INCONSISTENT WITH U.S. IDEALS

The lesson of your history - the most brilliant history of all the nations of the world - is inconsistent with any other motive in your dealings with the Filipinos than that of making them free...

We firmly believe and sincerely trust that the day will come soon when this (U.S.) Congress, composed of the representatives of a God-fearing people, will generously give to us the blessings of that freedom which has made you so happy, so prosperous and so great, and which is after all the keynote of the happiness and prosperity of every people. When that time comes - and let us hope that it may happen tomorrow - the day when the ever-glorious Stars and Stripes was raised in the Philippines will eternally be the best-celebrated day of our national life.¹

IS "DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE" AGAINST AMERICA?, QUEZON ASKS

There is no state document so well or so extensively known as the Declaration of Independence, nor is there another more important to humanity. The reason is that it was written for the benefit of all mankind, of all nations and of all races...

Since the Declaration of Independence, because of the overwhelming influence of its doctrines, republics have been founded on the ruins of despotism, constitutional governments have been born in both hemispheres, even in those countries where absolutism seemed to have most firmly rooted. Nay, even in the Philippines where the people's clamor to be free is so deeply felt because the desire to breathe the wholesome air of freedom is innate in the human heart, we argue in the very words of that immortal document.

In truth, we maintain that the American occupation of the Philippines is incompatible with the Declaration of Independence.

One hundred years ago this proposition would not get a single dissenting

^{9/} Press statement on letters from abroad commending the President's stand on the Cuevo-Barredo case, October 21, 1937. Quezon Messages, Vol. 3, Part I, JBVEF, p. 340.

^{1/} Maiden speech, "The Hope of the Filipinos," before the U.S. Congress, May 14, 1910. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 87.

vote in this "land of the free." ²

FREEDOM ALONE IS SOLUTION TO PHILIPPINE UNCERTAINTY

The most pressing need of the Philippines is their freedom. The present conditions of affairs there are discouraging. Nobody knows what the United States is going to do with us. It can give us away, keep us forever, change the government we have now and make it more autocratic. We have no rights of any kind, because rights which are given through the voluntary concession of a legislative body - in which body the people who are given those rights are not represented, according to your celebrated statesmen here - are not rights at all for the simple reason that they can be taken away. ³

POOR BUT FREE RATHER THAN RICH BUT SUBJECTS

If to be free we must keep the Philippines undeveloped, if to be free we must refuse to admit foreign capital into the Islands, if to be free we must be poor and remain poor, we will unanimously and unhesitatingly prefer to be poor but free rather than to be rich but subjects! ⁴

EDITOR QUEZON EXPLAINS TRIPLE OBJECTIVES OF PROPAGANDA JOURNAL

To promote the great cause of Philippine independence, to clear away current misconceptions respecting the character of the Filipino people and their capacity for self-government, to show the practicability and desirability of setting up an independent Republic in the archipelago - these are the objectives of The Filipino People. We deem the time propitious for pressing this sacred cause - so dear to the hearts of the Filipinos - in the forum of public opinion. ⁵

QUEZON ASSERTS INDEPENDENCE, NOT STATEHOOD, FOR PHILIPPINES

American policy regarding the Philippines must be based upon the theory that the United States by its traditions, by its history and institutions, and by the principles which constitute the very foundation of its national life, cannot consistently hold colonies against the avowed will of the inhabitants thereof. Therefore, that policy to be truly American must contemplate as a final outcome either statehood or independence.

Statehood for the Philippines is not desirable, either from the standpoint of the American or from that of the Filipino people. Differences in race, customs,

- 2/ Speech, "The Declaration of Independence," at Tammany Hall, New York City, July 4, 1911. Ibid., p. 88.
- 3/ Testimony at the hearing of the Insular Affairs Committee, U.S. House of Representatives, February 21-25, 1912. Ibid., p. 91.
- 4/ Speech in the U.S. House of Representatives, May 1, 1912. Ibid., p. 92.
- 5/ Foreword in the maiden issue of The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 1, September 1912, a monthly journal edited by Resident Commissioner Manuel L. Quezon in Washington, D.C. Ibid., p. 95.

interests, and the thousands of miles of water which separate both countries, are insurmountable obstacles to Philippine statehood... The idea of statehood does not appeal to the Filipinos.

There remains only the other solution of the problem, which is independence for the Philippines... Independence, to be a truly American policy, should be recognized at once or within a reasonable time; certainly within the lifetime of those who are responsible for the control of the Islands by the United States. Such is the only course that will relieve this country (U.S.) from the charge of having assumed permanent control of the Philippines. ⁶

CHOICE IS BETWEEN PHILIPPINE AND AMERICAN OLIGARCHY

Now, gentlemen, out of wisdom and fairness, you will have to agree with us that between the Philippine oligarchy and American oligarchy we prefer the Philippine oligarchy; and it is more likely that the Philippine oligarchy will be a better government than American oligarchy for the Filipinos because the Philippine oligarchy, being flesh of our flesh and bone of our bone, will at all events have more sympathy for and know better our people. ⁷

FILIPINOS UNWILLING SUBJECTS UNDER AMERICA, ASSERTS QUEZON

All government whose basis is force, and not the consent of the governed, is condemned as unjust by the Declaration of Independence. It is a matter of history that the Filipino people is not willingly under American control - in fact if they could help it, they would never be for one moment held in subjection by any foreign country. They revolted against the sovereignty of Spain because they were longing for liberty. They won in their struggle and declared the independence of the Philippines just as Americans declared the independence of the thirteen colonies.

They organized a government which formally refused to acknowledge American sovereignty over the archipelago and, supported by the whole nation, offered armed resistance to the extension of American control over the Islands, until their troops were completely annihilated by the enormous superiority of the American army.

And today, after peace has been restored, and the government of the Philippines is in American hands, whenever a Filipino is asked what does he want from the United States, he invariably answers: "The FREEDOM of my country." ⁸

ONLY FILIPINO GOVERNMENT WILL SUIT FILIPINOS BEST

From these facts you will readily see that I know my people as intimately

^{6/} Article, "The Right of the Philippines to Independence, " The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 2, October 1912. Ibid., pp. 101-102.

^{7/} Speech in the U.S. House of Representative,, 1912, n.d.m. QP, MR#22, TWL.

^{8/} Article, "The Declaration of Independence: An Analysis, " The Filipino People, Vol. I, No. 5, January 1913. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 116.

as it is possible for anybody to know them. And, speaking from my experience, I say to you, solemnly and sincerely:

First: That the Filipinos are unanimous in their desire to govern their country.

Second: That they are capable of governing their country, though they may not be able to establish precisely such government as may suit my friend, Mr. Egan, but surely a government that will suit them best, better than any other kind of government that you or any other people may institute for them.

If, therefore, the wish of the Filipinos is to be considered in the final settlement of the policy of the United States with regard to the Islands, there should be but one policy to be adopted, to wit: to grant independence to the Philippines. ⁹

THERE CAN BE NO FRIENDSHIP BETWEEN RULER AND RULED, SAYS QUEZON

We can be friends only if we are not your subjects. There can be no friendship between the ruler and the ruled. There can be no friendship unless there is mutual respect. And you cannot respect us while we are treated as your wards. These are no perfunctory words. Every American familiar with the conditions in the Philippine Islands knows with what hardly concealed contempt the natives are treated by the Americans there. The attitude of superiority, which is natural in an Anglo-Saxon, is augmented by the feeling of political mastery which necessarily is felt by colonial administrators. And this is, of course, offensive to the Filipinos, and it is an offense that reaches the innermost of a man's soul. This evil can only be remedied by the recognition of the right of the Filipinos to be free from all foreign rule. ¹⁰

WHAT'S GOOD FOR AMERICANS MAY NOT BE GOOD FOR FILIPINOS

That which is good government for one people might not be good for another. That is a good government which best secures the happiness and prosperity of the people whom it governs. To accomplish this, a government must know the needs of the country and must not only feel its responsibility to the country but must love it as well.

We give the Americans credit for trying to do their best in the Islands to make the Filipinos happy and prosperous, but the wisest American will never know himself, and the most altruistic American can never love the Philippines as ^{much} as the Filipinos love their country. It is, therefore, manifestly impossible for an American government in the Philippines to be as successful as a Philippine independent government will be. "No man is good enough to govern another without

9/ Address, "How Filipinos Feel About Independence," before the Economic Club at Worcester, Mass., April 22, 1913. In: The Filipino People. Vol. I, No. 9, May 1913. Ibid., pp. 150-152.

10/ Speech, "Freedom Delayed Makes Filipinos Discontented," before the Philippine Society in New York City, June 10, 1913. Ibid., pp. 157-159.

that other's consent," said Lincoln. 11

"WOULD RATHER STARVE A FREE MAN THAN BE FED A MERE THING"

"I would rather starve a free man than be fed a mere thing." These are not my words, but I cordially endorse them. Neither are they the words of an ignorant man, but of a great president of a famous university. Indeed, they are not the words of an irresponsible demagogue, but of a man now holding the highest public office in the greatest republic of modern times. "I would rather starve a free man than be fed a mere thing," says President Woodrow Wilson, in his article, "The New Freedom." These words express the sentiment of every man, no matter under what sky he is born, if he has the right kind of stuff in him, if he has the proper sense of man's dignity.

Moreover, these words express the sentiment of every people the world around who are conscious of their own nationality. Surely, those words express the sentiment of every man, indeed of the whole people of the Philippine Islands, and in the true meaning of those words you will find the explanation of the discontent of the Filipinos with their present political status. And until this fact is fully realized, but not until then shall we have found the key that will open the era of better understanding between the Filipinos and the Americans who are interested in Philippine affairs. 12

INDEPENDENCE NOW WOULD ASSURE FILIPINO GRATITUDE, LOYAL SUPPORT

There is one point concerning the advantage to the United States of granting the independence of my people on which I wish to touch... With the political and international situation as it is in the Orient today, it might well be a matter of no little moment to America to be at once relieved of the expense of maintaining her sovereignty in the Philippine Islands and at the same time be assured of the loyal support and assistance of the entire Filipino people in the case of those eventualities which ought not to, but which sometimes do, occur.

Is it too much, then, to hope that today, though a century and a third have rolled by, American ears and hearts are still open to the cry of a weaker and distant people, whose foremost desire is to breathe that same air of freedom in which the United States and its people have grown so great and so strong? 13

FILIPINOS WILL BLESS THE DAY DEWEY CAME TO PHILIPPINES

If you give the Filipinos their liberty, there will be nothing that they will not gladly concede to you. You will have not only their trade but their

11/ Article "Good Government for One People May Not Be Good for Another," 1913. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 160-161.

12/ Address before the Philippine Society, supra. Ibid., pp. 165-166.

13/ Article, "The Philippines - What They are and What They would Be," The Filipino People, Vol. 2, No. 3, November 1913. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, pp. 177-180.

gratitude, and you will not only benefit yourselves and them, but you will have given the last touch to the work for the liberation of mankind you began in 1776. America's flag may then cease to fly over our public buildings, but her influence will be our inspiration and we and our children will bless the day Dewey entered the Bay of Manila. ¹⁴

FILIPINIZATION POLICY A STEP TOWARD INDEPENDENCE

To those who believe in the idea of self-government there is, therefore, nothing in the proposed (Filipinization) policy which calls for apology or defense. If an American administrator (referring to Governor-General Harrison - ABS) has been putting the plan into effect while maintaining the efficiency of the government, he is doing well and wisely; he is gratifying the inhabitants in their aspirations for self-government; he is carrying out the declared policy of the United States; and he is securing the approval of those students of the Philippine question who have held to the belief that there must be absolute sympathy between the inhabitants of the Philippines and their American rulers if successful and undisturbed government is to be insured. ¹⁵

FILIPINOS WILL NOT STOP UNTIL THEY GET THEIR INDEPENDENCE - QUEZON

No matter how much of individual liberty or of self-government in domestic affairs a people may have, that people if subject to another, not by reason of their own will but by sheer power of the latter... are not free in fact or in theory.

The progress toward freedom never stops when once begun until it reaches its culmination. The Filipino people will never be satisfied with any concession from the United States short of their complete freedom as a people. Such being the case, they will not be satisfied until you shall have placed in their own hands the decision whether or not they shall be politically independent from the United States. ¹⁶

NO NATION CAN SUCCESSFULLY DIRECT ANOTHER NATION'S DEVELOPMENT

I question most seriously the statement that any nation can successfully direct the course of development that must be followed by another. The education of the individual is most successful when it affords the best vehicle for self-expression; the education of the nation or the race proceeds most naturally as a matter of internal evolution. ¹⁷

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- 14/ Speech, "The New Regime in the Philippines," before the Cleveland Chamber of Industry, Cleveland, Ohio, April 15, 1914. In: The Filipino People, Vol. 2, No. 8, April 1914. Ibid., pp. 183-188.
 - 15/ Comments on the filipinization of the insular service in the Philippines. In: The Filipino People, Vol. 3, No. 1, September 1914. Ibid., pp. 205-206.
 - 16/ Speech at the Lake Mohauk Conference, October 15, 1914. Ibid., pp. 321-322.
 - 17/ Article, "Recent Progress in the Philippines," Journal of Race Development, January 1915. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 331.

INDEPENDENCE WOULD RAISE PRESTIGE OF AMERICAN FLAG

The granting of independence would in itself create so strong a sentiment of gratitude on the part of the Filipino people toward the United States that you would have created in the heart of the Pacific a nation true in its allegiance and friendship to you both in peace and in war. As to the prestige of the American flag, what better prestige can you have than that which will come to you as the result of an act of international justice and generosity! 18

INDEPENDENCE GRANT IS RIGHT, WISE, AND PROFITABLE POLICY

That the only right, wise and profitable policy for the United States to pursue is promptly to grant the Philippines their independence is, in my opinion, unquestionable.

It is right because the Filipino people, according to American political and moral tenets, have, like every other people, the God-given right to enjoy their own independent existence. It is wise because it decreases the possibilities of international complications that may involve the United States in war. It is profitable because it will save the United States treasury hundreds of millions of dollars, with no compensating material returns, that would have to be expended in fortifying the Islands and in giving them an army and navy commensurate with the tremendous difficulties of their defense if they were to be retained. 19

SEAL WITH OUR BLOOD OUR LOVE FOR LIBERTY - QUEZON

The Philippines wants to take part in the struggle (referring to the First World War - ABS). It must take part in the fight. Let us not lose this opportunity offered to us to seal with our blood our love for liberty. And now I know that the dauntless sons of my native land are ready to accept that sacrifice. We are given an opportunity to show that we are a nation, to assert our legal international personality, to show that we are not a group of savages but a people, lovers of liberty, and ready to die for it.

If we adopt a passive and indifferent attitude in the present war, with what face shall we appear before America and the tribunal of nations after the struggle when right shall have conquered might? But if we take advantage of this opportunity, with what pride shall we appear before the tribunal of nations, bearing not only liberty bonds but also mourning for the loss of thousands of our brothers who have struggled and died not for America, but because America has declared that she is fighting for humanity, for the liberty and protection of weak and small nations! How can America then refuse to grant what we want of

18/ Remarks at the opening of the Philippine Exhibit at San Francisco, California, February 26, 1915. Ibid., p. 339.

19/ Article "Philippine Independence and the Preparedness Program," The Filipino People, Vol. 3, No. 12, April 1916. Ibid., pp. 354-355.

her? 20

QUEZON INSISTS ON PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE IN WHATEVER FORM

The great statesman of America say that the United States has a mission to perform in the Pacific. For her own benefit, disregarding entirely the benefits that we should derive, the first step necessary for her to take is to concede our independence with her protection and in return we give her military and naval bases. It will be easier for her to realize her mission in the Pacific if this is done as it would then have a point of vantage - a place from which it can watch the course and development of events.

But if it does not wish to extend protection, we will not insist upon it. All we ask is that she comply with her promise, for her national honor is involved in it. We want her to redeem that promise. We want our independence in whatever form - protectorate, absolute independence, or independence guaranteed by a formal agreement by the nations. I repeat, we want independence in whatever form we can get it. ²¹

COMPLETE AND ABSOLUTE INDEPENDENCE - EVEN WITHOUT PROTECTION

Let the Americans in the Philippines and those in the United States know that the people of the Philippine Islands covet their freedom, their liberty, their political emancipation so much that they will not hesitate to receive from the Congress of the United States complete and absolute independence - independence without protection.

I am convinced that the Filipinos will never renounce their desire for independence. Let the world know that our love for our sacred ideal is deep-seated in us and that no power on earth nor any consideration, no matter how tempting it may be, will ever erase it from our hearts. ²²

NO PROPOSITION POLICY BEST FOR INCORRIGIBLE AMERICANS

When I was Resident Commissioner in the United States and when I was chairman of the Philippine Independence Mission, I adopted the policy of not making a concrete proposition in regard to Philippine independence, knowing well that no proposition would satisfy our opponents as none satisfied them now.

If we came out with a petition for absolute independence, they would combat it with the objection that we could invite external aggression and be subject to internal dissensions and revolutions, and so that kind of independence

^{20/} Speech, "Seal With our Blood our Love for Liberty," in the Senate, November 6, 1917. Rivera Collection, Vol. I, p. 443. In: Isabelo P. Caballero and M. de Gracia Concepcion, Quezon: The Story of a Nation and Its Foremost Statesman. Manila: The International Publishers, 1935. p. 180.

^{21/} Speech in the Senate, January 18, 1921. Ibid., Vol. II, p. 544.

^{22/} Speech, "For Complete and Absolute Independence Without Protection," in the Senate, January 18, 1921. Ibid., p. 544.

would not be desirable.

If we asked for independence with protection, such as I suggested, they would turn around and argue the other way and say that if they granted independence at all it would take the form of complete and absolute independence. They say, "If you want independence, go ahead and be welcome to it, but you look out for you own protection."

And where do we Filipinos stand? Nowhere. In view of these considerations, I have always thought as the best policy to let the form of our independence be deferred to the last. ²³

INDEPENDENCE MEANS YOU AMERICANS GO HOME AND LEAVE US ALONE!

When the Wood-Forbes Mission came (to the Philippines in 1921 - ABS), an old man of Taytay (Rizal province) was asked by Mr. William Cameron Forbes what kind of independence he wanted and what he meant by independence, and the old man of Taytay replied: "What I understand by independence is that you Americans should get out of the Philippines and leave us alone!" ²⁴

QUEZON EXPLAINS SIGNIFICANCE OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE GRANT

Imagine what a glorious thing it would be for the reputation of the United States throughout the world to voluntarily relinquish her possession of the Philippine Islands. It will be a deed incomparable in the history of the human race - a nation so strong and so powerful, giving up merely because it wills to do so, the sovereignty over a foreign people so that they, too, may have an equal station with her among the independent nations of the earth! What a contribution to the cause of just dealings between peoples this step would be. It would serve as a great moral example to other world powers and greatly promote the cause of peace throughout the globe. ²⁵

QUEZON CITES EFFECT OF PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE ON OTHER COLONIES

Q. - What would be the repercussion of Philippine emancipation in British, French and Dutch possessions in Asia?

A. - Naturally, every vindication of the rights of man stimulates all who are struggling for independence. People do not like to be "possessed". They long to be free. Freedom in this archipelago, I have no doubt, would be welcomed by, and would give encouragement to, all Asiatics and others under alien rule. I should not be surprised if Britain, France and Holland would be pleased to

^{23/} Ibid., p. 548.

^{24/} Extemporaneous speech at the Manila Grand Opera House, September 23, 1923, in answer to attacks by Judge Juan Sumulong against inherent defects of the Jones Law. Ibid., p. 730.

^{25/} Radio address from Washington, D.C., on "Philippine Night" program, September 20, 1924. Ibid., p. 764.

see the American flag continue flying over these Islands in perpetuity. But to those nations I will say a word in all friendship. It is this: What their subject peoples ultimately do will be determined by anything which happens in the Philippine

What do I mean? I mean that when the millions of the Indies, of Japan, of Sumatra, and of China are ripe for freedom they will take freedom regardless of what the muse of history shall have meted out to the Philippines. If America elects to hold the Philippines she can hold them for all time, so far as we can see because we Filipinos are numerically weak. But look at India! Four hundred million people! Forty millions in the Dutch islands - more than in unconquerable France! And China - her people are countless! When those peoples become nationally self-conscious, when they are unified and organized, no power on earth will be able to dominate them or retain so much as a toehold on their territory against their will. 26

HLQ DISPUTES AMERICA'S "TRIPLE" TITLE TO PHILIPPINES

Q. - It is argued that America's title to the Philippines is of triple validity, resting upon conquest, purchase, and formal cession. What do you say?

A. - Our reply is, first, that conquest is no moral justification for the seizure of a country and the deprivation of its inhabitants of liberty; and, secondly, that purchase is not valid when the seller (Spain) has no right to sell it; and cession not valid when the power enacting it is ceding what belongs to others.

Q. - It is declared that no Malay people, of all the millions of Malays, ever created a nation.

A. - That is not true, About the thirteenth century there existed a Malay empire, But, not troubling to question the sweeping dictum concerning the political ineptitude of the Malay race, I should not regard this point as worthy of serious notice. If no Malay people in all these centuries yet has built up a free civilization of its own, I think it is high time one were given a chance to try. 27

IF U.S. RENEGED ON HER PROMISE, IT WOULD BE A GREAT BLUNDER, SAYS QUEZON

Q. - What would happen in the Islands if the Congress of the United States declared the Philippines a permanent American territory?

A. - Our people would be profoundly disappointed and depressed. They also would be unutterably surprised. I do not think there would be an uprising, but the Philippine question would not be settled. It would live on as an embarrassment to Americans and Filipinos alike.

You have promised us freedom, Our people are being educated for freedom. We Filipino leaders have assured the Filipino people that, if they bore themselves

26/ Exclusive interview with Edward Price Bell for the Chicago Daily News, 1925. In: The Philippine Republic, published monthly in Washington, D.C., and edited by Clyde H. Tavenner. Rivera Collection, Vol. II, pp. 765-772.

27/ Ibid., p. 771.